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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1925

PART I—JANUARY

Nahapana and the Saka Era Part II

BY R D BANERJI, M A, Poona

(PLATE I)

IN the first part of this paper it was suggested that a cave was dedicated at Nasik either in or before the eighteenth year of the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and was given to people for whose benefit land previously enjoyed by Usavadāta was granted Subsequently Śātakarṇi's mother, Gautamī Balaśrī, caused this cave to be enlarged by adding chambers which she claims to be her own benefaction. At that time I believed the veranda in cave No 3 at Nasik to be the original cave dedicated by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the remaining parts of the same cave to be the gift of his mother During the last four years I had to visit Nasik repeatedly on duty and I have come to the conclusion that a portion of cave No 3 of the Paṇḍu Lena group, as it stands at present, must have been dedicated by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and inscriptions No 4 (Kshatrapa 13) and No. 5 (Kshatrapa 14) had been incised in the walls of this original cave before its enlargement by Queen Gautamī Balaśrī, when inscriptions Nos. 2 (Kshatrapa 18) and 3 (Kshatrapa 19) were incised on another wall.

The subjoined plan of cave No. 3 at Nasik shows a veranda in front with a large hall behind it. Small cells or chambers are to be found on three sides of this large hall. The veranda has also one chamber at its right (west end), but there is no

corresponding cell on the east or left end Access can be had to the chamber or cell on the west or right end of the veranda by means of a small door pierced in the right wall of the veranda; but the wall at the east or left end of the veranda is a perfect blank, so far as openings are concerned Near the top of this wall two inscriptions have been incised, one in continuation of the other These are inscriptions Nos 4 and 5 of M É Senart, in the first of which is recorded a verbal order of King Gautamīputra Śātakarni for a grant of a piece of land previously enjoyed by Usavadāta, the deed for which was delivered in the year 18 The other inscription also records a verbal order of the same king regarding the grant of another piece of land in lieu of that previously granted, the donation of which is recorded in the previous inscription This verbal order was recorded in the year 24 The second inscription contains the following expression *parate Tiranhumhi amha-dhama-dāne lene* "in the mountain of Tiranhu, in the cave, which is our pious donation"

There are two long inscriptions on the adjoining wall, i e on the left half of the back wall of the veranda These are inscriptions Nos 2 and 3, the latter being incised in continuation of the former There are five openings or doorways in the back wall of the veranda of cave No 3, four of which lead into the main hall in the interior, but the remaining one, that on the extreme left or east, leads into a small chamber Now the position of this chamber is significant As it stands now, this chamber forms one member of a row of cells, on the eastern side of the great hall Now, this central hall has rows of cells on the western, southern, and eastern sides, all of which, except this one in the north-eastern corner, have a door leading to the central hall But this chamber in the extreme north-eastern corner of the east row has no door by which one may enter the central hall, and the only opening in this cell leads to the veranda on the outside The corresponding cell, on the western side of the central hall, opens on the central hall and not on the veranda The position of this

chamber clearly indicates that it was an earlier excavation which was merely incorporated in the later excavations. The position of the inscriptions on the eastern wall of the veranda also indicate that they were incised before the enlargement of the smaller, but earlier, excavation. The enlargement of the veranda makes it extremely difficult to determine what the front of this earlier excavation was like, but a stone bench or bed along the eastern wall of the veranda probably indicates that the present veranda was a long narrow cell before its conversion The open space in the front of the cave, which has been excavated out of the solid rock, probably contained a small veranda, and the original opening of this earlier excavation

We may now turn to the inscriptions on the back wall of the veranda of the cave Inscription No 2 records the excavation of a cave on mount Tiranhu by the queen-mother Gautamī Balaśrī, the mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarni, in the year 19 of the reign of her grandson Śrī Vāsisthīputra Pulumāyi The last line of inscription No 2 records the grant of the village of Pisājipadaka by the grandson of the queen-mother, evidently Vāsisthīputra Pulumāyi, as he is called the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha The next record, inscription No. 3, which is incised in continuation of No 2, can be divided into two different parts (a) the first part records the grant of the village of Samalipada in lieu of the village of Sudisaṇā to the sect of Bhadrāyanīyas dwelling in the queen's cave in the year 19 of Pulumāyi's reign, (b) the second part merely consists of the information that the deed of the grant was delivered in the year 22

We have therefore four different inscriptions and four different dates in cave No 3 —

(a) The year 18—the first day of the second week of the rainy season—grant of a piece of land previously enjoyed by Usavadāta to the Tekirasi ascetics by a verbal order of the king Gautamīputra Śātakarni, the deed of grant being delivered on the date mentioned above

(*b*) The year 19 of the reign of Śrī Vāsisthīputra Pulumāyi—second week of summer, 13th day—excavation of a cave by the queen-mother Gautamī Balaśrī, the grandmother of Pulumāyi, and the grant of the village of Pisājipadaka for the painting of the cave by (?) Pulumāyi

(*c*) The year 22—week of summer, 7th day—delivery of the deed of grant by Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulumāyi of the village of Samalipada in lieu of Sudisanā granted to the Bhadrāyanīya Śramanas in the year 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi on the 13th day of the second month of summer There is a difference of opinion about the donor of the village of Sudisanā Messrs Bhagwan Lal Indraji, Buhler, and Senart taking the Śramanas of Dhanakata to be the donors and Messrs Bhandarkar, specially Mr D R Bhandarkar, reading *Dhanakata-sāminehi* instead of *Dhanakata-samanehi* and taken it to mean Gautamīputra Śātakarni

(*d*) The year 24—fourth fortnight of the rainy season—the grant of a piece of land to the mendicant ascetics living in the caves, which was the gift of the king in lieu of the land granted in (*a*) In this inscription the mother of the king is associated with King Gautamīputra Śātakarni

The exact significance of these inscriptions have been examined at length by me in the first paper on the subject But the following statements have recently appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* "Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, on the other hand, contends that all these dates pertain to the reign of Pulumāyi, and that he reigned conjointly with his father, the former over Mahārāshtra and the latter over the hereditary Sātavahana dominions The latter view alone can be correct For in inscription No 5 Gautamīputra Śātakarni, who is the donor there along with his mother, issues a grant in favour of the Buddhist monks, who, it is expressly stated, were staying in the cave which was the pious gift of theirs This cave, which was the pious gift of Śātakarni and his mother, must doubtless be cave No. 3, which, as we have seen, was excavated and given over to the Bhadrāyanīyas But then we have also seen that

this cave was presented to these monks in the 19th regnal year, not of Sātakarni but of Pulumāyi Inscription No. 2 does not leave us in any doubt on this point. Evidently Śātakarni was living when the cave was granted to the Bhadrāyanīyas, otherwise how could he possibly make any grant to these monks while they were dwelling in the cave presented to them? Further, as inscription No 2 is dated in the reign of Pulumāyi, notwithstanding that his father Śātakarni was alive, the only possible conclusion is that the former was ruling over Mahārāshtra and the latter over the old Andhra territory, and that consequently all the dates of the inscriptions just noted must refer to the reign of Pulumāyi alone "[1]

There are several omissions in the presentation of facts in the extract quoted above In inscription No 2, the principal object of which is to record the gift of a cave by the Queen-mother Gautamī Balaśrī, Gautamīputra Śātakarni is not associated with his mother in the gift of cave No 3, but he associates his mother with him, in inscription No 5, in the gift of the new field, in lieu of the one granted in inscription No 4 Secondly, inscriptions Nos 2, 3, 4, and 5 are grouped separately. Thus we find inscriptions Nos 4 and 5 on the east wall of the veranda in cave No 3 and Nos 2 and 3 in the back or south wall of the same cave The exact significance of this arrangement does seem to have struck the author of the history of ' Dekkan of the Śātavāhana period "

If the dates of the different inscriptions in cave No 3 are regnal years of Pulumāyi, then we are faced with a difficult problem Gautamīputra Śātakarni is not associated with his mother Gautamī Balaśrī in the gift of the cave which is the object of inscription No 2 This event took place in the year 19 of the reign of Pulumayi In inscription No 5 Pulumayi's father Gautamīputra Śātakarni refers to a cave which was his own gift or his joint gift with his mother. The donation of this cave, which is mentioned in inscription No. 5, must have happened shortly before the date in that inscription. How is

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xlvii, pp. 152–3.

it, then, that a cave which was dedicated by Gautamī Balaśrī in the year 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi is claimed by her son Śātakarṇi, five years afterwards, to be his own gift, especially when Gautamīputra Śātakarni is not recognized as one of the donors in inscription No 2? Had the cave given by Gautamī Balaśrī in the year 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi been the same as that which her son Śātakarni claims as his own benefaction, then there must have been some mention, or even an association of Gautamīputra Śātakarni with his mother Balaśrī, in inscription No 2 The absence of such mention or association proves that—

(a) The cave dedicated by Gautamī Balaśrī in the year 19 of the reign of her grandson Pulumāyi was different from that which Śātakarni calls his own benefaction, or that jointly with his mother in inscription No 5, and

(b) Gautamīputra Śātakarni had ceased to live at the date of the gift of the cave by his mother Gautamī Balaśrī

There is additional proof of this fact in inscription No 2 itself The way in which Gautamīputra Śātakarni is extolled in the first part of the record shows that there was no intention on the part of his mother to leave out his name or to refuse to dedicate the cave jointly with him on account of any quarrel or misunderstanding The cave was given at a time when Balaśrī's son was not living and her grandson Vāsiṣthīputra Pulumayi was reigning in his stead

Finally, we have to consider the question of inscription No. 4 This inscription records the gift of a field of 200 *Nivartanas*, called Ajakālakiya, in the village of Western Kakhaḍi to the Tekirasi asectics according to the verbal order of King Gautamīputra Śātakarni The deed of this grant was given in the year 18 This inscription is incised near the top of the eastern wall of the veranda cave No 3, and was most probably incised on the date mentioned—the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year 18—or a few days afterwards Now, if all dates of the inscriptions in cave No. 3 at Nasik are to be referred to the reign of Pulu-

māyi, then how is it that an inscription was incised in the 18th regnal year of Pulumāyi inside the wall of a cave, which was dedicated almost twelve months afterwards, on the 13th day of the second fortnight of summer of the year 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi? Consequently, it is evident that a portion of cave No 3 must have existed about the time of the incision of inscription No 4 quite a year before the dedication of cave 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the cave which is called *umha-dhama-dāne lene* in inscription No 5 by Gautamīputra Śātakarni is not cave No 3 as it stands to-day. The cave to which the phrase, quoted above from inscription No 5, refers was not dedicated in the 19th year of the reign of Pulumāyi Consequently there is no evidence to prove that Gautamīputra Śātakarni was alive at the date of the dedication of cave No 3 by his mother Gautamī Balaśrī or its gift to the Bhadrāyanīya monks The grants of land made by Gautamīputra Śātakarni which are recorded in inscriptions Nos 4 and 5 were not given to the monks living in the larger cave (cave No 3 as it stands to-day) excavated by his mother, but to the ascetics living in the smaller cave in the north-eastern corner of cave No 3, who are called the Tekirasi ascetics in inscription No 4 Further, now that there is no evidence to prove that Gautamīputra Śātakarni was living in the year 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi, it cannot be admitted that Pulumāyi was ruling over the Mahārāstra and Śātakarṇi over the old Andhra territory

Some curious observations have appeared about Nahapāna in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1918 which are very difficult to believe, as they are not supported by any evidence We are told that "the reign of Nahapāna, though it began gloriously, came to a disastrous end He was defeated and killed by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty".[1] This statement would have been a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the history of the period and the locality,

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xlvii, 1918, p. 149.

had it been based on truth But, unfortunately for us, no evidence has been discovered about the glories of the beginning of the reign of Nahapāna or its disastrous end Nahapāna may have inherited his territories from an ancestor and may not have acquired any by his own prowess So much so for the glorious beginning We know from inscriptions that he was reigning up to the year 46 either of his reign or of some unspecified era We know from coins that some coins bearing his name were restruck by Gautamīputra Śātakarni, which can only prove that the date of Gautamīputra Śātakarni is later than that of Nahapāna, or at the utmost that Gautamīputra ruled over a portion of the territory possessed by Nahapāna In inscription No 2 at Nasik, incised in the year 19 of the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarni s son Vāsisthīputra Pulumāyi, it is stated of the former that he exterminated the Khakharāta race, but it does not mention that it was Gautamīputra Śātakarni who killed Nahapāna in battle Śātakarni may have defeated the sons or descendants of Nahapāna and the Khakharātas may have been exterminated in cold blood after their defeat in battle It is certain that no evidence has been discovered and published on the basis of which it may be stated that Gautamīputra Śātakarni killed Nahapāna in battle

In the second place, we are informed by the same writer that Śātakarni killed "if not all Kshaharātas, at least those who ruled over Mahārāshtra, Gujarat, and Central India Otherwise there is no sense in his being represented to have re-established the glory of the Śātavāhana dynasty" One fails to understand why it is necessary to kill the Kshaharātas who ruled over Mahārāstra, Gujarat, and Central India in order to establish the glory of the Sātavāhana family Is not defeat and occupation of their territories sufficient? Another possibility seems to have escaped this writer, the Khakharātas may have survived their loss of territories by escape.

Regarding the relation of Cāṣṭana to Nahapāna we are told by the same writer, "It appears that after the destruction

of the Kshaharāta family the Kushana overlord appointed Cāstana to be a satrap and dispatched him to save as much as possible from the clutches of the Sātavāhanas." [1] The only known Kushan satraps are the Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kṣatrapa Vanaspara, who are mentioned in the Sarnath image inscription of the year 3 of the reign of Kāniṣka I [2] As these satraps are not known to have issued coins, one of the generally recognized appurtenances of royalty or independence in the East, or to have assumed the title *rājan*—it is very difficult to believe that satraps who assumed the title *rājan* or issued coins in their own names were really satraps employed by the Emperors of the Kushan dynasty The suggestion of Messrs Rapson and Smith that Cāstana was a satrap of the Kushan family is not easily acceptable

We are now asked to believe in another instance of simultaneous reign—that of Cāstana and his grandson Rudradāman Dr R C Majumdar, of the Calcutta University, has kindly offered the suggestion that the date (of the Andhau inscriptions) had better be referred to the conjoint reign of Cāsṭana and Rudradāman Consequently it is stated that "It appears in the year 52 (= A D 130) Cāsṭana was Mahākṣatrapa and his grandson Rudradāman the Kṣatrapa governing Kachchha and Surāṣtra" [3] As no evidence is forthcoming to prove the joint reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarni and his son Pulumāyi, this theory of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was not accepted anywhere by anybody In the absence of any other corroborative evidence it is also very difficult to believe that Cāsṭana ruled conjointly with his son Jayadāman or his grandson Rudradāman The Andhau inscriptions add the epithet *Rājan* before Cāstana and Rudradāman, and consequently we have no right to assume that Cāstana was a Mahākṣatrapa and Rudradāman a Kṣatrapa in the year 52 of the Śaka era. The ignorance betrayed by the composer or scribe of the four

[1] Ibid, p 153 [2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, pp 176, 179.
[3] *Indian Antiquary*, vol xlvii, 1918, p 154, n 26.

Andhau inscriptions, now in the Bhuj Museum, is manifested by the omission of the usual titles of Cāstana as well as Rudradāman, e g Mahākṣatrapa, and it seems that he was also ignorant of the true relationship between Cāstana and Rudradāman The omission of the word *pautrasa* in the Andhau records is therefore not due to the joint reign of Cāstana and Rudradāman, but to the ignorance of the scribe as to their true relationship

The Andhau inscriptions prove that Kaccha (Cutch) was in the possession of Rudradāman in the year 52 of the Śaka year. It cannot therefore be admitted that Kaccha was in the possession of Gautamīputra Śātakarni in the Śaka year 67=A D 145=the 19th year of the reign of Pulumāyi In order to be so, this province must have been conquered by Gautamīputra Śātakarni some time earlier, i e between Śaka 52=A D 130 and Śaka 67=A D 145. We have no evidence to prove that Kaccha or Cutch was wrested from Rudradāman by any one of the Sātavāhana family and reconquered by him The boast of Rudradāman, that he had won the title of Mahākṣatrapa for himself,[1] is another obstacle in the way of the joint reign theory If Rudradāman was a Kṣatrapa when Cāstana was a Mahākṣatrapa in the year 52, then it cannot be correctly stated that he had acquired the title of Mahākṣatrapa for himself, because he may have inherited that title from his father in due course A portion of his hereditary dominions may have passed into the hands of others, but that change in the size of his ancestral territory would not affect his succession to the title The general tenor of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman proves conclusively that he founded a new kingdom and conquered all the countries that are mentioned in that record The dominions of Cāstana, of the size or area of which we have no idea, seem to have been conquered by some other chieftain at the end of his reign The only reference to Cāṣtana is that in Ptolemy's work, that he was ruling at Ujjain when Siro Polemaios was reigning at Baithana

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol viii, p. 44.

and Baleokouros at Hippokoura. The fact that Cāṣṭana struck coins in his own name proves that he was an independent sovereign. The use of the title "satrap" shows that he was either a descendant or successor of the provincial satraps of the older pre-Kushan Śaka monarchs, who had assumed royal privileges on the decline of the Central power, e.g. Liaka Kuśulaka, Patika, Śomdāsa, Rañjubula, etc. The Andhau inscriptions prove that he had ceased to live before the Śaka year 52 = A.D. 130. Most probably the kingdom of Cāstana in Malwa was conquered by the great-Kushan Emperors in the first or second decade of the Śaka era, as Mālava, Eastern Mālava at least, was included in the Kushan Empire before the year 28, as proved by the Sanchi inscription of that year of Vāsiska.[1] The Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman also prove that he had started his career of conquest some time before the year 52 = A.D. 130. The issue of silver coins, on the model of the coinage of his ancestor Cāstana, proves definitely that Rudradāman was not a satrap of the Kushan Empire, and that he owed no allegiance to the Emperors of that dynasty.

As Rudradāman had already started conquering the provinces mentioned in his Junagadh inscription some time before the Śaka year 52, the conquest of these provinces by Gautamīputra Sātakarni cannot have been effected in a year or two after the last date of Nahapāna, i.e. the year 46, which is now referred to the Śaka era by the majority of scholars, and therefore it is not possible to place the overthrow of Nahapāna in A.D. 126. If the year 46 of the Junnar inscription is to be referred to the Śaka era, then it is impossible to place the conquests of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in or shortly after that date, because some time must have elapsed after the fall of Nahapāna or that of the particular successor of Nahapāna who was overthrown by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the latter's consolidation of his conquests. Again, some time must have elapsed between the conquests of Gautamī-

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 369–70.

putra and those of Rudradāman, which latter must have begun before the year 52 of the Śaka era Two possibilities offer themselves, viz (1) that the dates in the Nasik and Junnar inscriptions of Nahapāna must be referred to some other era than the Śaka era, and (2) that the dates in the Nasik and Junnar inscriptions of Nahapāna are regnal years It has been already proved by me that the dates in dated Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions discovered in Northern India must be referred to more than two eras [1] One of these eras may have been employed by Nahapāna

Palæography also points to the same conclusion The difference of forms between the letters of the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapāna and those used in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman indicates that the difference between the dates of these two princes must be more than a century As a matter of fact, Mr D R Bhandarkar had already stated that the alphabet of the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta is earlier than that employed in the inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa or Śomdāsa,[2] a statement which is perfectly accurate It is very difficult to understand how the same author now proposes to place Nahapāna in the year 46 of the Śaka era, makes Cāṣṭana his contemporary, and calls the latter a Kushan satrap If Nahapāna be earlier than Śodāsa or Somdāsa, it is impossible to make Cāṣṭana and Rudradāman Kushan satraps, as it is impossible to place Śodāsa within a century before Kāṇiṣka

A comparison of the alphabet of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman with the Nasik inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna proves definitely that the difference between these two sets of epigraphs is considerable, and that the difference between the dates of Nahapāna and Rudradāman cannot be less than a century It is no longer necessary to refer to Bühler's tables for the purpose of a palæographical examina-

[1] *Ante*, 1920, pp. 216-19

[2] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol xx, p. 275.

tion, as the late Professor Kielhorn and M. É. Senart have published excellent estampages of both inscriptions.

Among vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *e* are common to Nasik cave inscription No 10 and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman There is no change in *i* or *e*. In the case of *a* we find that the lower left limb has been converted into a hook and is, in the case of the Junagadh inscription, shorter in size than the upper, cf *Aśokasya* (l 8), *anutsādanāt* (l. 12) In the case of the Nasik inscription there is no appreciable difference between the lengths of the upper and lower left limbs, and the hook is entirely absent The form of *a* used in the Junagadh inscription reminds one of the forms used in the Kushan inscriptions of the North, notably that used in the Sarnath pillar inscription of the year 3 of Kāniska (cf *antevāsikehi*). Similarly we find the lower left limb of *ā*, which is derived from *a*, in the form used in the Junagadh inscription has turned into a short angular hook, but we find the older shape of the left limb, e g a slight curve, in the form of *ā* used in the Nasik cave inscription (cf *ārāma*, l 2)

Turning to consonants, we find differences in the forms of almost each and every letter so very marked as to make the acceptance of a difference of two or three decades between the last known dates of Nahapāna and the earliest known dates of Rudradāman absolutely impossible

Ka is, in the case of the Nasik inscription, a perfect Latin cross in shape with the exception of the fact that the lower extremity of the vertical line is slightly curved The form used in all cases in the Junagadh inscription shows that the horizontal line of the cross has become a curve, a form we find commonly in inscriptions of the later Kushan period, and that the curvature of the lower part of the vertical line has become more pronounced This particular form of *ka* is indeed absent from early Kushan inscriptions, e.g. the Sarnath and Saheth Maheth inscriptions,[1] and is generally to

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol viii, pp. 176–81.

be found in inscriptions of the later period of the reigns of Huviṣka and Vāsudeva

It is rather difficult to institute a comparison between the forms of *kha* used in Nasik and Junagadh inscriptions In Nasik inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna the form of *kha* used is of a different variety from that used in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman In the former the curve which forms the upper part of the letter ends in nothing, while in the latter the short vertical line ends in a well-formed triangle This form, however, resembles the forms used in the Sarnath inscriptions of the year 3 of the reign of Kaṇiska

There is not much difference in the case of the forms of *ga* used in these two inscriptions, as in both cases the round broad-backed form has been used In the case of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman the form used shows a tendency in the left lower end to curl inwards or towards the right There is also no difference in the forms of *gha* used in both of these inscriptions, cf *Saghasa* (Nasik No 10, l 5) and *ghora* (Junagadh, l 7)

The difference in the forms of *ca* is also very slight, as is to be expected in the case of inscriptions of this period, but in the case of the forms of the Junagadh inscription there is a marked tendency towards the formation of an angle in the right half of the lower curve, a formation more common in Kushan inscriptions (cf *ca* in l 9 of the Sarnath pillar inscription)

The form of *cha* used in Nasik inscription No 10 in the word *Bharukache* is perhaps the precursor of the form which has been styled "butterfly" type in a recent memoir of the Archæological Department of India [1] In this particular case the curve on the left of the vertical line does not form a complete loop like that on the right, but rises high and merges itself in the vertical straight line, at the end of which two loops are formed in the later or butterfly form The butterfly or the bipartite

[1] *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey*, No 1, p 2

form of *cha* is to be found in all cases in the Junagadh inscription as well as in Kushana inscriptions.

The form of *ja* does not differ in these two inscriptions, while *jha* does not occur in the Nasik inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna. *Ñā* occurs in ligatures in both inscriptions and separately in Nasik inscription No. 10 in *amñātiyā* (l 3). The word *Rājña* occurs in both the Nasik and Junagadh records, and in this we find that the form used in the Nasik inscription in the word *Rājñah* (l 1) is angular and the lower end of the vertical straight line is not curved The form of this consonant in the same ligature in the Junagadh inscription (l 8) shows that the lower end of the vertical straight line curves a good deal towards the left The acute angle in the projection towards the left, which is a straight line in the form used in the Nasik inscription, projects slightly upwards, and the angle in the right limb disappears altogether and softens into a curve

The forms of *ta* used in these two inscriptions do not differ, and *tha* does not occur in both records. In *da* we find that the back of the letter, which, in the form used in the Nasik inscription, is perfectly round, is not so in the case of that used in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman. In the case of the latter the back of the consonant has become hunched by the formation of an angle (cf *sodaśa* in l. 1 of Nasik cave inscription No 10 with *tadākam* in l 1 of the Junagadh inscription) Similarly we find that *dha*, which is derived from *da*, is hunchbacked in the Junagadh inscription (cf. *drdha*, l. 1), but has a nice round smooth back in the Nasik cave inscription (cf *podhiyo*, l 3) The form of *dha* in the word *avagādhena* (l 8) of the Junagadh inscription is a mistake of the scribe, who wrote out a *pha* in mistake for a *dha*, as is shown by the form of *pha* in *sphuta* (l. 14)

While the base line of the *na* is straight in all cases in the Nasik cave inscriptions, it is *always* a curve in the Junagadh record In this connexion it should be noted that the base line of *ṇa* is not curved in the Sarnath pillar inscription of the year 3 of the reign of Kāniṣka.

The form of *ta* used in the Nasik inscription shows that in the left arm of the curve, which forms the lower part of the letter, there is a distinct tendency to coalesce and form a vertical straight line in conjunction with the short vertical straight line which stands on the back of the curve, cf the form in *Uṣavadātena* (l 1) This is reversed in the case of the form used in all cases in the Junagadh rock inscription Here the short vertical straight line on the top of the curve has a tendency to coalesce with the right arm of the curve cf *taḍākam* (l 1) In many cases the form of this consonant is normal, i e the short vertical straight line stands on the top of the curve and shows no tendency to coalesce with either of its sides cf *jātena* (l 2)

The form of *tha* used in both of these inscriptions is the same The only difference noticeable in the case of *da* is the hunchbacked form of the Junagadh inscription, which shows a well-formed angle in the place of the smooth curve in the back of the form used in the Nasik inscription The form of *dha* used in the Nasik inscription is broader than that to be found in the Junagadh inscription *Na* shows the same difference as the cerebral *ṇa*, which is the absence of the curve in the base line, in the case of the Nasik inscription, and its presence in all cases in the Junagadh record

The form of *pa* used in the Nasik inscriptions shows that in all cases—

(1) There is no serif on the top of the vertical lines

(2) Both of the vertical lines are perfectly straight, and

(3) that both of them stand perpendicular to the base line, i e. form right angles with it

In the case of the forms of the same consonant used in the Junagadh inscription we find that—

(1) In the majority of cases the serif or *mātrā* is to be found on both the vertical lines, cf *kṣatrapa* (l. 4) and *Palāśinī* (l. 6).

(2) In certain cases the vertical line on the left is not straight, and therefore

(3) forms an acute angle and an obtuse angle instead of two right angles with the base; cf. *opala* (l. 1).

Pha is not present in both inscriptions and therefore must be left out of consideration in this comparison. In the case of *ba* we find that the form is a perfect square in the case of the Nasik inscription (cf *Bārnāsāyām*, l. 1), while in the form used in the Junagadh inscription the left vertical side of the square is curved instead of being perfectly straight (cf *baddha*, l 1)

In the case of *bha* the curve on the left is simple in shape in the Nasik inscription, while in the case of the Junagadh inscription the curve is more pronounced and shows a tendency to form a spiral, cf *Usavadātena* (l 1 of Nasik inscription No 10) and *n-ādibhir* (l 3 of the Junagadh rock inscription of Rudradāman) There is no change in the form of *ma*.

The form of *ya* used in the Nasik inscriptions shows that all three vertical lines are equal in height and that there is no scroll-like formation at the end of the left vertical line. In the case of the Junagadh inscription we find that *ya* is still tripartite in form, but the verticals are no longer equal in height As a matter of fact, in the majority of cases the central vertical line is the highest the left now ends in a scroll. In one case only is the height of the central and right verticals equal, cf. *upacaye* (l 3) This form of *ya*, used in the majority of cases in the Junagadh record, is the Gupta-Kushan form, which persisted in Northern India till about the sixth century A D

The lower part of *ra* is very slightly curved in the form used in the Nasik inscription, but the curve is very prominent in forms used in the Junagadh inscription. In *La* we find that the left vertical limb consists of a curved line rising upwards and to the left from the left end of the base line, while the right limb is a straight line ending in a slight curve towards the right in the Nasik inscription; cf. *catuśālā* (l. 2 of inscription No 10). In the forms used in the Junagadh inscription we find that the right limb consists of a very short vertical

straight line, standing at right angles to and at the right end of the base line, to the upper end of which is attached a long and distinct curve to the left

There is in the Junagadh inscription another peculiar form of *la* which has been used in one or two cases only This form shows the suppression of the base line, as in the form of *la*, used in the Eastern variety of the Northern alphabet (also called the Eastern variety of the Early Gupta alphabet) of the fourth and fifth centuries A D, which has been used in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta In the case of the Junagadh inscription the right limb has a distinct curve at the upper extremity, while the base line is absent cf. *Kulaipa* (l 19), *pālana* (l 18)

The form of *va* used in the Nasik inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna consists of a perfect equilateral triangle with a short horizontal straight line standing on its apex The forms used in the Junagadh inscription show that this vertical straight line has disappeared and the lower part of the letter consists either of an obtuse-angled triangle (cf *vihita*, l 2) or of an irregular circle (cf *vidhvamsinā*, l 6)

The form of *sa* used in the Nasik cave inscript on is a cursive form of the archaic type, in which the pendant from the curved back of the letter is a curve to the right instead of being a straight line as in the inscriptions of Sodāsa or Somdāsa The forms used in the Junagadh inscription show in some cases (cf *Sudarśana*, l 1) a curve to the left, while in some cases it is a straight line (cf *Palāśinī*, l 6, and *sadrsa*, ll. 6-7)

In the cerebral *sa* of both the records we find that the central cross-bar does not touch the right vertical line and is formed of straight lines In some cases only in the Junagadh inscription we find that the left vertical line is a distinct curve instead of a straight line (cf *pratisthāpakena*, l 12)

The forms of the dental sibilant used in the Nasik cave inscriptions of the period of Nahapāna do not show any acute angle in the left end of the right limb or an angular hook-shaped

downward projection This projection is in all cases a perfect curve In the Junagadh inscription we find that in all cases the acute angle is present at the left side of the right vertical and the left limb has an angular hook-shaped projection hanging from it instead of a curve.

The form of *ha* used in the Nasik inscriptions of the period of Nahapāna shows that the right and left vertical lines are perfectly straight and equal in length and form right angles with the base line Also a short straight horizontal line projects at right angles from the upper extremity of the right vertical line towards the right

The forms used in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman show that in all cases the short straight horizontal line has changed into a curve and that the vertical lines are no longer straight or equal in length Thus both vertical lines are curved and do not form right angles with the base line in *vihita* (l 2). The left vertical line, which is straight, is higher than the right-hand one in *mahati* (l 3) The vertical limbs are equal in height in *hasta* (l 8) and in some other cases, but both of them are no longer straight lines

It cannot therefore be maintained that Nahapāna and Rudradāman lived in the same century and the difference in their dates is less than a century

November, 1923

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The essay should be designated by a motto and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his post-office address, and should reach the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute on or before the 5th July, 1925

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Analysis of Meaning in the Indian Philosophy of Language

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I. Meaning as a Relation

MEANING has been defined by the majority of ancient Indian writers on the philosophy of language in terms of a relation Thus, the great grammarian Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa [1] defines meaning as a particular relation between the word and the object denoted This relation is a power,[2] which exists in the object as signifiability, and in the word as significativeness It is only by the cognition of this relation that the presentation of objects by means of words is possible.

The existence of this relation has been traced to the following sources —

(1) The direct instruction of trustworthy authority. As Venkata explains [3] it, the child thus cognizes the relation between the word and the object denoted —When the child's seniors, directly pointing out with the finger various persons and things, say to the child, "This is your uncle," "That is the moon," etc, it is repeatedly instructed in the

[1] *Mañjūṣā* p 28, cf Gangeśa, *Tattva-cintāmani* (iv, ii, p 627), Vijñāna Bhiksu on *Sānkhya Sūtra*, v, 37

[2] According to the grammarians Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Kaunda Bhaṭṭa denotative power resides exclusively in words (*Śabda-kaustubha*, p. 32; *Brihad-Vaiyākarana-Bhūsana*, p 243) The Vedānta, and in a certain sense the Sānkhya, however, maintain that this power resides in objects also Thus the Vedānta assigns the "expressedness" of the jar to the *cid-ābhāsa* "reflected consciousness" (*Pañcadaśī*, chap viii, 4–15). Cf. Benfey on Plato's *Cratylus* (pp 10–11) The existence or absence of this cognitive power in objects is more or less an epistemological question. But from the linguistic point of view mere words cannot serve as the cause of verbal cognition, it is the *relation* between the word and the object which is the most potent factor of that cognition (Gangeśa, *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, iv, ii, p. 540) Cf De Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, p. [illegible]; Otto Jespersen, *Language*, p 113.

[3] *Nyāya-pariśuddhi*, p 395

knowledge of various objects by means of various words The relation is definitely cognized by the child when it finds that it has to understand only particular objects from particular words

(2) Syntactical connexion with words already known As Aniruddha [1] points out, from the sentence, "The bird is eating the mango," the child first understands that the object signified is that which is eating the mango, and then cognizes the relation of that object to the word "bird"

(3) The movements of seniors When a senior employer orders a senior employee with the words "Bring a jar", and when the employee brings the jar, the child standing by first comprehends that the act of bringing a jar is a sequence of the sentence "bring a jar" Then on another occasion the same child hears the sentence "take away the jar" and perceives the consequent act, and thus finding that a variety of acts is connected with the common factor "the jar", it takes this common factor and thus cognizes the relation of the word "jar" to the object jar Viśvanātha [2] calls it a process of assimilation and elimination (*āvāpodvāpa*)

Nāgeśa Bhatta [3] points out in this connexion that the child in this case infers from the action of the senior employee that the latter has a cognition of the word "jar" So the word "jar" is understood to be the cause of the cognition But causality is inconceivable without a relationship, a relation between the word and the object denoted must therefore be recognized [4]

(4) Ordinary usage in the genitive case also indicates the relation between the word and the object denoted Thus we say, "This is the meaning of this word," "this word is the significant of this object" But for a relationship between the two we could not speak of them in this way [5]

[1] *Sāṅkhya-vṛtti*, p 168

[2] *Nyāya siddhānta muktāvalī* (Benares iv, p 15)

[3] *Mañjūṣā* (p 23) Cf Kumārila, *Śloka vārttika*, sūtra 5, verses 140–3.

[4] Cf Bhartṛhari, *Vākya-padīya*, iii, 3, 37

[5] *Vākya-padīya*, iii, 3 3, Vātsyāyana on *Nyāya-Sūtra*, ii, 1, 50

(5) If a relation between the word and the object denoted be not accepted, the restriction as to the denotability of particular words will be invalid. There will be no reason, then, for instance, why the word "jar" should denote only the object "jar" and not the object "cloth". It is cognition of this restriction by which we are led to accept a relation between the word and the object denoted.[1]

(6) Gangeśa[2] thus establishes the duality of the factors of verbal cognition:—A mere word cannot be the cause of cognition. For an object may be cognized even without the knowledge of its name, while sometimes the object denoted is not cognized despite the knowledge of the word. It is only when cognized as member of a relation that the word can serve as a cognitive agent.

Objections to the conception of meaning as a relation

I. To this conception of meaning as a relation it is objected that words do not co-exist with objects, words exist even in the absence of objects. Now, if A exists, or can exist, even in the absence of B, A cannot be said to be related to B. And it is obvious that words often exist even before the creation, or after the destruction, of objects.[3]

II. The word can give us only an abstract idea of innumerable individual objects denoted by it. The word being thus a mere abstraction, it would be irrelevant to assume that the word "cow" is related to the object "cow".[4]

III. In order that there may be a relationship between the word and the object denoted, there should exist some contact between them. But this contact between them is impossible, for the word and the object denoted do not exist in the same place, just as the Vindhya and the Himālayas do not exist in the same place.[5] The relation of conjunction

[1] *Nyāya-Sūtra*, ii, 1, 53. [2] *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, iv, ii, p. 540.
[3] *Vide* the brilliant Jain work, the *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda* (p. 124). Cf. *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra*, vii, 2, 17.
[4] *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*, p. 128.
[5] *Śloka-vārttika*, Sūtra 5, Section *Sambandhākṣepa*, 6–7.

is therefore not possible in the case before us Nor is the **relation** of inherence possible in this case When we use such **expressions** as "a one-eyed man", we have a cognition of **inherence** from the "one-eye", but we cannot similarly **speak** of the object jar as having the word "jar" thus the **expression** "jar-worded jar" would be an absurdity [1]

IV If words denote objects, verbal cognition should be as distinct as sensuous perception [2] If A is not apprehended by the cognition of B, A cannot be called an object cognized through B, i e A cannot be denoted by B For instance, the eye can reveal only the form, but not the smell of a flower We can then say that the eye does not "denote" smell The real significant of the object "burning" is not the word "burning", but the burning sensation If the word were also a similar significant, the utterance of the word "fire" should burn the mouth [3]

In refutation of the above objections the following arguments have been advanced by those who advocate the definition of meaning as a relation --

(1) As regards the objection that words used in the present can have no relation with objects not existing in the present, Vācaspati Miśra explains that a word denotes the universal, including individuals Now, though the universal is constant and imperishable yet, as it includes multitudes of individuals variously dispersed in time and space, it thereby becomes common to being and non-being [4] Mīmāṃsakas of Kumārila's school explain it on the ground that, as reality has aspects or divisions, a tree is cognized from the word "tree", although we may not be able to determine its existence or non-existence in the present from the mere word [5]

(2) The word is not a mere abstraction, for practicality is the criterion of meaning For the word leads the hearer

[1] *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra*, vii, 2, 14
[2] *Prameya kamalamārtaṇḍa*, pp 128–30
[3] Cf *Śloka-vārttika* (ibid), verse 8
[4] *Nyāya-vārttika tātparya ṭīkā*, p 341
[5] *Apoha siddhi*, p 9

either to cognize an object in the external world, or to perform a particular action, or movement towards a particular place.[1] Particular words lead us only to particular practical actions; but if words denoted mere ideas, there would be no restriction on the practical actions connected therewith, and thus the word "water" might direct us to a mirage[2]

(3) Actual contact or conjunction is not necessary for a relation Thus we find a relationship between father and son, although contact is not a necessary element of this relationship.[3]

Moreover, as Vātsyāyana[4] points out, the relation between the word and the object denoted is not productive, but only presentative The cognition or utterance of the word does not actually produce before us the object denoted

(4) Verbal cognition is, no doubt, less distinct than perceptual cognition,[5] but that a means of cognition is less distinct than the other cannot prove its worthlessness as a cognitive agent Thus many objects can be perceived both by touch and by sight, though some of them are cognized more distinctly by touch and others more distinctly by sight In the same way, the word "burning" does not give such a distinct cognition of the fact of burning as the sensation of burning does, yet the comparatively indistinct cognition obtained through the word cannot prove that the fact of burning is not denoted by the word "burning"

(5) In reply to the objection that with the assumption of the relationship between the word and the object denoted the utterance of the word "fire" should burn the mouth, Nāgeśa Bhatta[6] maintains the subjectivity of both the word and the meaning "The meaning exists only in the mind, it has no existence outside the mind" For if the subjectivity

[1] *Prameya kamala-mārtanda*, p 136

[2] The Jain work *Asta-sahasri*, p. 249. Cf William James, *Pragmatism*, p 213

[3] *Śloka vārttika* (ibid)

[4] *Nyāya-Sūtra*, ii, 1, 50–1 *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*, p. 299.

[5] *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*, ibid

[6] *Mañjūṣā*, pp. 45, 240

of meaning be not accepted, if, for example, the word "jar" denotes something existing outside the mind, then the word "is" in the judgment "the jar is" would be superfluous, for by hypothesis the word "jar" means that the object jar exists in the eternal world. And the judgment "the jar is not" would be self-contradictory as there is no subject of which existence cannot be predicated[1] and as by hypothesis the word "jar" means that the object jar does exist in the external world[2]. Thus, the word being subjective and the relation between the word and the object denoted being also subjective, it would be irrelevant to assume that the utterance of the word "fire" should burn the mouth.

The subjectivity of meaning: a criticism

The assumption of the absolute subjectivity of meaning would run counter to the criterion of meaning viz. *practicality*, and would thus establish the unreality of the relation between the word and the object denoted. Moreover, verbal cognition is only less distinct than perceptual cognition, as shown above. The word 'fire' gives us an *idea*[1] of fire, not the sensation of burning. As Nāgeśa himself states in another passage,[3] when we see a mango, our eyes give us, in a general way, a cognition of its taste. But the taste in particular can be cognized only with the tongue. The assumption of the subjectivity of meaning is therefore not necessary for averting the danger of burning our mouths by the utterance of the word "fire", the word being only an indistinct cognitive agent. Again, the assumption of the absolute subjectivity of meaning would establish the unreality of meaning itself. And this is the inevitable conclusion to

[1] Cf. Bradley, *Logic*, p. 115, "every judgment, positive or negative, is in the end existential". Also cf. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, vol. i, p. 272.

[2] Cf. H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, pp. 14–16, Hermann, *Die Sprachwissenschaft nach ihrem Zusammenhange mit Logik*, pp. 97–8. Hermann contrasts language with music, calling the former as an "image of objectivity".

[3] *Mañjūṣā*, p. 459

which Nāgeśa is ultimately driven; for in another passage[1] he remarks that both the word and the meaning are unreal. As regards the superfluity or contradiction involved in connecting "is" or "is not" with a word, compare Vācaspati's explanation already given, that a word denotes the universal including individuals

The above discussion, in which the absolute subjectivity of meaning as maintained by Nāgeśa has been criticized, should not lead us to neglect or underrate the subjective aspect of meaning For, while it is invalid to assume that meaning exists only in the mind, it would be even preposterous to assume that meaning does not exist in the mind Meaning is a relation, and, all relation being an abstraction,[2] it has a subjective aspect But the cognition of this relation must have an objective reference[3] Thus, according to Bhartrhari,[4] though meaning is, directly speaking, a cognition, the object denoted may or may not exist in the mind When the object denoted by the word exists outside the mind, we have first an indeterminate perception of this object, then an idea (as meaning) of the object, then a desire or movement to express that idea, and then the utterance of the word according to our cognition Thus it is the *external object* which in this case is indirectly denoted by the word[5] But the object denoted may sometimes be confined only to the mind, and related to the word only through this mental cognition.

That the cognition of the relation in question must have an objective reference is further confirmed by Gadādhara[6] in his treatment of objectivity Cognition can operate only with reference to an object. But objectivity, he adds, is not

[1] *Mañjūsā*, p 409

[2] Cf Bradley, *Logic*, pp 4–6

[3] Cf Lotze, *Logic*, vol i, pp 14–20, who points out the difference "blue" as a meaning and "blue" as a mere impression—the former being an objectification of the latter Cf Bosanquet, *Logic*, pp 18–19.

[4] *Vākya-padīya*, iii, 3, 33

[5] Helarāja, ibid.

[6] *Vishayatā-vāda*, pp. 3–4 Objectivity according to Gadādhara is a separate category; it equally differs from the object as from cognition.

a mere mental phenomenon, it does not reside only in the mind, it is not merely cognitive For, if objectivity were nothing apart from cognition, there might arise a simultaneous cognition of the jar and a cognition of the absence of the cognition of the jar for by hypothesis, objectivity being mere cognition, it is not bound to any particular object outside the cognition, it may therefore reside in the jar or in the negation of the cognition of the jar There would thus arise a confusion of two concepts on the one hand, the objectivity of the concept "jar which, by hypothesis, is mere cognition, and on the other the objectivity of the negation of that concept, which is also mere cognition

We find a reconciliation of both the subjectivity and objectivity of meaning in the Nyāya school As Gadādhara [1] points out, verbal cognition is determined by the cognition of the object subjectively as well as objectively For, if meaning be absolutely objective and have no reference to a particular knowing subject then when one person comprehends the meaning of a word other persons should also have the same verbal cognition, for the comprehension of the meaning is not bound to any knowing subject If, however, meaning be absolutely subjective then, as the manuscript work [2] *Dharmitāvacchedakatā-pratyāsatti* ' objective cognition " shows, as cognition is an inherent quality of the knowing self, there is no reason why a word should denote only a particular object, for cognition of several other objects also inherently exists in the knowing subject The particularity of the denotation therefore necessitates an objective reference

This reconciliation between the subjective and objective aspects of meaning is further amplified in the Jain work *Aṣṭa-sahasrī*, which (p 251) disputes the view that the word

[1] *Vyutpatti-vāda* (Benares, p 29)

[2] Manuscript No 1269 in the Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu There is unfortunately no mention of the author s name in the MS , but the nature of the paper shows that it must be at least a century old

"soul" denotes only the object soul It points out that the word, cognition and the object are three distinct categories. Thus when we speak of *jīva* "a living being", the word *jīva* refers to an object in the phrase "A jīva should not be killed"; but it refers to a cognition in the phrase "*jīva* is cognized" (as an idea), while it refers to a mere word in the phrase, "He said '*jīva*'" The word, cognition and object therefore refer to three distinct categories, and hence we cannot reduce meaning exclusively to subjectivity or objectivity.[1]

II Meaning as a Negation

While the Hindu and Jain writers on the philosophy of language define meaning in terms of a relation, Buddhist philosophy defines meaning as a negation Moreover, while there is a consensus of opinion among the majority of Indian schools in favour of the reality of the relation between the word and the object denoted, the Buddhist school rejects this view, and holds on the contrary that no relation, such as that of the signifiant and the thing signified, exists between the word the object denoted The word "cow" does not denote the object "cow" It denotes, in the first instance, only the negation (*Apoha*) of objects which are not the cow, e g the horse, etc It is only subsequently, by inference through this exclusion, that the denotation of the word "cow" being the object "cow" is arrived at

The following are said to be the reasons for this negative essence of meaning —

Firstly, it is only by the negation of others that we can conceive of a similarity or community between extremely different objects, just as we can conceive of a community or similarity between different objects such as the cow, the horse, and the elephant only by cognizing them as not-camel So the signification of the word "cow" can represent

[1] Cf Aristotle's reconciliation of both these aspects of meaning in Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, p 186 According to Aristotle language is primarily subjective and consequently objective.

different kinds of cow, the red cow, the black cow, etc , only by the negation of the non-cow Otherwise how can there be a similarity or community between objects so very different as the red and the black ? As it is said, " The red is not the black, but the negation of other than red and black is common to both " [1]

Secondly, in the case of every word we cognize an element which is common to both being and non-being If a word like "cow" had an exclusively positive denotation, it could be connected neither with the predicate ' is not ", as it would be a contradiction nor with the predicate " is ", as it would be superfluous But the cognition of an element which is common both to being and non-being must be due to some cause or a generally inclusive principle As regards the cause, it cannot lie in objects other than the cow, for causality cannot be attributed to other objects if affirmation or identity can be predicated of the cow Hence, as the cognition of this common element must be attributed to some cause, and as that cause is not positively cognized, it must lie in the negation of others [2]

Thirdly, the psychological explanation of the negative essence of meaning has been thus given —According to the Buddhist all perception is indeterminate Objects are directly perceived by the mind independently of words and ideas For, when once an object has revealed itself in its entirety to the mind, what portion of that object is left for words and ideas to cognize ?

What, then, is the scope of words and ideas ? It is only negative and exclusive They serve the only purpose of excluding other objects erroneously recalled to mind [3]

Fourthly, the meaning of a word is directly experienced as an exclusion For, if this exclusion were not cognized in experience, a man ordered to tie a cow might tie a horse, as

[1] *Nyāya-ratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra, *Śloka vārttika*, p 566
[2] *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya ṭīkā*, p 340 Cf *Apoha siddhi*, pp 8–9.
[3] *Nyāya-mañjarī*, pp 303, 306–8

he does not cognize the cow as different from the horse. But, if he does cognize this difference, there is no reason why he should not cognize the negation of the non-cow?[1]

Thus the famous opponents of Buddhism represent the Buddhistic definition of meaning to be exclusively[2] the negation of other objects. The Buddhist philosopher Ratnakīrti,[3] however, propounds a qualified theory of negation, and from the paucity of literature on the subject it is not quite clear whether Ratnakīrti represents the original Buddhistic view or has modified it to meet his opponents. According to this Buddhist philosopher words denote neither a mere affirmation nor a mere negation of other objects. The essence of meaning consists in affirmation qualified by the negation of other objects. He holds that the essence of meaning consists in the *simultaneous* cognition of affirmation and negation. Just as when we use the word *indīvara* (blue lotus) as a synonymn for *nīlotpala* (blue lotus) and comprehend its meaning being the blue lotus—just as at that very moment the simultaneous cognition of "blue" is unavoidable, so, when the word "cow" is used to denote the negation of the non-cow, the simultaneous (positive) cognition of the cow, as qualified by the cognition of the negation of the non-cow, is unavoidable. The word "cow" therefore denotes something positive qualified by the negation of the non-cow. By the word positive is meant a reference to the external object, determinate but excluded from other objects. If this reference to an external object were absent, all practical activity would be impossible.[4]

[1] *Nyāya vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*, p. 340.

[2] Cf. a similar theory in recent times. Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Genérale*, pp. 167–75. In language, he says, there are only differences without positive terms. The exact characteristic of terms is of being that which others are not. But, as Bosanquet rightly points out (*Logic*, vol. i, p. 19), every word must fundamentally have a positive content—a fact which Saussure's assertion has not disproved.

[3] Apoha-siddhi in *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts*, by Haraprasāda Śāstrī.

[4] *Apoha-siddhi*, pp. 6–16.

Objections to the definition of meaning as a negation

The conception of meaning as a negation has been disputed in several works on Hindu and Jain philosophy The following are the main objections to this theory —

(1) Cognition of community or similarity between different objects is impossible without the conception of a positive entity, *class*, which the Buddhist does not accept Thus, according to the Buddhist the community or similarity between the black cow and the red cow consists in the fact that both the expressions negative the non-cow But without the conception of a positive entity, *class*, the expression "black cow" will be only a contradiction For what is the meaning of "black cow" according to the Buddhist? On the one hand it means the negation of the non-cow, while on the other hand it means the negation of the non-black, say of red cows Now it is apparent that the first aspect of the negation, viz the negation of the non-cow, is equivalent to *all* kinds of cows, whether non-black or black, while at the same time the expression excludes the non-black cows The expression "black cow" would therefore signify both the black and the non-black cows at the same time, which is evidently a contradiction With the conception of a positive entity, *class*, however, we cognize a positive form "cow", which is common to all the black and the non-black cows [1] If it be objected that the object cognized by indeterminate perception refers only to differentiating attributes, then how does the cognition of community or generality arise at the same time? [2] Thus, when we perceive four fingers together in a single glance, we cognize them not only individually differentiated from one another, but also positively knit together by one bond of community, viz the peculiar form common to all fingers Even on first perception identity and difference are perceived

(2) What is this imperial decree, asks Jayanta Bhaṭṭa,[3] which requires the object to be cognized only by the first

[1] *Śloka-vārttika*, p 567 [2] *Nyāya-mañjarī*, p 309 [3] Ibid.

perception, and not subsequently by other means of cognition—words and ideas? And, even if the superfluity of words and ideas may be accepted, it does not prove that words and ideas do not denote any real object. A block of ice is certainly superfluous and unnecessary for a man who has no thirst; but this superfluity of the ice does not prove it to be silver.[1]

(3) The logical contradiction involved in connecting "is" or "is not" with a word is removed by the conception of the universal or by the assumption of affirmation and negation as the aspects of reality

(4) All negation has a positive basis Negation of a thing positively unknown is impossible Even such apparently negative expressions as "non-Brahman" signify a positive entity, viz the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra.[2] Moreover, the negation may be specific negation or bare negation Now specific negation implies acceptance of affirmation It should mean something that generally excludes all that does not distinctly belong to the cow as a class. But, if it is bare negation, it would make all words nonsensical. It would mean the negation of all existence and all difference.[3]

(5) With the assumption of the theory of negation, the relation of attribute and substance will be impossible According to Dinnāga[4] the expression "blue lotus" signifies the negation of the relation "non-blue non-lotus". But how can A be said to be the attribute of B, unless there is a positive relation between A and B? The attribute must colour the substance with its own nature Thus the term "blue" in "blue lotus" does not give the idea of "red" in the lotus; it positively colours, as it were, the substance lotus with its quality "blue"[5]

(6) With the negative essence of meaning, grammatical forms would be inexplicable. Thus the various meanings of

[1] Ibid

[2] *Śloka-vārttika*, p 569

[3] *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*, chap. IV. Cf. Caird's *Hegel*, p. [illegible]

[4] *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*, ibid.

[5] Cf. *Śloka-vārttika*, pp. 596, 597.

the imperative will be inexplicable, for the negation of "other-than-bring" cannot give us an idea of the command involved in the judgment "bring a jar"[1] The particles "and", "thus", etc, will have no meaning Similarly, the particle "no" will mean the negation of the "non-no", and the word negation will signify the "negation of non-negation", which will be nonsensical[2]

Conclusion

We thus find two main lines of philosophical opinion on the definition of meaning, the one emphasizing its positive, and the other its negative aspect It is true that the act of Naming is an act of selection and selection means the exclusion, i e the negation, of others But this is only one side of the shield For thinking as well as naming is not only distinction, it is at the same time *relation* If naming marks off one thing from another, it at the same time *connects* one thing with another We have seen this reconciliation between the affirmative and negative aspects of meaning as expounded by the Buddhist philosopher Ratnakīrti and the Hindu philosopher Jayanta Bhatta

But this reconciliation is only a metaphysical abstraction In the more concrete Science of Language it is easy to discern which of these aspects is actually predominant If *practicality*, as has been shown above, is the criterion of meaning, the question arises, does negation actually appeal to our concrete thinking and common sense as the essence of meaning when we hear a word? To quote Kumārila's example again, when we command our servant to bring a jar, does the word "bring" immediately start in our servant's mind an idea

[1] Ibid

[2] *Nyāya-mañjarī*, p 305 In this connexion Helarāja, the commentator of the *Vākya-padīya* (iii, 3, 42), quotes an interesting couplet which means "Negation cannot be predicated of the existing, it does not exist in the non-existing, so there goes to death Negation in this universe!"

"na satām ca niṣedhosti so'satsu ca na vidyate
Jagatyanena nyāyena nañarthaḥ pralayam gataḥ"

of the negation of non-bringing, or does it induce in his mind positive ideas related to the process of bringing? Common sense and concrete thinking must confirm the latter view, while psychology also must corroborate the fact that an actual modification of consciousness related to the word "bring" does take place in the mind of the servant For it has been already shown above that the word, by direct association, at once starts relative ideas in the hearer's mind, though the original act of Naming may have been partly actuated by Negation Again, if we apply the same test of *practicality* to the logical side of meaning, we shall find that a name generally stands, not for one individual, but *connects* a logical group, viz a community of which that individual is a member. And by this very relation negation is also implied. Thus Gautama has pointed out that the cognition of the limitation as to the denotability of words leads us to accept a relation between the word and the object denoted. We then cognize that the word "jar" is related to the object jar, and not to the object cloth As the author of the *Nyāya-mañjarī* (p 317) says in this connexion, we of course necessarily differentiate a thing from other things when we have particularly determined its nature, as in the judgment "The jar is a jar, and not a cloth", but this fact should not lead us to suppose that we cognize only a negative object.

Definition of meaning as a relation is therefore more sound, logically as well as psychologically

October, 1923

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1 Le bureau de la fondation n a pas subi de modifications depuis novembre, 1923, et est ainsi composé C Snouck Hurgronje (président) M Th Houtsma, Tj De Boer, J J Salverda de Grave et C Van Vollenhoven (sécrétaire-trésorier)

2 Le bureau est heureux d'avoir pu faire paraître dans l'année écoulée comme septième publication de la fondation, "Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes ubersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erlauterungen versehen von Dr S Van den Bergh"

3 Des six publications antérieures de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E J Brill, aux prix marqués (1) *Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de Hamâsah de al-Buhturî* (1909) fl 96 (2) *Kitâb al-Fâkhir de al-Mufaddal* éd C A Storey (1915), fl 6, (3) *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*, par I Goldziher (1916), fl 4, 50 (4) *The Book of the Dove de Bar Hebraeus*, éd A J Wensinck (1919), fl 4, 50, (5) *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat in Yemen*, par C Van Arendonk (1919), fl 6, (6) *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I Goldziher (1920), fl 10

Novembre, 1924

The Babylonian Ritual for the Consecration and Induction of a Divine Statue

By SIDNEY SMITH

(PLATES II–IV)

ATTENTION has recently been called by Dr Blackman[1] to an important ritual text of Babylonian origin, of which the only versions hitherto known, from Ashurbanipal's library, were published by Professor Zimmern[2] The editor of these texts has pointed out their possible affinities, not only with the Egyptian ritual of "Opening the Mouth", but also with Mandaitic ritual[3] Since the ritual appears to be of considerable importance for the study of comparative religion, attention must be called to another version in the British Museum, which serves to complete and explain what is already known to some extent I am indebted to the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities for permission to publish this document

The tablet, B M 45749, measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is inscribed with 35 plus 35 lines on obverse and reverse The writing belongs to the Neobabylonian or Persian period, roughly the sixth century B C, so that this version is about one hundred years later than the Assyrian fragments, the tablet was found in two pieces at Babylon The colophon gives valuable information as to the nature of this version. It was written by a novitiate[4] of the order of priests devoted especially to incantations[5] according to the interpretation[6] of a full member of this order The version thus produced differs from the Assyrian in omitting certain details and apparently by introducing others, but the fragments from

[1] *J E A*, x, 47–59

[2] *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion, Ritualtafeln*, 31–8.

[3] *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, 959 ff.

[4] *mašmašu*

[5] *ašipu*

[6] *pitir.* For *pataru* II, 1, in the sense "to interpret", see Ashurbanipal, L. 4, i, 16.

Ashurbanipal's library are not sufficient to show whether the details introduced are inventions of the later period, or appeared in the Assyrian version in a slightly different order Like many other tablets of the same class, this was only written for the use of priests of the order Originally it was intended that it should be deposited among the records of Esagila, the temple of Marduk, at Babylon, but the line stating this fact has been partially damaged, by intention, and it may be that the copy was not considered good enough Though the writing is careful and clear, the scribe appears frequently to have omitted necessary words, especially prepositions, and in one case to have committed a solecismus [1] For this or some other reason the tablet was apparently rejected, and the line recording the dedication in Esagila erased

The nature of the ceremony for which the ritual was used is not in doubt, and has been clearly stated by Zimmern [2] A new statue of a god, or a statue considerably restored,[3] has to be consecrated and installed in its shrine The priests proceed to the workshop where the statue awaits the finishing touches The first "washing of the mouth" is performed in the workshop The god is then informed that he is to join the divine company of the father of the gods, Ea, and he is led out of the workshop into the garden on the river-bank, accompanied by a ram, to symbolize his emergence in power from "the grove" This first procession, by torchlight, takes place at night After the ram has been flayed, and certain

[1] See notes on lines 2, 15, 16, 53, 63

[2] *B B R* 139*a*

[3] That the statue is of wood may be inferred from the incantation in l. 5, possibly the wooden core was cased in metal, and the technique resembled that of Dr Hall's bulls from the temple of NIN HAR SAG at Tell al'Ubaid That metal might be used in the construction of a divine statue is clear from the gold sheath of Adad's lightning fork from Ashur, and is implied by the mention in the ritual of NIN A GAL, the god of the metal-workers, just as the mention of NIN ILDU, NIN ZA DIM, and GUŠKIN BAN.DA implies that carpenters, jewellers, and gold-workers had been at work on the statue.

offerings made to Ea, the second "washing of the mouth" is performed. The god is then seated on a reed-mat, and everything necessary to complete the work is put ready. It is not easy to suggest the use of all the objects named; various oils and fats were obviously intended to be rubbed over the surface, but the many kinds of stone mentioned were almost certainly intended for inlay, perhaps not only in the eyes, but also in the mouth, or as a beard.[1] While the carpenters and masons are at work,[2] the priests are engaged in making offerings to the gods in the order (1) the nine great gods, (2) nine minor deities, the gods of various kinds of craftsmen, including the god whose statue is being consecrated, (3) certain planets and fixed stars, divided into groups in an apparently haphazard[3] kind of way. After each set of offerings the "washing of the mouth" is performed, presumably because some particular piece of work is thereby concluded. The night has by this time passed, and at dawn offerings of cereals, fruits, and fat, followed by the sacrifice of the ram, lead to the announcement that the image is perfected.[4] All those who have been engaged in work on the statue now withdraw to the protection of their particular deities, and then the priest himself "opens the eye" of the statue apparently with a twig of tamarisk.[5] The statue is then invested with a divine headdress and a processional throne[6] as a proof that the statue is now deified;[7] the god, now "in heaven", will no longer be called upon to stand,[8] he is free from the

[1] *uknu*, lapis lazuli, or simply blue frit, would be especially suitable for beards, see my *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 93. The red stone, *samtu* (whether carnelian, cinnabar, or otherwise) would be used to represent the iris of the eye, to judge from the animal eyes from Tall al 'Ubaid. (*abnu*) UD.AŠ was the ordinary material for the eyes, see Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, No. 80, Obv. 18–19. Gold and silver quartz may have been inlaid on the dress.

[2] See l. 49.

[3] Mars is classed with a constellation and a fixed star, l. 31.

[4] l. 49.

[5] See note on l. 53.

[6] l. 56.

[7] The fact is celebrated by the incantations in l. 54.

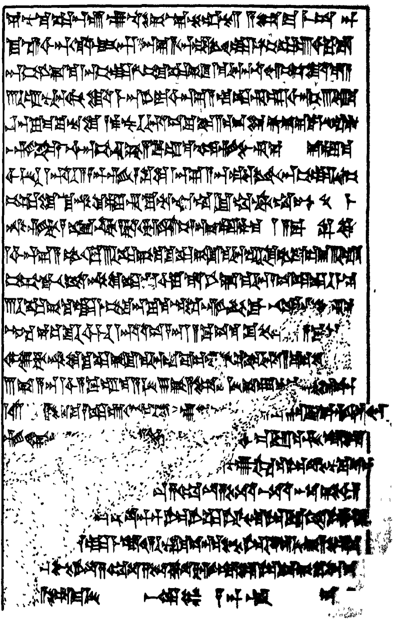
[8] So I interpret the incantation in l. 56.

limits of the workshop The procession now leaves the garden, passes along the street to the temple to the accompaniment of specified incantations of a magical character After the proper offerings have been made in the gate of the temple, the god is installed in his shrine, in such a position as will bring him into close contact with his "father", Ea, and he is arrayed in the proper vestments, the object of the ceremony is thus finally achieved, according to the priest's first announcement [1]

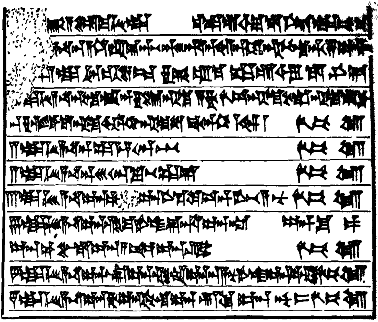
It is clear from the first line of the present tablet that the whole ceremony was called "the washing of the mouth", because, we may assume, the priests in the course of the ritual performed "the washing of the mouth" no less than fourteen times, in other words, a minor detail of the ritual became the general description of the whole The minor detail of the ritual is in every case, so far as I can see, explicable as necessary after operations of the workmen the procession in the street, and so forth The curious point is the complete suppression throughout the ritual of any mention of the "opening of the mouth", which in the Assyrian version appears side by side with "the washing of the mouth" The suppression may be intentional, in the Neobabylonian period the significance of "the opening of the mouth" may have been forgotten, and that part of the ceremony suppressed, since the ritual shows other signs of modification which should make the whole more intelligible But the theory of suppression is not the only one possible, it may be that "the washing of the mouth" was so connected with "the opening of the mouth" that the mere mention of the first implied the second

The second point to note is the emphasis laid on the astral deities in the Neobabylonian version Sufficient remains to show that the Assyrian version did not enumerate these deities, at any rate in quite the same connexion Here, again, the difficult problem presents itself, was this astral element first

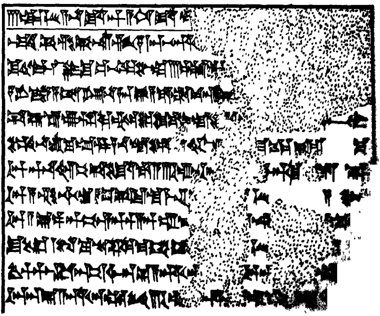
B M No. 45749—*Obverse*



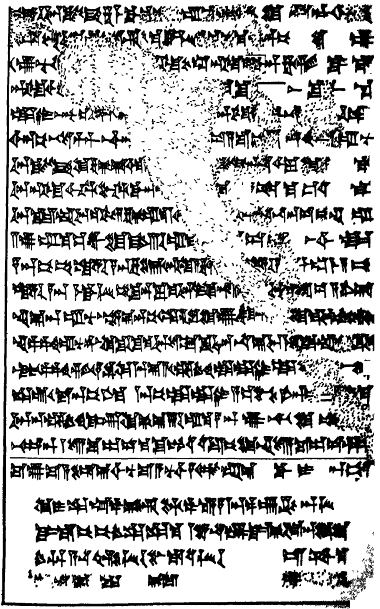
B.M. No. 45749—*Obverse*



Reverse



B M No. 45749—*Reverse*



[1] Erasure by scribe.

inserted into the ritual in the Neobabylonian period, or was it already present, though not developed to such an extent in Assyrian times? This problem cannot well be considered without including questions as to the meaning of the statue being faced east[1] and west,[2] and the reason for the morning ceremony,[3] details which appear in the Assyrian version.[4] These questions, again, are connected with the fact that in the Neobabylonian ritual the ceremony commences and ends at night. As to the Neobabylonian version, these details were clearly dictated by astrological belief, in view of the importance of the astral deities in the ritual, whatever the precise significance of the details may be, and it is not too bold to assume that the same details in the Assyrian version are due to the same belief, since the predominantly astrological character of Assyrian religion in the seventh century is well attested The application in the Neobabylonian document is perhaps more thorough and logical, but, on the whole, it is hard to think that the astrological element was foisted into the ritual in the sixth century, on the other hand, it is possible that it was very considerably developed It must further be clearly borne in mind that the astrological element in Babylonian religion can be proved to be as early as 2000 B.C., and even earlier Gudea has a reference to it, and objects from Ur of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur (figured vases and terracotta reliefs) are documents of considerable importance on this point It is, in fact, at present possible, though by no means certain, that the ritual always had such astrological elements

At what date was the ritual first written down? In the complete absence of documentary evidence earlier than the seventh century, recourse must be had to internal evidence.[5]

[1] l 7 [2] l 13.

[3] l. 37. [4] Stück, ii, 7, 19.

[5] Of linguistic evidence the only word of importance seems to be spelt phonetically in l. 41. This seems to me rather in accordance with practice of the First Dynasty than of later scribes, but [illegible] point would depend on an exhaustive study of all the documents

The "washing of the mouth", the "opening of the mouth", the directions for offerings to the river, and for "opening the eye" appear to be consonant with an early date, the incantations, too, belong to a primitive type of magic practised from very early times in Babylonia and it is hardly to be doubted that so important a ritual as that for consecrating and inducting a statue would keep its principal features. though minor additions or alterations may clearly have been added at various periods

It will be interesting to learn from Egyptologists whether the new version, giving as it does the first connected account of the ritual from beginning to end increases the resemblance to the Egyptian rite of the "opening of the mouth" in details The general resemblance of the two in purpose and spirit has been demonstrated by Dr Blackman It should not be forgotten that, if Zimmern's view be correct the "opening of the mouth" and the "washing of the mouth" survived in a modified form into the Christian era [1]

B M 45749

OBVERSE

(1) *E-nu-ma pı ılı tamesu(u) ına umı šemı ına bıt mu-um-mu* 2 *a-gub-ba(pl) tukan(an)*

(2) *ṣubatu samtu mahar ılı u subatu pısatu ına ıdat ılı ana (ılu)E-a u (ılu)Asar-lu-dug rıkse(pl) tar-kas KA LAH U DA*

(3) *ılı šuatı tepuš(uš)-ma ana ılı šuatı rıksa tar-kas qata-ka tanaššı-ma šıptu AN NA IM BI TA TU UD DA.A*

(4) *šalšu-šu tamannu(nu) šıptu ul-tu ume(pl) an-nı-ı ana mahar (ılu)E-a abı-ka tal-lak ana mahar ılı šuatı šalšu-šu tamannu-ma*

(5) *qat ılı tasabbat-ma šu'a tu-ša-aš-aı-šu šıptu E ZU DE* ⩊ *GIŠ.DU TIR.TA ultu bıt mare(pl) um-ma-nu*

[1] In the translation words placed in square brackets have been inserted in translating, words in round brackets are restorations in the text In the notes Zimmern's Stück ı–ıv, of Nos 31–7, *Ritualtafeln*, and No. 38 are quoted as Nos. 1–5.

(6) *ina gi-izi-la ina mahar ili šuati adi **kišad nari tamannu**-ma ina eli (qanu)bu-ri-e uš-šab-ma*

(7) *pane(pl.)-šu ana erib šamši tašakkan(an) **šuṭukka tanaddi**(di) ana (ilu)E-a (ilu)Asar-lu-dug u ili šuati rikse(pl.) **tar-kas***

(8) *šikaru riš-tu ina qemi tanaqqi(ki) šap-ri šu'i .* **(eru)paša** *(eru)pulukka (eru) tak-kam-me*

(9) *BAL GI(nunu) šelippu(nunu) ša kaspi u hurasi **ana** lib-bi tašakkan(an) tu-šap-pi-ma ana nari tanaddi(di)*

(10) *a-na ma-har (ilu)E-a LUGAL UMUN ENGUR **šalšu**-šu taqabbi-ma-ma qata-ka tanašši-ma šiptu EN.KI LUGAL. ABZU GE šalšu-šu tamannu-ma*

(11) *šikara GA SIG u dišpa tanaqqi(ki) KA LAH U.DA tepuš(uš)-ma šiptu NIG DU ENIM ENIM ŠUŠ.ME.SI*

(12) *šalšu-su taqabbi ma rikse(pl.) tapattar qat ili **tasabbat**-ma ina kiri ina (qanu)urigalli ina eli (qanu)bu-ri-e*

(13) *ina tab-si-e kite tušešab-šu pane(pl.)-šu **ana sit Šamši** tašakkan(an) ana nari tullak-ma upuntu ana nari [tanaddi (di)]*

(14) *mi-ih-ha tanaqqi(ki) qata-ka tanašši-ma šiptu AD.ABZU [NAM TAR] TAR E DE šiptu KAR ABZU KAR . .*

(15) *3-ta-am ana mahar nari tamannu-ma me(pl.) 7 **karpati** a-gub-ba(pl.) ta-šab-ma ina [bit] (ilu)KU.BU **tukan(an)***

(16) *ana lib-[bi a]-gub-ba mimma KA.LAH U.DA (!) (isu)binu (šammu)[TU LAL 7 (iṣu)erine **ṣihruti(pl.)** qan šah-hi qan ṣusi*

(17) *qane tabuti . [kib-rit] [tabtu] (isu)erinu **(iṣu)šur**-man burašu*

(18) *-ṇu (šammu)EL iṣu šamnu **(abnu) šadanu ṣabitu** (abnu)* ⊏Ɏ

(19) *(abnu)mušgarru] **(abnu)samtu (abnu)uknu (abnu)** UD.AŠ (abnu)UD AŠ.AŠ **(abnu)dušu***

(20) *. **aban** (ilu)Ninurta **šamni rešti** NI.GU.LA **šaman erini dišpi himeti tanaddi***

(21) ***ša rikse(pl.) riqqe(ZUN)-šu-nu tanaddi-ma tukan(an) (iṣu)bu-kin-ni (iṣu)bini me(pl.) (karpatu) a-gub-ba***

(22) . ***(iṣu)bu-kin-ni (abnu)samti (abnu)ukni aban** [illegible] **aban huraṣi buraši šaman par-ga tanaddi(di)-ma***

(23) . . (*karpatu*)*a-gub-ba* (*pl*) *ina eli libitti ša belit ilani tukan*(*an*)

(24) (*karpatu*)*a-gub-ba*(*pl*) *tarakkas-ma KA LAH U DA tepuš*(*uš*) *riksa tapattar-ma*

(25) [9 *rikse*(*pl*)] *a-na* (*ilu*) *A-nim* (*ilu*)*En-lil* (*ilu*)*Ea* (*ilu*)*Sin* (*ilu*)*Šamaš* (*ilu*)*Adad* (*ilu*)*Marduk* (*ilu*)*Gu-la* (*ilu*)*Ištar kakkabani*(*pl*)

(26) [(*ilu*) *Igigi*] *tarakkas šiptu* (*isu*)*binu isu ellu tamannu-ma KA LAH U DA tepuš*(*uš*)

(27) [9] *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*ilu*)*NIN MAH* (*ilu*)*KU BU* (*ilu*)*NIN A HA KUD DU* (*ilu*)*NIN KUR RA* (*ilu*)*NIN - A GAL*

(28) (*ilu*)*GUŠKIN BAN DA* (*ilu*)*NIN ILDU* (*ilu*)*NIN - ZA DIM u ili šuati ana šari ilani tar-kas KIMIN*

(29) 2 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*ilu*)*SAG ME GAR u* (*ilu*)*Dil-bat tar-kas KIMIN*

(30) 2 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*ilu*)*Sin u* (*ilu*)*BIBBU SAG UŠ tar-kas KIMIN*

(31) 3 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*kakkabu*)*GUD* [*erasure*] (*kakkabu*) *mešri* (*kakkabu*)*Ni-be-a-nu tar-kas KIMIN*

(32) 6 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*kakkabu*)*Zi-ba-ni-tum bit* (*ilu*)*Šamaš* (*kakkabu*)*APIN* (*kakkabu*)*ŠU PA*

(33) (*kakkabu*)*MAR GID DA* (*kakkabu*)*Eru* (*kakkabu*) *ENZU tar-kas KIMIN*

(34) 4 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*kakkabu*)*iki* (*kakkabu*)*Šinunutu* (*kakkabu*)*A-nu-ni-tum* (*kakkabu*)*Eš-šim tar-kas KIMIN*

(35) 4 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na* (*kakkabu*)*numi* (*kakkabu*)*GU.LA* (*kakkabu*)*NUN KI* (*kakkabu*)*GIR TAB tar-kas KIMIN*

REVERSE

(36) 3 *rikse*(*pl*) *a-na šu-ut* (*ilu*)*A-nim šu-ut* (*ilu*)*E*[*n-lil u šu-ut* (*ilu*)*E-a tar-kas KIMIN*]

(37) *ina šeri ina libbi šutukki ana (ilu)Ea (ilu)Šamaš u* [*(ilu)Asar-lu-dug* 3 *(isu)kussi tanaddi(di)*]

(38) *(subatu)huššite(pl) tatarras(as) subat kite ina eli tašaddad(ad)* 3 *paššure* [*tarakkas(as) suluppe (qemu)A.TIR tašarraq(aq)*]

(39) *miris dišpi himeti tašakkan(an) (karpatu)a-da-gur tukan(an)* 6 [*or* 7] *(karpatu)*

(40) *ta-sa-dir (šammu)BAR tanaddi(di) inib kiri tu-ma-aṣ-si tu-kap-*[*pat-ma*] *tatarras(as)*

(41) *še-am na-ah-lu tašarraq(aq) niknakka burаši ta-šar-raq . qata-ka tanašši-ma*

(42) *šiptu AN NA IM BI TA TU UD DA A šalšu-šu tamannu(nu) šiptu ME AN KI DA.GE*

(43) *šiptu A NAM TI LA ID IL LA.ME EN . . MEŠ A IN*

(44) *šiptu A KAL PA DINGIR BI AŠ.AM MAŠ AM tamannu-ma tanakki tašarraq(aq)*

(45) *upuntu ana pu-ut šu'i tanaddi(di)-ma niqe(du)* [*tanaqqi(ki) rikse*](*pl*) [*tarakkas*]

(46) *(amelu)mašmašu ina šumeli ili šuati ana mahar (ilu)E-a (ilu)Šamaš u (ilu)* [*Asar-lu-dug*] *šiptu . MAH tamannu*

(47) *šiptu (ilu)E-a (ilu)Šamaš u (ilu)Asar-lu-dug šalšu-šu tamannu (ilu)Šamaš tamannu-ma KA.LAH.U.DA tepuš(uš)*

(48) *arki-šu šiptu ALAM KU ME.GAL* [*ŠU.DU.A*] *tamannu-ma itat -ti tu-kap-pa-ar*

(49) *li-ih-šu tu-*[*lah-haš*] *te-ri-qam-ma mare(pl) um-ma-nu ma-la ana ili šuati ithu(u)*

(50) *u u-nu-ut .* [*(ilu)KU.BU (ilu)NIN.A.HA.KUD.-DU*] *(ilu)NIN.KUR RA (ilu)NIN.A.GAL (ilu)GUSKIN.-BAN.DA*

(51) *(ilu)NIN.*[*ILDU (ilu)NIN.ZA.DIM tušezaz-su-nu-ti*]*-ma šummanu ina . . .*

(52) *tarakkas(as) ina patri (isu)bina tanakkas(as) . (ilu)NIN . . . (ilu)Ea ša . . . -šu taqabbi*

(53) *ena ılı šuatı tupatte(te) mašmašu ına mahar ılı [šuatı]* . . . *[(šıptu) E] A ZU DF* [𒐈] *ına ša-[ah-tu] tamannu(nu)*

(54) *šıptu ALAM KI KU GA TA U [TU UD DA šıptu] ALAM AN NA U TU UD DA*

(55) *šıptu NIN ILDU NAGAR GAL AN [NA GE] NE–ma* 𒁹 𒌋 𒁹

(56) *šıptu agu-mahhu šıptu (ısu)kussu ılla tamannu-ma ana mahar šıptu AN NA NA AN GUB BI EN tamannu*

(57) *tašanu(u) tamannu-ma usuratı(pl) terab(rab) šalšu-šu tamannu-ma ına mahrı rıksa*

(58) *ša ılı šuatı tapattar arkı-šu ša (ılu)KU BU u (ılu)NIN A HA KUD [DU tapattar] arkı-su sa (pl) ummanu ıpattaru*

(59) *arkı-šu sa ılanı(pl) rabutı(pl) tapattar qat ılı tasabbat-ma šıptu NER KI BAL* [𒐈] *šıptu E SIR RA DU A - NI TA*

(60) *adı bıt ılı tamannu(nu) ına bab bıt ılı suatı muh-hu-ru tu-šam-mar qat ılı [tasabbat-ma] tuserab-ma šıptu LUGAL MU ŠAG DUG GA ZU ŠU*

(61) *adı pa-pa-hı tamannu(nu) ıla ına subtı-šu tusesab-ma šıptu TE UNU QI SIK AN NA GE šıptu ME TE BAR - MAH ına [šubtı]-šu tamannu(nu)*

(62) *ına ıtat pa-pa-hı šutukka tanaddı(dı) ana (ılu)E-a u (ılu) Asar-lu-duq rıksa tarakkas(as) rıksa tu-šal-lam-ma*

(63) *KA LAH U DA ılı suatı tepuš-ma ana ılı suatı rıksa tarakkas(as) me (ısu)bu-kın-nı ıla suatı [tu-lal]-ma*

(64) *šıptu ASAR LU DUG DUMU NUN KI GA GE 7-šu tamannu-ma mımma ılu-u-tı tu-tah-[ha]*

(65) *ına mušı tašakkan(an) ana kar apsı tušezaz-ma (subatu) TAK UD UD ıb-bı-tu adı kar apsı tušalak(ak)*

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(66) *mudu(u) muda(a) lı-kal-lım la muda(a) la uštamır ikkib (ılu)En-lıl rab-ı (ılu)Marduk*

(67) *kı-ı pı dup-pı gab-rı şır pı-tır ša (ılu)Nabu-etıl-ılanı(pl)*

(68) *mar (m)Da-bı-bı (amelu)ašıpu (m)Iddın-na-Nabu mar (m)Ga-hul-(ılu)Tu-tu*

(69) *(amelu)mašmašu a-na balat napšati(pl.)-šu urruku ume (pl.)-šu iš-tur-ma*

(70) [*i-na E SAG ILA u-kin*]

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Obverse

(1) When you have to "wash the mouth" of a god, on a favourable day you should set two pots of holy water in the workshop

(2) [Place] a red cloth in front of the god and a white cloth beside the god Prepare offerings for Ea and Marduk Perform

(3) the washing of the mouth of that god and then prepare the offering for that god Raise your hand and repeat three times

(4) the incantation "Thou who art born in heaven from its wind" Repeat three times the incantation "From this time forth thou shalt go before thy father Ea" before that god, and then

(5) take the hand of the god and cause him *to lead* a ram. Repeat the incantation "In thy going forth, in thy going forth, *coming* from *the grove*" [as you proceed] from the house of the craftsmen,

(6) with torches, before that god, to the river-bank, and then seat him on a reed-mat,

(7) and then turn his face to the east Set a canopy. Prepare offerings for Ea, Marduk, and that god

(8) Pour out a libation of the best beer, with meal. (Flay) the skin of the ram Place a bronze axe, a bronze *pick*, a bronze *takkame*

(9) a *balgu* fish [and] a tortoise of silver and gold therein. *Wrap up* and then throw into the river.

(10) Say "O King, Lord of the Deep" three times before Ea, and then raise your hand and repeat three times the incantation "Ea, King of the Abyss",

(11) and then pour out a libation of beer, butter-milk a

date-honey. Perform the washing of the mouth and then say three times

(12) the incantation " ", and then remove the offerings Take the hand of the god and then seat him in the garden *under* the *urigallu* on the reed-mat

(13) in a linen covering Turn his face to the west Go to the river and then throw pease-meal into the river

(14) Pour out a *mihhu* libation Raise your hand and repeat the incantations "Father of the Abyss" and "Brink of the Abyss

(15) three times each before the river, and then *set* water (in) the seven pots of holy water and then place them in the (shrine) of KU BU

(16) In the pots of holy water everything [for] the washing of the mouth a tamarisk a plant seven slips of cedars *a cloth made* of reeds a marsh-reed

(17) good reeds, *sulphur* *salt* [gum of] a cedar, a cypress and turpentine

(18) EL-plant, wood oil the stones *šadanu sabitu*

(19) *musgarru*, *samtu*, lapis lazuli UD AS, UD-AŠ AŠ, *dusu*

(20) Ninurta-stone, oil of the best quality *nigulu*-oil, cedar-oil, date honey, butter you should throw

(21) of the offerings their essences you should put, and then set forth *Bukinnu* wood, tamarisk water of the pots for holy water.

(22) *bukinnu* wood, the stone *samtu*, lapis lazuli, silver-quartz, gold-quartz, turpentine, oil of millet you should put [thereon] and then

(23) pots of holy water on the brick of the Lady of the Gods (Beltis) you should set

(24) . pots of holy water you should prepare and then perform the washing of the mouth Then you should remove the offering

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(25) (Nine offerings) for Anu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, Gula, Ishtar, the stars,

(26) (the Igigi), you should prepare Repeat the incantation "Tamarisk, holy tree" and then perform the washing of the mouth

(27) (Nine) offerings for NIN MAH., KU.BU., NIN.A.-HA KUD DU , NIN KUR RA , NIN.A GAL ,

(28) GUŠKIN.BAN DA , NIN ILDU NIN.ZA.DIM and that god [facing] northwards you should prepare. As before

(29) Two offerings for SAG ME GAR and Dilbat you should prepare As before

(30) Two offerings for Sin and Lulim you should prepare As before

(31) Three offerings for the Bull, the *mešri* star and Nibeanu you should prepare As before

(32) Six offerings for the Scales, the House of Shamash, the Plough, the star SU PA,

(33) the Chariot, the star *Eru*, the Goat you should prepare As before

(34) Four offerings for the *Field*, the Swallow, Anunitum, the Ear of Corn you should prepare As before

(35) Four offerings for the Fish, Gula, NUN KI, the Scorpion you should prepare As before

REVERSE

(36) Three offerings for the stars of the Anu-way, the Enlil-way, and the Ea-way you should prepare As before.

(37) In the morning inside the canopy you should put chairs for Ea, Shamash, and Marduk

(38) Lay out the *huššu* garments Draw a linen cloth thereon Prepare three dishes. Present dates, A.TIR meal,

(39) Place a conserve of date-honey and butter. Set [...] a pot *adagurru*. Six (or seven) pots . . .

(40) Continue to throw plant [therein] Find "the fruit of the garden", pluck it, and then lay out

(41) Offer sifted barley-[meal] Offer a censer of turpentine . Raise your hand and then

(42) repeat three times the incantation "Thou, who art born in heaven from its wind The incantation " ",

(43) the incantation "Thou art the water of life that raiseth the river" ,

(44) the incantation "*Juice of the twig for that god [whether] whole [or] halved* " you should repeat, and then offer

(45) Throw pease-meal on the forehead of the ram and then sacrifice [it] Prepare the offerings

(46) The deacon [should stand] on the left of that god Repeat before Ea Shamash and Marduk the incantation "Exalted

(47) Repeat three times the incantation "Ea, Shamash, and Marduk Repeat (the incantation) ' Shamash ' and then perform the washing of the mouth

(48) Thereafter repeat the incantation Holy image that art perfected by a great ritual and then smear the side of the

(49) A whispered prayer you should (whisper) you should *remove yourself* and then all those craftsmen who have been in contact with the god

(50) and the gear (of) the divinities KU BU, NIN A - GAL, GUŠKIN BAN DA,

(51) NIN ILDU, NIN ZA DIM you should set, and then a cord on

(52) you should bind Cut the tamarisk with a dagger . you should say

(53) Open the eye of that god The deacon [should stand] before that god Repeat the incantation "In thy going forth, in thy going forth", *with [each] pace*

(54) The incantation "Image that art born from the holy", the incantation "Image that art born in heaven",

(55) the incantation "NIN.ILDU mighty carpenter of heaven" and then

(56) the incantation "Exalted tiara", the incantation "Bright throne" you should repeat and before . . repeat the incantation "In heaven thou shalt not stand".

(57) Repeat again and then repeat three times "Thou shalt enter the ", and then In the first place remove the offering

(58) for that god Thereafter remove that of KU BU. and NIN A HA KUD DU Thereafter the craftsmen should remove (the offerings of)

(59) Thereafter remove the offerings of the great gods. Take the hand of the god and then the incantation "Foot that advanceth, Foot that advanceth ", the incantation "In his going in the street "

(60) you should repeat [as you come] up to the temple of the god In the gate of the temple of the god you should have regard to the *muhhuru* offerings Take the hand of the god and lead [him] in, and then repeat the incantation "My King in thy goodness of heart"

(61) [till you come] up to the shrine Set the god on his seat, and then repeat at his (seat) the incantation "Place that is the *qisikku* of heaven" [and] the incantation "Ornament of the exalted chapel"

(62) At the side of the shrine put up a canopy Prepare an offering for Ea and Marduk Complete the offering and then

(63) perform the washing of the mouth Purify that god (with) juice of the *bukinnu* and then

(64) repeat the incantation "Asar [Marduk], Good Being, son of *Eridu*" seven times, and then bring up everything of the divinity

(65) Put [it] on by night Place [him] at the edge of the abyss, and then make [his] bright garment, *twice treated by the fuller*, reach the *edge* of the abyss.

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(66) Let initiate instruct initiate, he shall not let

uninitiated see: it is a thing forbidden of Enlil, the elder, [and] Marduk, (*or*, of the great lord Marduk)

(67) According to the wording of the tablet [which is] a copy, in agreement with the interpretation of Nabu-etil-ilani

(68) the son of Dabibi, the incantation priest, Iddinna-Nabu, the son of Gahul-Tutu,

(69) the deacon, wrote to preserve his life, to lengthen his days, and

(70) (placed in Esagila)

NOTES

1 Compare and contrast the commencement of the ritual A O 6479, Col I, 1, as restored by Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 10, *enuma lilis ṣiparri ana arami panuka bit mummu* clearly identical with the *bit mare ummani* mentioned in 1 5, this identity has already been noted by Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 139*c* To judge from 1 6 this "workshop" at Babylon cannot have been far from the river Note *mummu* in this connexion brings the *Mummu* of the Creation Epic into connexion with the text K A R No 4 in which two "carpenter" gods are slain to create mankind are these two Mummu and Kingu ?

2. Parallel to No 1, 6, — *itat* so better than *imitti* since there is no answering *šumeli* For *itat* see No 2, 7 The erasure after 𒁹 was made by the scribe — *Asar-lu-duq* In spite of Lehmann-Haupt's trenchant remarks in Z A VII, 329, certain authorities continue to read the first component, Asar, as SILIG, which seems clearly wrong in view of the complement *-ri* A brick of Ashurbanipal, obtained from Babylon during the residence of Sir Henry Rawlinson, is now in the possession of Mr C J Varty, Newcastle, by whose kindness I am permitted to publish this inscription relating to Asar, which is to the best of my knowledge unique, it should finally establish the correct reading

(*ilu*) ASAR.RI UMUN.GAL LUGAL.A.NI IR (*m ilu*) *Aššur-ban-aplu* LUGAL.IMIN LUGAL.MA.DA. *Aššur*

KI DUMU (m ilu) Aššur-ah-iddin LUGAL.IMIN LUGAL. MA DA Aššur KI LUGAL Babili KI NAM.TI LA. BI.SU E TEMEN.AN KI eš-šiš MU.NA.DIM "For Asar, the mighty lord, his king, Ashurbanipal, king of the seven quarters, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of the seven quarters, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, dedicated E TEMEN AN KI anew for his life's sake" The scribe lapses into Akkadian (eššiš), confuses lapidary and cursive signs (LUGAL) and gives one highly improbable form (NAM). The inscription is interesting because it shows that the ziggurat at Babylon was specially dedicated to Marduk as Asar, that is in his underworld capacity (LU DUG) as the son of Ea and a god of healing, which may be compared with the statements of classical authorities that the ziggurat was the tomb of the dead Bel - KA LAH U DA Note that in this phrase ⟨𒄑-𒂗⟩ alternates in this text with ⟨ the phrase is possibly a gerundive, see Delitzsch, *Grundzuge der Sumerischen Grammatik*, § 124–5

4 Here begins an exact correspondence with No 1, 29

5 *tušašaršu* The reading is clear, and probably the correct reading of Assyrian version No 1, 32, since the sign doubtfully read *ma* by Zimmern is broken on the right The word is probably to be derived from *ašaru* in the sense "to direct, go straight" The 𒁹𒁹 refers to the repetition of the phrase E ZU DE, as is shown by the Assyrian version, which has the more correct E A ZU DE For the reason of this repetition see note on l 59 The incantation appears to be the same as that in No 1, 13, in a slightly different version

6 The exact correspondence ceases with No 1, 34

7 *panešu* Texts of the series *šumma ana bit ameli marṣi ašipu illiku* dealing with IGI distinguish between IGI, IGI (du) and IGI (pl), i.e eye, eyes, face, cf. the Hebrew usage

8 The illegible sign or signs perhaps conceal the verb. One expects an ideogram for *šahatu*, "flay," or the like. Mr. Campbell Thompson suggested to me that the sign might

be 𒀭, i.e. DAR in the sense *salatu*, which might fit, but the traces do not favour this [On collation, the most probable reading seems *BE-ma*, "you shall open"] This line in slightly different order corresponds to No 1, 45–6 —(*eru*)*pašu* For an illustration of the type of small votive copper (or bronze) axe in question, see Andrae, *Anu-Adad Tempel*, Abb, 46 —(*eru*) *pulukku* as a synonym of *qarašu*, a kind of cutting instrument. The word seems to denote a rounded shape The object might also be made of stone and have two heads, see Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J Pierpont Morgan*, IV, No 13, 41–2 In the present passage it is certainly votive In the excavations of E NUN MAH at Ur granite picks, obviously votive, dating probably from about 2000 B C or before, of the modern shape, were found, it seems probable that *pulukku* may denote such a tool

9 On the BAL GI fish see Holma *Kleine Beitrage*, 45, who compares the Turkish *baliq* On *sellppu*, see Meissner in *Archiv fur Keilschriftforschung* II 24 The only examples of votive fish in the British Museum, of copper, B M Nos. 10985–10988, all represent the same type, but whether these represent the BAL GI is not clear —*tasappi* or *tašappi*, cf Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* 14 30, and the note on that passage, also Zimmern in Z A XXXII, 184, who translates "bestreichen", which does not suit the present passage exactly Compare Syriac ܣܦ ?

11. GA SIG If the ideogram means "green milk" it must surely denote some kind of churned milk The meaning of the Sumerian incantation escapes me

12. This line at the end corresponds, with slight differences, to No 2, 6 The translation "*under* the *urigallu*" seems necessary from the consideration that the *urigallu* reed was an object that could be "set up", see Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, No 121, Rev 9

15. *tašab*. Apparently a solecismus for *tušab* The double accusative is also strange and the text may be in some

disorder The restoration *bit* is the only suitable one that occurs to me to fit the traces

16 *mimma* for this use of NIG compare l. 64, it seems impossible to read *ša*, and I can find no better explanation. (sammu)TU LAL The traces point very clearly to this reading —*šah-hi* If this is the same word as the *šahhu* given in M A 1018*b*, perhaps a kind of cloth

17 The readings *kibrit* and *tabiu* are almost certain according to the traces Note the doubt as to whether the woods are intended, or their gums, see Thompson, ***Assyrian** Herbal*, 153[1]

18 For the ingredients compare in part No 1, 2–5 On the EL-plant, see Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 53, 281 · it is described as "flesh of a serpent's head", is perhaps to be read *arzallu* and may be a kind of hawthorn —The last sign is uncertain

21 (*isu*) *bukinni* Possibly the *bukanu* or *bukannu* (or *pukanu*, *pukannu*), which gave its name to the insect *išid bukani* Note that the juice of the *bukinnu* is used for purification in l 63

22 *parqa* For the meaning "millet", see Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 126, the word seems to appear in the adverbial form *parqaniš*

25 Roughly corresponds to No 2, 10 ff

26 The traces at the beginning of the line are best satisfied by the restoration

27 This is apparently an abbreviated version of No. 3, 6 ff. The gods in this section are, with one exception, patron deities of particular crafts The exception, (ilu)NIN.MAH, in view of what precedes and follows, is perhaps intended for the star NIN.MAH, variously identified as Hydra (Kugler) and Puppis (Bezold-Kopff).

29. The gods mentioned are the planets Jupiter and Venus

30. *Luhm*, BIBBU.SAG.UŠ, certainly denotes some kind of animal and may mean "ram", according to Ungnad

Kulturfragen, Hefte II and III Identified with Andromeda (Kugler) or Andromeda and Cassiopeia (Bezold-Kopff)

31. The erasure after GUD was made by the scribe The stars in question are Taurus, Sirius (or Sirius and Procyon), and the planet Mars

32 The stars mentioned are identified as Libra, Triangulum, Bootes, Ursa Major, W part of Virgo, and β Capricorni or Capella For the description of the Scales as the "House of Shamash", cf Probus, *Georg* I 32, domicilium Saturni tradunt astrologi Libram, quod est signum aequitatis, and see Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, 23, on the connexion of the Scales with justice

34 Ungnad's ingenious explanation of *iku* as "the field" rather than "the canal" is supported by his interesting reconstitution *Kulturfragen* III The stars here mentioned are identified as the E part of Aquarius + Ceres + Aries (Kugler), or Aries (Weidner), or Pegasus + Andromedae (Bezold-Kopff, accepted by Ungnad) Aquarius N W (Kugler), or the northern Fish (Weidner), or Capricornus E (Bezold-Kopff), S W Piscis + Sternenband - ξ Piscium (Kugler), or β, λ θ, τ, κ λ, Piscium (Weidner), or Pisces W (Bezold-Kopff), Spica (Kugler) or 109 Virginis (Weidner) or Virgo (Bezold-Kopff) On *Essim* = ear of corn, see Landsberger, *Kultische Kalender*, 9-10 For an illustration of MUL.EŠ ŠIM as the Virgin holding an ear of corn, see *Révue d'Assyriologie*, XVI, 135 [The AN before *Anunitum* is due to dittography in copying and should be deleted]

35 NUN KI It is possible to doubt whether in the Neo-babylonian period this expression was intended by the priests to refer to Eridu proper or to that part of Babylon called NUN.KI In the Babylonian Chronicle, Col III, 29, NUN.KI cannot refer to the southern Eridu, but can only mean Babylon by comparison with Col III, 3, and since Abu Shahrain itself does not seem to have been inhabited at this period, according to Mr Campbell Thompson's investigations, it is possible that in the minds of the priests

NUN KI was referred to Babylon. But in the First Campaign of Sennacherib, 10, NUN KI certainly means Eridu. The stars here referred to are identified as Pisces, either N.E. (Kugler) or E (Bezold-Kopff), Piscis Austrina + Microscopium (Kugler) or Aquarius (Weidner, Bezold-Kopff); Vela (Bezold-Kopff), and Scorpio.

36 For *šut Anim* = *harranu šut Anim*, against Weidner, see Bezold, *Zenit und Aquatorialgestirne*, 40 The stars of the Anu way and of the Enlil way seem to receive some illustration on the Black Stone of Esarhaddon, see the illustration in *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*[3], 228. On the top register is the horned cap of Anu on a divine "seat" at the side of, or inside, which is the sacred tree-trunk, bound with metal "yokes" and surrounded with fillets Before this is a human figure holding a mace, probably representing the king as *erešu*, "cultivator." the KU MAL, *agru*, "hired labourer" among the stars There then comes the trunk of a tree, as before, which I cannot at present identify There follows the bull, clearly MUL GUD.AN.NA. In the lower register is the symbol of Enlil, *šadu rabu*, a great mountain then the plough, MUL.APIN, then a date-palm, not identifiable, and a symbol which may represent the Chariot, MUL MAR GID DA Though much of this picture remains to be explained, the astral significance, and the division into the two ways of Anu and Enlil, can hardly be doubted

37 From this line commences a correspondence with No. 1, 19 ff, from which it is restored

38 HUŠ MEŠ The Assyrian version, No 3, 20, has KU HUŠ A, not KU ŠAD MA.ME., as Zimmern gives. (qemu)A TIR possibly meal of vetch, see Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 113–14, hardly the poisonous spurge, ibid. 37–8.

39. Possibly after *karpatu* the text should be restored from No 3, 23

40. (*šammu*)BAR, possibly the same as (iṣu)BAR, [illegible]

with (isu)BAR.HUŠ, which resembled tamarisk, see Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 185 —*tukappatma* The restoration is suggested by the traces *inib kiri* refers to one particular fruit, probably of the *šam kiri*, see Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 184, § 42

41 *nahlu* Clearly not the date-palm, in this connexion, as tentatively suggested by M A 663 b but the technical term for meal, Arab نخل

45 For the pease-meal scattered on the sacrificial animal compare the Roman practice

46 *šumeli* Bezold's proposal, *Zenit und Äquatorialgestirne*, 54, to construct the form *šumelti* to correspond with *imitti*, fails The Babylonians seem invariably to have used the masculine form for the left hand, cf C T VIII 8, d, 14 et freq The line is to be divided into two sentences at *šuati* as is shown by the correspondence with No 5, 5 ff The scribe of the present text appears to have omitted DU by error

47 Insert perhaps *ana mahar* before *Samas* from No 3, 5 Note the incorrectly written DA which lacks a perpendicular, and compare l 63

48 Only one sign probably is missing The restoration *dal-ti* might be proposed were not the traces against it

49 *tulahhaš* The restoration *lah* is fairly certain from the traces, while there is just room for *haš* The balance of the sentence seems to require that *teriqam* be one word, rather than *teri tukammis*, as Zimmern, No 2, 9, No 3, 12, but his other suggestion, *teriqamma* "du sollst dich entfernen," gives a good sense *ithu* so clearly for Zimmern's *te-lil* (?)

50–1 Restored from No 5, 20–1 Before the divine names perhaps there stood something like *ina bitati*(*pl*) *ša*

51. The last sign but one is probably BAR The reading may then be (1) *ina par-si*, "on the separated place," i e where the workmen and their instruments are, or (2) *ina paras-si*, "for separating off" the workmen, etc

53. I was at first inclined to compare Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*,

No 49, 7, but that would require *ultu* before *mahar*. The present rendering is also preferable because it explains the use of the slip taken from the tamarisk, some final adjustment of the (inset ?) eyes of the god was made with a twig from the sacred tree, a process called "opening the eye". The scribe has omitted the determinative before *mašmašu* The incantation is restored from l 5 *ina ša-[ah-tu]* In this restoration *ah* is practically certain from the traces, *ṭu* is quite uncertain, but has been chosen because, while the traces may accord with it, a conceivable meaning is thereby obtained The incantation implies that the god is being moved At each of the first two paces the priest repeats "In thy going out", and the ritual directs, if *ina šahtu* be correct, that he say it "in the leap (or, pace)" See also l 59

54 The restoration is conjectural and uncertain

56 The incantations were obviously sung while the divine head-dress was put on, and while the statue was placed on a chair to be carried in procession to his temple

57 *usurati* The word GIŠ HAR, used in many connexions, invariably presents difficulties, and any rendering here would be merely a guess at its possible significance in this passage

58 Compare No 4, 3 *ummanu ipattaru*. This seems better than to suppose that the priest removes the vessels of certain gods placed (?) by the craftsmen

59 The repetition of NER KI BAL was probably timed so that the first pace and the second pace each fell at the end of the phrase, a case of the magical power of the word; this favours the interpretation of l 53 given above

60 *muhhuru tušammar* Compare Pinches, *Berens Collection*, No 110, 5, *mahhuru tumahharu* The *mahhuru* is clearly some kind of offering, see e g. Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, No. 136, 4; and to judge from the present passage it is specifically the offering made on entering the temple, but see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 42, 27.

61. QI.SIK. This seems to prove that the word ...

was pronounced with an initial ק The exact nuance of meaning is not clear

62 (*ilu*) has been erroneously omitted in the copy before *Asar.*

63 *tulal* The traces are sufficient to prove this reading correct The scribe appears to have omitted *ina* before *me*

64 It is impossible to read SA AN *tašakkan(an)*, since there is no object Whether SA is to be read *mimma* or in some other way is not clear to me, in any case, it is clear that the statue of the god is now first draped in temple vestments

65 *kar apsi* Since the god's statue is now on the seat in the shrine, it is clear that each god's shrine had an "abyss" in it with some opening called the *karu* (usually applied to a quay on a river or canal bank) At Ur in the temple buildings drains have been found which might be said to reach the *apsu* or fresh water, thus in Dr Hall's building, part of the Nannar temple, a very deep hole was found with a carefully constructed small aperture of terra-cotta, closed by a brick found *in situ* I am inclined to think this must be such a *kar apsi*, pebbles seemed to reach bottom at a great depth below the surface, and it is possible that Bur-Sin's brick recording the construction of an *apsu* for Ea refers to some such aperture TAK = *mahasu*, a term for filling UD UD seems to mean "doubly white"

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Clues for the Arabian Influence on European Musical Theory

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, M A

IN the diffusion of the sciences of the Saracens throughout Western Europe in the twelfth century, says Professor Haskins in one of his valuable contributions to the *English Historical Review*,[1] "England occupies a position of considerable importance An English scholar, Adelard of Bath, seems to have been the chief pioneer in this movement of study and translation, while the existence of a certain number of dated treatises of his contemporaries and successors makes it possible to follow the spread of the new learning in England with greater definiteness than has so far been attempted elsewhere" That these Arabian sciences played an important part in the intellectual awakening of England, there cannot be much doubt Mathematical sciences especially attained a height with the Arabs which had never been reached before in Western Europe

Science with the Arabs[2] included all that was embraced by mediæval scholars in the term *quadrivium* or *mathesis*, that is to say, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy The conquests of the Arabs in these departments of learning and the precise dates of their introduction into, and their influence on, Western Europe have been dealt with by scholars with one exception, *Music* ! No one has yet attempted to demonstrate how far Arabian musical science influenced Western Europe. That the Arabs did influence Western Europe, and that England played an important part in the diffusion of Arabian musical science, I will endeavour to show, which incidentally will bring further confirmation of the date for the general acceptance of Arabian sciences in Europe.

This phase of Arabian influence may be traced in two

[1] See the articles entitled *The Reception of Arabic Science in England* (vol xxx), *Adelard of Bath* (vol xxvi), and *The Abacus and The King's Curia* (vol xxvii)

[2] By Arabs I mean Arabic speaking peoples.

directions: (1) in *Popular Music*, brought about by mere ***political contact*** which began in the eighth century, and (2) in ***Artistic Music***, brought about by the *literary and intellectual* ***contact*** which began in the tenth–eleventh century.[1] The first **Arabian** influence was spread abroad by the wandering ***jongleur***, who carried with him the new instruments and musical devices of the Arabian *ghannayi* (غنّاى). Many of the song forms and dance forms of the minstrelsie of mediæval Europe can be traced to the Arabs. Of the science of music the wandering minstrel knew but little, for indeed he was a mere performer who learned for the most part, "by rote" but he carried with him many instruments that were quite new, some of them constructed so as to give a more scientific scale than that which obtained in Western Europe. That we owe the *lute* (Arab *al-'ûd* العود) *guitar* (*qitâr* قطار), *rebec* (*rabâb* رَباب), and *naker* (*naqqâra* نقّاره) to the Arabs is generally admitted, and, indeed their names and construction told of their origin. Yet there were other instruments that were undoubtedly introduced by the Arabs, although not generally recognized. The Arabian cymbals called the *sunûj* (صنوج) were introduced into Europe as the *sonajas*. The Arabian tambourines—the square *al-duff* (الدُّف) and the round *bandair* (بَنْدَير)—became the *adufe* and *pandere*. The Arabian drum called *qas'a* (قصعه) known in France in the sixteenth century as the *quesse*, is the modern *caisse*. The ordinary drum of the Arabs named the *tabl* (طبل) was borrowed by Europe as the *tabel*, *taber*, or

[1] Leclerc, *Hist. de Med. Arabe*, ii, 344.

tabor The Arabian *nafîr* (النفير) or trumpet was adopted as the *anafil*, and probably the term for a flourish of trumpets, *fanfare*, is the Arabic plural *anfâr* (انفار) in metathesis. The Arabian reed instruments known as the *zamr* (زمر) and *al-surnâ* (السرنا) or *al-surnây* (السرناي) were doubtless the parents of the *shawm* and *dulçayna* The Arabian *qânûn* (قانون) or *ather* became the European *canon*, whilst the European instrument known as the *eschaquiel* or *exaquir* was surely derived from the Arabian *mishqar* (مشقر) or *al-shaqira* (الشقيرة) Finally, the revival of interest in the *hydraulis* in Europe appears to have been due to the Arabs From the sixth to the ninth century there is no mention of the ancient *hydraulis* in Europe,[1] but in the ninth-twelfth century the Arabs were actually constructing both the pneumatic and the hydraulic organ [2] So far the instruments [3]

The most important of the early influences upon Europe from the Arabian contact was the *zâ'ida* (زائدة) This was the "gloss" or "ornament" upon the melody, known to European musical theorists as *discant* Prior to the Arabian musical contact, European music, as exemplified in Gregorian Song or Plain Chant, used notes of equal value. With the Arabs it was quite different, and whilst one performer might play the melody in its plain form, an accompanying performer would figurate the melody by means of *appoggiatura*, *acciaccatura*, *grace note*, etc The two styles are explained by

[1] Maclean, *Quarterly Magazine Inter. Mus. Soc.*, vi (1904–5)

[2] *Al-Mashriq*, vols ix, xvi

[3] For the European names of these instruments, see *La Prise d'Alexandrie* by Guillaume de Machaut, and the poem of Juan Ruiz, both of fourteenth century.

an English fourteenth century theorist, Robert de Handlo, who says. "One style is simply prolated, that is, without fractions or divisions another is copulated or flowered" [1]

Harmony, as we understand the signification of the term, was unknown before the tenth century, but about this time, says Professor Wooldridge,[2] we find a distinct reference to a form of musical art called *organizing* This consisted in the performance of concords, not only in the older classical melodic sense, but as *simultaneous sounds* This was known as *organum* or *diaphony* How did this new idea originate?

Some historians, such as Emil Naumann, claim that it was due to the rise of Christianity, a view rightly disclaimed by his English editor, the Rev Sir F A Gore-Ouseley [3] The truth is, as Professor Wooldridge points out that the "fundamental principle" of *organum* is to be traced to the Greek system of *magadizing* Whereas *magadizing* meant doubling with the octave, *organizing* meant doubling with the fourth or fifth Riemann says that the step from *magadizing* to *organizing* was the first and the most natural step in the advance towards the harmonic system [4] Yet who was it that took this first step? Could it have been the Arabs?

The earliest Arabian writer on music whose works have come down to us is Al-Kindi (d 874), and there is no definite mention of *organum* in the fragments of his works that have been left us [5] In the portions of Al-Fârâbî (d 950) quoted by Kosegarten,[6] it is not definitely referred to But in the *Shifâ* of Ibn Sînâ (d 1037) both *magadizing* and *organizing* are dealt with, under the names of *tad'îf* (تَضْعِيف) and *tarkîb* (تَرْكِيب) [7]

[1] Coussemaker, *Scriptores* i [2] Wooldridge, *Oxford Hist of Mus*, i, 45
[3] Naumann, *Hist Mus* i, 171 [4] Riemann, *Dict Mus*, 559
[5] *Brit Mus* OR 2361, *Berlin*, 5503 (Ahlwardt)
Kosegarten, *Liber Cantilenarum*

[7] *India Office*, 1811 fol 172 v ويقرب من هذا الباب التركبات
[التركيبات] وهو ان يحدث بنقرة واحدة تستمرّ على

Since these are found in Ibn Sînâ, there is every likelihood that Al-Fârâbî also dealt with them. At the same time, we must remember that *organizing* is alien to pure Arabian music, and it was only adopted by the Arabs after contact with Greek theories, when they would appear to have extended Aristotle's principle of *magadizing* into *organizing*

In the Arabian music schools in Andalus the art of *organizing* was taught, as we know, from a contemporary Spanish chronicler, Vergilius Cordubensis, who says: "Tunc erant septem magistri de grammaticalibus, qui legebant quotidie Cordubæ, et erant quinque de logicalibus, continue legentes, et tres de naturalibus, qui similiter quotidie legebant, et duo erant magistri astrologiæ qui legebant quotidie de Astrologia, et unus magister legebat de geometria, et tres magistri legebant de physica, *et duo magistri legebant de musica (de ista arte quae dicitur organum)* ." Of course, the term *organum* in the Middle Ages had many meanings With Guido of Arezzo (*c* 995–1050) *organum* and *diaphony* were synonymous terms, and had the meaning given above[1] In Franco of Cologne (*c* 1190), Joannes Garlandia (*c* 1210–32), and Walter Odington (*c.* 1280), *organum* was the name for *measured music*, whilst that which had hitherto been termed *organum* was named *diaphony*.[2] At any rate, whichever science of *organum* is referred to by Vergilius Cordubensis, we certainly know that it was taught at the University of Cordova

وترين النغمة المطلوبة والتى معها على نسبة الذى بالاربعة
او الذى بالخمسة وغير ذلك كانهما يقعان فى زمان واحد
والتضعيفات وقد علمتها وهو من جملة التركيبات الا انها
فى الذى بالكل

[1] Gerbert, *Scriptores*, ii, 21

[2] Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, i, 114, 175, 212.

Europe for a long time followed the Greeks in recognizing only the 8ve, 5th, and 4th as consonances The 3rd was banned as a dissonance Yet Al-Fârâbî (tenth century), and Ibn Sînâ (eleventh century) recognized the *Major Third* (4 : 5) and the *Minor Third* (5 : 6) as consonances, whilst Europe was holding to the dissonances of the *Pythagorean Thirds* (64 : 81 and 27 : 32) The Arabian pandore (*tanbûr al-Khurâsânî*), which became very popular in Europe, gave a close approximation (6561 : 8192) to the *Major Third* (4 : 5), and one may conclude that it was by these means that Europe first became dissatisfied with the Pythagorean thirds and adopted the new ones, although they were probably only admitted as consonances in *organum* much later This is really a notable page in musical history since it gave a tremendous fillip to the harmonic system The doubling with the 3rd, as well as with the 4th 5th and 8ve appears to be also allowed by Ibn Sînâ In England, according to the thirteenth century MS known as the *Anonymous IV*, *organizing* with the 3rd was in use by "*optimi organistae*", and it seems at this period to have been the special accomplishment of the English [1]

There is yet one other point to be mentioned in connexion with the Arabs, and that is the introduction of the *solfeggio* and *instrumental tablature* The claim that the Arabs introduced the *solfeggio* is one of old standing [2] Pigeon de Saint-Paterne, an interpreter of Oriental languages to Louis XVI, gave material for this claim from an Arabic MS presumably in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, now the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. I have not been able to trace this material in any of the Arabic

[1] Probably the revision of the laws of consonances ought properly to be dealt with under the *literary and intellectual contact* period Yet the instrumental jongleurs must have already given a foretaste of the new scale

[2] La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, i, 182 Andres, *Orig d'ogni Lett.* ix, 122. Dalberg, *Uber die musik der Indier*, 112 Pocock, *Flowers of the East*, 41. Crichton, *Hist Arab* Kiesewetter, *Musik der Araber*, 22 Salvador-Daniel, *La musique Arabe*, 8 Soriano-Fuertes, *Hist Mus Espan*, i, 80 See also a recent examination of the question in the *Quart Mag of the Inter. Mus. Society* (July–September, 1900).

musical MSS in this collection, so that it is impossible to do more than quote from this writer, who supplied information for La Borde's *Essai sur la musique* In comparing the names of the Arabic notation with that of the European *solfeggio*, one cannot help being struck with the phonetic likeness. At the same time, the present writer has not seen any other example of the Arabic alphabet used in this sequence for musical notation Here are the Arabian and Guidonian systems —

Arabian —	Mîm	Fâ	Sâd	Lâm	Sîn	Dâl	Râ
Guidonian —	Mi	Fa	Sol	La	(Si)	Do / Ut	Re

More interesting, perhaps, is the influence on *instrumental tablature*, which the Arabs are admitted to have made This was a method of notation used by instrumentalists, quite distinct from our modern diastematic system This "borrowing" is openly acknowledged in the work of a monkish writer in the fifteenth century given by Jayme Villanueva[1] The MS is entitled *The Art of playing the Lambutum (?) and Other Similar Instruments, Invented by Fulan, a Moor of the Kingdom of Granada*[2] The MS opens thus "It is marvellous that the gifts of the Holy Spirit should be poured down on infidels I say this for this reason, that a certain Fulan by name, a Moor of the Kingdom of Granada, highly praised in Spain among Spanish citharists, by the impulse of the spirit of learning, has discovered the art for the instruction of those who desire to play the *lambutum* (?), *cythara*, *viola*, and instruments similar to these" He then goes on to display the phonetic system of notation which was in use in Europe until the eighteenth century under the name of *tablature*

So far I have dealt in the main with influences brought

[1] Villanueva, *Viaje literario á las Iglesias de España*, xi

[2] فلان in Arabic means "an unknown person". Perhaps the Latin scribe took this for a proper name.

about by the mere *political contact*, and we see this not only in music but in other directions of culture Professor Haskins has shown us that in the King's *curia*, whilst the Roman *abacus* was used at the opening of the twelfth century, yet Arabic terms were creeping in, and this was before any definite *literary contact* had taken place [1] It had all been passed on *vivâ voce* But a far more important cultural contact has yet to be mentioned, and that is the *literary and intellectual contact* In England, in the King's *curia* we see the results of this contact due probably, as Professor Haskins opines, to Walcher (d 1135), Prior of Malvern, who derived his "Arabian science" from an Arabian Jew known as Petrus Anfusi, who had visited England In astronomy, the new science came about the same time, since a MS of Walcher's (c 1107–1112) shows the *literary contact* with the Arabs, although at the same time the *Cumpoz* of Philippe de Thaon (1119) is based on the old Latin traditions

That Arabian musical science made its entry into Western Europe about this time, and that England played a part in its diffusion, if not its introduction, I am of opinion can be demonstrated There are two outstanding names which may be connected with this contact, and they are Adelard of Bath and Abraham ibn Ezra Yet, before proceeding further, let us understand what this new Arabian musical science was, and what sources we have to follow

Between the eighth and eleventh centuries the Arabs had translated from the Greek many musical treatises hitherto unknown to Western Europe, and among them Aristoxenos (*Harmonics* and *Rhythmics*), Aristotle (*Problems*), Euclid (*Harmonics* and *Canon*), Ptolemy (*Harmonics*), Nicomachos (*Harmonics*), and others Besides these, numerous original treatises on music appeared from the pens of Arabian writers like Al-Kindî, Al-Sarakhsî, the Banû Mûsâ, Thâbit ibn Qurra, Zakariyâ al-Râzî, Qusta ibn Lûqâ, Al-Fârâbî, the Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ, Ibn Sînâ, and Ibn Bâjja. When we compare the

1 E H 1 .

musical writings of Europe at this period with those of Arabian contemporaries, one feels abashed at Western mediocrity. The musical works of Al-Fârâbî (*Kitâb al-Mûsîqî*) and Ibn Sînâ (in the *Shifâ*) are like oases in a desert

Europe soon began to feel the intellectual superiority of the Arabs, and its scholars were busy studying under Arabian masters at the Andalusian universities or Spanish schools both the Greek musical theorists only to be found in Arabic, and the writings of the Arabian theorists themselves Among those students who carried the results of their musical studies back to Western Europe were Gerbert,[1] Hermann Contract, Constantine the African,[2] Jean of Seville, Gundisalvi, Gerard of Cremona, and Plato of Tivoli No English name has come down to us from among the European musical students, excepting that of Alfred the Englishman, although one can safely hazard the opinion that the studies of the Englishmen, Adelard of Bath, Robert of Retine, Roger of Hereford, and Daniel Morlay, included music, since it was part and parcel of the *quadrivium* That Adelard of Bath studied music, and was even a performer, we know from his *De eodem et diverso*, where he tells us of his musical studies in France, and of having played the *cithara* before the Queen of France (presumably before 1109) Added to this we have the fact that the *Liber ysagogarum Alchoarismi ad totum quadrivium* in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (A 3 Sup), which is attributed to him,[3] contains a section on music I have not been able to examine this work, so that it is impossible to say how far Adelard is concerned in the question at issue If the Al-Khwârizmî (Alchoarismus) mentioned is the famous Abû 'Abdallah, it must be stated that no musical work from his pen is mentioned by the Arabic bibliographers At the same time, there is

[1] Early chroniclers like Adhemar of Monteil and William of Malmesbury say that Gerbert studied at Cordova, but this has been challenged.

[2] He did not study in Andalus, but in Carthage (Tunis) and Babylon (Baghdad or Cairo).

[3] *E H R*, vol. xxx Tannery, *Bib. Math.*, 3rd Ser., v, 416.

another Al-Khwârizmî, although of lesser repute, named Muḥammad ibn Ahmad, whose *Mafâtîh al-'Ulûm* contains a section on music, and it is quite possible that this is the person referred to

Adelard of Bath, Robert of Retine, and Daniel Morlay belonged to the Toledo school of translators who were responsible for the spread of Arabian learning in Latin translation in the twelfth century [1] That they knew of Arabian musical science we may take for granted, since their *confrères*, Gundisalvi, Jean of Seville, and Gerard of Cremona, were acquainted with it At any rate, the first half of the twelfth century brought a new musical science into Europe, and this was *mensural music* The epoch fits exactly the period of Adelard of Bath, who returned to England after his studies abroad in, or subsequent to, 1130 Could he have introduced it ? [2]

It is highly probable also that Spanish Jews who visited their co-religionists in this country, some of them forced into exile by the Muwahhid persecution (1130) played a part in strengthening this culture contact The famous Abraham ibn Ezra, who was a writer on music,[3] was in London in 1158–9, where some of his literary work was done, and on which occasion we know that one English Jew at least made copies of his works [4] As early as Saadia (tenth century) the Jews had borrowed their musical science from the Arabs, for, as Steinschneider says on this question, "the theory and expression of music . . belongs, like all similar sciences, originally to the Arabian School " [5] At the time we are speaking of, the Jews were busy translating into Hebrew the Arabic writings on music Al-Fârâbî's work on music (presumably the *Kitáb al-Mûsîqî*) was recom-

[1] There is no direct evidence that Adelard studied at Toledo

[2] Possibly the *pretiosa multitudo librorum* with which Daniel Morlay returned to England included works on music

[3] Steinschneider, *Jew Lit*, 154

[4] Friedländer, *Comm of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, p xxv

[5] Steinschneider, loc cit

mended by Ibn 'Aqnin (*c* 1160–1226) in his enumeration of works for instruction[1] Later we have a Hebrew translation of Al-Fârâbî's *Ihsâ al-'Ulûm*[2] In the Vatican (400. 5) there is a Hebrew work on music attributed to Abraham ibn Ḥijja (d 1136) it being a translation from the Arabic[3] This great scholar was certainly a musical theorist, and we have a work from his pen, *The Foundations of Understanding*, which seemingly has a section on music.[4] He was one of the chief helpers of the Latin translators from the Arabic, and among them Plato of Tivoli and Rudolphe of Bruges He was a friend and co-worker of Abraham ibn Ezra.

Before dealing with the introduction of *mensural music* into England and Western Europe, I must mention a possible earlier literary contact, which has also been overlooked One of the early Arabic students from Europe was Hermann Contract (1013–54), and the curious notation in his treatise printed in Gerbert's *Scriptores* is, perhaps, nothing more than a "borrowing" from the Arabs[5] The prevailing *neume* notation in Europe had one great drawback, the determination of pitch Hermann Contract sought to remedy this by the use of letters, thus e = unison (*aequat*), s = half-tone (*semitonium*), t = tone (*tonus*), ts = minor third (*tonus cum semitonio*), etc All this had already existed with the Arabs since the time of Al-Kindi (d 874)[6] But to return to *Mensural Music*, which was the outstanding musical innovation of the twelfth century, this was, I feel convinced, of Arabian origin This has nowhere been acknowledged, and even the monumental works of Professor Wooldridge[7] and Johannes Wolf[8] fail to even whisper the slightest suggestion of it.[9]

[1] Ersch u Gruber, *Ency* [2] De Rossi, *MSS Heb*, Nos. 458, 776.

[3] Steinschneider, *Jew Lit*, 337, cf De Rossi, 1170.

[4] *Jew Ency*, i, 108 See Malter's *Saadia Gaon*, p 369.

[5] See Riano, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, p. 18

[6] Al-Kindî, *Brit Mus*, OR 2361, fol 165, etc

[7] Oxford *History of Music, The Polyphonic Period* (1904–5).

[8] Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural Notation, 1250–1460* (1904).

[9] Since this was written, Juan Ribera, in his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* has pointed out how much Spain borrowed from the Arabs, and especially in the matter of rhythm.

What evidence have we got for the statement of the Arabian origin of *Mensural Music* and its introduction into Western Europe?

Mensural Music was known to the Arab theorist Al-Khalîl (d. 791), but his *Kitâb al-'Iqâ'* كتاب الايقاع (*Book of Rhythm*) has not come down to us[1] It was known to Al-Kindî (d 874), as we know from his MSS preserved in the British Museum and at Berlin[2] It was known to Al-Fârâbî (d 950), and is fully dealt with in his *Kitâb al-Mûsîqî* in the Leyden, Madrid, and Milan Libraries[3] It was known to the Ikhwân al-Safâ (tenth century), whose *Rasâ'il* have been printed at Bombay and Cairo[4] Finally, it was known to Ibn Sînâ (d 1037), as we see in his *Shifâ* in the India Office and Bodleian and the *Najât* at the Bodleian[5] Both Al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ had their works widely accepted by the Andalusian Arabs by the eleventh century[6] in their universities

The music school at the University of Cordova, one of the most famous in the world in its day, was the *Alma Mater* of many of the rising musicians of Europe, such as the Jew Elias, and the Christian Pedro Canciotor[7] Students flocked to the Andalusian universities,[8] where they studied and translated the Arabian arithmetician, Al-Khwârizmî, the geometrician, Ibn al-Haitham, the astronomer, Al-Battânî, and the music theorists, Al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ, all of whom came to be known in Western Europe under the Latinized names of Algaurizim, Alhazen, Albategnius, Alpharabius,

[1] Ibn Firnâs (d 888 ?), who is said to have been "the first who taught the science of music in Andalus", was possibly the pioneer of Al-Khalîl's *mensural* theories (Al-Maqqari, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, i, 148, 426)

[2] Brit Mus, OR 2361 Berlin, 5503

[3] Leyden, 1423 Madrid, 602 Milan, 298

[4] Bombay, 1887–9 Cairo, 1307 A H

[5] India Office, 1811 Bodleian, Pocock, 109, Marsh, 251.

[6] *Al-Maqqarî*, bk. iii

[7] Soriano-Fuertes, *Hist Mus Esp*, i, 82

[8] Dozy, *Mussl*, iii, 107

and Avicenna. At present we are only concerned with the two latter, who were music theorists.

The earliest Latin translation of any musical work of Al-Fârâbî that has been preserved dates from 1130–50, when Jean of Seville and Gundisalvi made their translations from Al-Fârâbî's *Ihsá al-'Ulûm*. A copy of the Gundisalvi work is preserved at the Bodleian (*Digby*, 76), whilst a solitary exemplar of the Arabic original is at Madrid (*Esc.* 646). Later in the century another translation was made by Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187), an example of which is now at the Paris *Bibliothèque* (No. 9335). The last named translation can be traced in several of the musical theorists of the thirteenth century, as I will show presently. Yet the section on music in the *Ihsá al-'Ulûm* (*De Scientiis*) is really insignificant as it stands. The entire work was intended to be a sort of handbook of the sciences and had reference to works of greater importance. In music, the work that must have had far greater influence was Al-Fârâbî's *Kitáb al-mûsîqî*, and, indeed, the actual copy of this work made for Ibn Bâjja (Avenpace) is still preserved at Madrid. It may be worth while to point out that the *De Divisione Philosophiae* of Gundisalvi is not a translation of the *Ihsá al-'Ulûm* at all. It is a much fuller treatise,[1] derived from Isidore's *Etymologiarum* and Al-Fârâbî's *De Scientiis* and *De Ortu Scientiarum* (? see below). On the other hand, the work of Gerard of Cremona is a literal translation from the *Ihsâ al-'Ulûm*. Yet the fact remains that we have no trace of the *Kitâb al-Mûsîqî* in Latin. Fétis, the musical historian, says that a portion of it was translated into Latin by the famous Jerome of Prague, and that it appears in Schmoelders' *Documenta Arabum Philosophiae* (Bonn, 1836), a statement which has been repeated by Rafael Mitjana in *Le Monde Oriental* (1906), and in the

[1] See Baer, *Dom. Gundissalinus, De Div. Philos.* and Steinschneider, *Al-Fârâbî*, pp. 83–5, 89, 255–6, and the same author's *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem arabischen bis mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Sitzungsberichte Akad. Wiss., Wien, cxlix, cli).

recent *Encyclopèdie de la Musique* (Tome V), edited by Lavignac It is erroneous [1]

Of Ibn Sînâ's musical writings in Latin translation, nothing has come down to us, unless the work at the Paris *Bibliothèque*, entitled *De ortu scientiarum* (cod 6443), is from his pen (Cf Baer, *Dom Gundissalinus, de Div Phil*, 158–9) But that his musical writings or opinions were known in Latin translation is evident from quotations made by European musical theorists Strange to say, every portion of the *Najât* of Ibn Sînâ has survived in Latin except the chapter on music

Having dealt briefly with the sources let us turn to the musical theorists of Western Europe to see how far they utilized this and other material that came from the Arabs *Mensural Music* was unknown to the oldest English musical theorist whose work is extant I refer to Joannes Cotto, whose *Epistola ad Fulgentium* is printed in Gerbert's *Scriptores* The date assigned to it is c 1100 Unfortunately there is a big gap after Cotto in English musical documents, and the next theorist is Joannes Garlandia (c 1210–32), an Oxford man, and here we find *mensural music* in full swing To bridge over this gap, we have to turn to the continent in the work of Franco of Cologne (c 1190), but we can follow on from English sources through Walter Odington (c 1280), Simon Tunsted (c 1300–69), both Oxford men, and Joannes de Muris (died after 1325) More important still is the work entitled *De mensuris et discantu* in the British Museum, printed by Coussemaker as "Anonymous IV" Its date is 1273–80 [2] Clues for the Arabic influence, either direct or indirect, will be traced through these writers, and incidentally through such men as Vincent de Beauvais (c 1190–1264), Roger Bacon (c. 1214–80), and Jerome of Moravia (thirteenth century).

Franco of Cologne (c 1190), as I have pointed out, is the earliest mensural theorist whose work has been preserved In his treatise the system is well developed, although clearly

[1] At least, I have been unable to find it in the work they mention.

[2] Coussemaker originally gave an earlier date

of recent adoption, which ought to prove that it was not an "invention" of Franco or of Western Europe, but a "borrowed" science already highly developed elsewhere. I have already dealt with the art known as *discant*, where one part comprised more notes than another. If there was to be an harmonious understanding between these parts, certain laws were necessary. Laws regulating time values already existed with the Arabs in their *îqâ'ât* (إيقاعات) or "rhythms." At this period, whilst Europe only used two note values, the *longa* and *brevis*, the Arabs had six. Franco of Cologne knows of four note values, which is the first big sign of improvement. Rhythmic modes immediately arose on the introduction of the new ideas, and five or six of these rhythmic modes are used by Franco.[1] Europe did not adopt all the peculiarities of Arabian rhythm. One feature, the *truncation*, was classified separately by European writers as the *ochetus*, *hoketus*, or *hoquetus*, which word, in spite of the fanciful derivations of antiquaries and musicians, is merely the Latinized form of the Arabic *îqâ'ât* (إيقاعات). Joannes Garlandia deals with the *ochetus*.

Another musical theorist, one of the Arabic students and translators, was Alfred the Englishman, whom we know of between 1227 and 1264. He is credited by Pits with a work *De Musica*.[2] This work would have been a valuable guide to us in the question of the Arabian influence, on account of the author's definite Arabian connexion, but it has not come down to us.[3]

An important document is the "Anonymous IV", entitled *De mensuris et discantu* (c. 1273–80), of whose English nationality, says Dr. Ernest Walker, "there seems little doubt."[4] Here we have valuable clues for the Arabian or

[1] Cf. Wooldridge, op. cit., i, 124. Grove, *Dict. Mus.*, iii, 399.

[2] Pits, *De Rebus Anglicis*.

[3] Jourdain, *Recherches . . . Aristote*, 106–8. Leclerc, *Hist. Méd. Arabe*, ii, 437, 441.

[4] Walker, *Hist. of Mus. in England*, 6.

Mozarabian influence, as we have Arabic names for new note values.[1] I will quote a passage so that we can see exactly what is claimed in this respect It is taken from the chapter entitled *De punctis vel notis* [2] —

"Tertius modus est, quando steterit per modum *Elmuahym* Est preterea una figura quae dicitur plica, recte stando cum uno tractu vel duplici, et hoc ascendendo vel descendendo, etc Boni notatores in figurando sic depingunt supradicta Quidam faciunt quadrata puncta cum uno tractu vel sine, ut predictum est, quidam non quadrata, sed per modum quadranguli vel quadrangulorum, ita quod longitudo stando sit longior longitudine jacendo vel protrahendo, sive fuerit cum tractu, vel sine *Elmuahym* vero oblique saepe protrahitur, et quidam protrahunt ipsam similem *Elmuahym* Item est quedam *Elmuarifa* que potest dici irregularis, que habet tractum in sinistra parte descendendo, sicut *Anglici* depingunt vel nominant, quod idem sonat etc"

The words *elmuahym* and *elmuarifa*, which are the names of particular kinds of notes in the new mensural notation (we need not enter into their technical significance) are certainly Arabic In an eleventh century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* we have the terms *al-ma'lûma* (مَعْلُومَة) and *al-ma'rûfa* (مَعْرُوفَة), which equate with *nota*, and these appear to be connected with the above [3]

That England held a foremost place in the art and science of music is definitely stated by this author His allusion to the

[1] That Mozarabian influence played an important part must be allowed. Christian Spain was famous for its music in these days (Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, i, 345), and the invention of the *minim* is placed to the credit of Navarre (Coussemaker, iii, 134) Some of the oldest musical manuscripts in Spain belong to the Mozarabic ritual (Riano, 25) See also Wiener, *Contributions towards a History of Arabico Gothic Culture*, iii, 303

[2] Coussemaker, i, 339

[3] Seybold, *Glos Lat Arab*, *sub voce* Dr T H Weir informs me that perhaps *elmuahym* = *al-mubham*

English use of the major and minor thirds in *organum* or *diaphony*, when they were banned elsewhere as dissonances, appears to the present writer to be another clue for the Arabian influence He certainly says that they were used by various composers elsewhere, but "*in Anglia, in patria quae dicitur Westcuntrie*" most of all[1] Let us recall that Adelard of Bath belonged to the west country Davey, one of the historians of English music, is inclined to believe that it was here that harmony was matured[2] At any rate, it is highly significant that it is only in England that we have the Arabic nomenclature among the mensural theorists[3]

On the continent we also see the Arabian influence in Vincent de Beauvais (*c* 1190-1264) In the musical section of his *Speculum Doctrinale* (Bk I, Sect 17), Al-Fârâbî is quoted throughout as one of his chief "authorities" Vincent de Beauvais was not an Arabist,[4] and therefore he had to depend upon some Latin translation, which appears to have been the *De Scientiis* of Gerard of Cremona Al-Fârâbî is quoted as an equal authority with Boethius, Isidore of Seville, and Guido of Arezzo I will quote the opening passage of Vincent de Beauvais side by side with that of Gerard of Cremona, so that we can judge the "borrowing" at close range —

Vincent de Beauvais	*Gerard of Cremona*
"Musica comprehendit cognitionem specierum armoniarum, & illud ex quo componuntur et quibus modis"	"Scientia Musicae in summa comprehendit cognitionem specierum harmoniarum, & illud ex quo componuntur, & qualiter componuntur, & ex quibus modis . "

An illustrious English contemporary was Roger Bacon (*c* 1214–80), and he, too, was deeply indebted to Arabian

[1] Coussemaker, i, 358

[2] Davey, *Hist of Engl Mus.*, 20.

[3] The Arabic nomenclature seems to point to the English as the pioneers of the new musical science.

[4] *Encycl Brit*, *sub voce*.

science.[1] He quotes Al-Fârâbî, in company with Ptolemy and Euclid, in the musical portion of his *Opus Tertium*,[2] where the *Ihsâ al-'Ulûm* (*De Scientiis*) is specially mentioned. He also quotes Ibn Sînâ on the question of the effect of music in disease.[3] It may have been some of the English developments of the new Arabian ideas in music that he refers to when he speaks of the *novarum harmoniarum curiositas*.[4]

Walter Odington (c. 1280) was so enthusiastic about the Arabian masters that in his *De Speculatione Musices* he quotes the opinion of Ibn Sînâ on music,[5] cheek by jowl with St Gregory, St Bernard, and the Psalmist.[6]

Jerome of Moravia (thirteenth century) whose *De Musica* is printed by Coussemaker, was well acquainted with Al-Fârâbî, since his chapter *Quid sit musica* gives the opinion of Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Hugo of St Victor, Guido of Arezzo, Joannes Garlandia, and *Al-Fârâbî*. In Chapter V, which is entitled *De divisione musice secundum Alphorabium*, we get a full quotation from what is clearly Gerard of Cremona's translation of the *Ihsâ al-'Ulûm*.

In Simon Tunsted (c. 1300–69), Joannes de Muris (d. after 1325), and as late as Hanboys (c. 1470), the *ochetus* was still known to English theorists. De Handlo tells us that "hockets are formed by the combination of notes and pauses", and, again, that when a melody is "truncated or mangled" it is called *hocket*. Under the heading of "hockets", Joannes de Muris shows us that another Arabian or Mozarabian device and term subsisted in his day, known as the *alentrade*. Here is what he says:[7] —

"Primus processus tacti cantus ille, scilicet qui est super litteram *Alentrade*, etc., representare videtur cantum ex duabus semibrevibus inequalibus confectum quarum minor

[1] His respect for the Arabs may be gauged from his remark that Christians were inferior to the Pagans in morals, and were in consequence behind them in invention. Among the Pagans lauded by him are Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Tullius, *Ibn Sînâ*, and *Al Fârâbî* (*Comp. Stud.*)

[2] Bacon, *Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita* (1859), p. 231–2. [3] Ibid., 266.

[4] Ibid., 297. [5] It is the same passage as that quoted by Roger Bacon.

[6] Coussemaker, i, 193. [7] Coussemaker, ii, 419.

majorem precedit, secundus illum qui e converso in litteris secunda *Plaignant*"

Alentrade would appear to be form VII of the Arabic *tarada* (طَرَدَ) ("to drive away") It has a common musical significance in form II where it means "to prolong the voice".

After the fifteenth century the Arabian influence in the music of Western Europe practically ceased With the political power of Andalus broken, an intellectual decline set in with the Arabs Meanwhile, Europe was advancing by leaps and bounds along the path which led to the modern harmonic system, and it left the Arabs in music, as in political life, centuries behind [1] Yet, for all that, the great reputation of the Arabian scholars held the ground into the sixteenth century, and George Valla in his rare typographical masterpiece *De Expetendis et Fugundis Rebus* (1497–1501), and George Reish in his *Margarita Philosophica* (1508) had perforce to quote Al-Fârâbî "on music" Even as late as 1638 Al-Fârâbî s *Ihsâ al-'Ulûm* appeared in Latin at Paris in a work entitled *Alpharabii, vetustissimi Aristotelis interpretis, opera omnia quae latina lingua conscripta reperiri potuerunt, studio et opera Guil Camerarii*

It must not be supposed, however, that Arabian music theory ceased to be important after Al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ. A great name among the later theorists was Safî al-Dîn 'Abd al-Mu'min (thirteenth century), one of the first of the theorists of the so-called "Systematist" school Sir Hubert Parry considers the "Systematist" scale "the most perfect scale ever devised" (*Art of Music*, 29) Helmholtz, who believes that the "Systematists" influenced Europe, says that their use of the major 7th of the scale as a leading note to the tonic, "marks a new conception, which admitted of being used for the further development of the tonal degrees

[1] England led the way in the world's musical culture until the opening of the sixteenth century One is inclined to ask how much the fame of Dunstable's school was due to the advantages which the earlier English school took of the new Arabian musical science.

of the scale, even within the domain of purely homophonic music" (*Sensations of Tone*, 285–7)

What then was the total gain to Western Europe from the Arabian culture contact? Through the *political contact* Europe seems to have come in contact with *discant*, *organum*, and *instrumental tablature*, and possibly *solfeggio* I need not repeat what is already acknowledged in Europe s indebtedness to the Arabs for many of its *musical instruments*. Through the *literary and intellectual* contact Europe may have got its first idea of a *definite pitch notation* (*vide* Hermann Contract). It certainly took partly, if not wholly, its system of *mensural music*, and perhaps *mensural notation* from the Arabs Finally, Europe owed its revision of the *laws of consonances* to the Arabs

Professor Haskins has said that "any new facts" that deal with this phase of the intellectual development of Western Europe are of value to historical students I submit that nearly all of the foregoing are 'new facts", and, as such, ought to be given consideration and discussion If such are forthcoming I will be prepared to deal with this particular phase of Arabian culture in a more extended and permanent way

June, 1924

I have to acknowledge that the above forms a part of the work achieved during a Research Studentship at Glasgow University in 1919–21, under Dr T H Weir and Dr H J Watt The recent discovery of two MSS of the *Ihsâ al-'Ulûm* at Najaf, in 'Irâq, and at the Kuprulu Library at Constantinople, cancels my statement of the "exemplar" at Madrid (*Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrouth, viii, 1924) The passage quoted from Gerard of Cremona is taken from the version of Camerarius I considered them practically identical, but see the careful researches of Eilhard Wiedemann in *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, xi, *Sitzungberichten der physikalischemedizinischen Sozietaet in Erlangen*, xxxix.

H G F

November, 1924

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE

In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, part ii, 1924, 264 ff, Mrs C G Seligman continues her "Studies in Semitic Kinship", dealing herein with the cousin-marriage between the children of two brothers. The problem she has set herself is why this form of marriage should be gaining ground in the lands over which Islam is spreading, in spite of its being a type of marriage entirely at variance with the ideas of clan organization and exogamy prevalent in Africa Mrs Seligman, as one who has travelled long among the natives of the Eastern Sudan, is certainly well fitted to deal with such a problem, and her careful reasoning step by step commends itself to us. From a consideration of the evidence, which begins with Sumerian times, she comes to the conclusion that "it is the permanence of the idea of woman as property that, with the spread of Islam, has among many African tribes broken down the prejudice against incest, and facilitated the spread of a form of marriage which would previously have been regarded as incestuous by those same tribes", and she thinks that the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent, and the possible economic advantages of this form of marriage, would have been insufficient by itself to break through so strong a feeling, had not these tribes previously regarded women as inheritable property

R CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

THE ERA OF VIKRAMADITYA AND THE DYNASTY OF GARDABHILAS AND OF MURUNDAS

The importance of the Purāṇas as a source of information at least on the list of successive dynasties of kings that ruled over various parts of India is admitted on all hands

Accordingly, relying upon the Purānas, historians of India presumed that the Śunga, Kanva, and Andhra dynasties successively came one after another and ruled over a great part of Northern India from Pātaliputra, their capital in Magadha But it is a mistake to take them to be successive dynasties, and there is evidence to prove that some of those dynasties were more or less contemporaries, either beginning earlier or lasting longer than those dynasties which they are supposed to have succeeded If we were to rely on the accuracy of the Purānas, at least so far as the succession of dynasties is concerned, we should be led to believe what the Purānas say regarding the dynasties that succeeded the Andhras. Concerning these dynasties the *Visnu Purāna* says as follows —

"After these various races will reign, as seven Abhīras, ten Gardabhilas, sixteen Śakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusāras, thirteen Mundas (Murundas, *Vayu*), eleven Maunas (Hūnas, *Vāyu*), altogether seventy-nine princes, who will be sovereigns of the earth for 1399 years"

From this one would be led to believe that the Andhras were succeeded by seven Abhīra kings who in their turn were succeeded by ten Gardabhilas and others But there is evidence to prove that this Purānic statement is entirely wrong, and that both the Gardabhilas and the Murundas were contemporary with the Andhras This evidence is furnished by the *Prabhâvaka-carita* or the *Life of Jaina Saints*, composed by Pradyumna-Sūri in Samvat *Vedânala-śikhi-śaśidhara varsha*, = 1334 = 1278 A D, printed by the Nirnaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, and published by B R Ghanekar in 1909 There is, however, a mistake on the title page of this book It is not the work of Candraprabha Sūri, as stated on the title page, but rather the work of Pradyumna-Sūri, as is clearly stated in a verse repeated at the close of every chapter of the work. From the fourth chapter of this work, entitled *Kālaka-sūri-prabandha*, it will be clear that the dynasty of the Gardabhilas was contemporary with the

Andhras, and that, while Sâtavāhana of the Andhras was ruling in Pratisthāna and Murunda in Pātaliputra, one of the Gardabhilas, called Gardabhila, was ruling in Ujjayinī in Mālava It will also be noticed that after Gardabhila was slain by the Śakas Ujjayinī passed into their hands, and that King Vikrama drove out the Śakas from Ujjayinī and established his own dynasty there, celebrating his victory by starting an era after his own name Again, in the eighth chapter, entitled *Vriddha-vādi-prabandha,* the author speaks of Vikramāditya as being a contemporary of King Balamitra and of the interest which King Vikrama took in the religion of the Jainas He says that the dynasty of King Vikrama lasted only for 135 years, and was destroyed by Śakas, his enemies, and that they celebrated their victory by starting another era after their own name Whether reliance can be placed upon this assertion is a question which I leave to scholars for decision The nature of the event described in the life of Kālaka-Āchārya appears to me to be true, and inclines me to believe that the author has recorded a genuine tradition. A brief summary of the story is as follows —

There was a city called Śrīdharāvāsa There lived a king called Vīrasimha, who was very powerful His wife was called Surasundarī He had a son called Kālaka, and a daughter Sarasvatī Once Kālaka went out of the city, riding on a horse, and exercised the horse by various movements. When he and the horse were tired, he sat taking rest, and heard the noise of speaking in the midst of a forest not far from his resting place He ordered his minister to ascertain whose speech it was Having found it out, the minister returned and said that Gunākara, a Jaina teacher, was preaching there. The prince went there and listened to Guṇākara's lecture on the ethics and philosophy of the Jainas. Impressed by his lecture, the prince, permitted by his parents, embraced Jainism, and became an ascetic together with his sister. On the death of Guṇākara Kālaka took his place and began preaching.

Once he went to Ujjayinī At that time the King of Ujjayinī was Gardabhila, and he happened to be outside the capital when Kālaka, with his sister, was there Struck with the beauty of Sarasvatī, the sister of Kālaka, Gardabhila carried her off On hearing this through the Jaina nuns who accompanied him, Kālaka went to the Court of Gardabhila and spoke thus —

"O Śaiva king, it is true that we have formed a fence round our Kaccha to protect its fruits But when, in spite of your being regarded as the protector of the religions of all castes, you yourself carry off and eat the fruits whom shall we complain to ?"

When the king paid no attention to his appeal Kālaka, in virtue of the Ksatriya blood flowing in his veins, took an oath that, if he should not slay the king his wives and sons, relations and all, he would be guilty of the terrible sin of the slaughter of humanity When he expressed his determination before the king and the public, he was taken for a lunatic Feeling for his sister, he left for the countries of the Sakhins, i e Śakas, on the banks of the Indus There were ninety-six Śaka states, at their head there was a *Mandalika* with an army of 700,000 horses Kālaka-Sūri sought an interview with the Śaka chief, and on being admitted into his court he requested his help against Gardabhila The Śaka chief consented, and sent out his ninety-six feudal chiefs to rescue Kālaka's sister They all arrived at the vicinity of Ujjayinī, the capital town of Gardabhila, and captured him alive At the request of Kālaka he was, however, released and banished The country was divided among the conquerors Sarasvatī was released and taken among the nuns

Sometime after this event Vikramāditya drove the Śakas out of Ujjayinī, and made himself the king of the country, and started an era after his own name Then, again, 135 years after Vikramāditya, the Śakas destroyed the dynasty of Vikrama, and started an era after their name.

After the banishment of Gardabhila Kālaka went to

Balamitra, the king of Bhrgu-kaccha. Balamitra's brother was called Bhānumitra and his sister Bhānuśrī.° They were the sons and daughter of his paternal aunt.

Having arrived at the court of Balamitra, Kālaka conquered his chief priest in religious dispute and converted the king, his priest, and his subjects to Jainism. Having spent the rainy season there, he went to Pratisthāna, which was then the capital of Sātavāhana Sātavāhana himself was a Jaina (27 B C)

In Kosala there was a king called Vijayabrahma and there was also a merchant called Phulla with his wife called Pratimā. Having no son, she went to Pārśvanātha Acārya and worshipped the image of Pārśva Pārśva appeared before her and said that, if she wanted to have a son, she had to go to the Vidyādhara-gaccha and drink the water used to wash the feet of the teachers in the gaccha, where Kālaka-Sūri once flourished She did so She then became pregnant and brought forth a son, who was called Nagendra When he became 8 years old, he was initiated in the religion of the Jainas He became an ascetic under Sangamasimha-Sūri Maṇḍana was appointed to teach him When he was 10 years old, he became the head of Kashapatta in the place of Sangamasiṃha and became known as Pādalipta

There was then in Pātaliputra a king called Muruṇḍa. After residing in the court of that king for some time he went to Bhīma, king of Lāta Then he left for the city of Mānakheṭa, ruled over by Krsna, and then to Balamitra, king of Bhrgu-kaccha

There was in Pātaliputra a king called Dāhada (probably the father of Muruṇḍa) Dāhaḍa *was converted* to Jainism by Mahendra of Bhrgu-kaccha It was under this Guru that Pādalipta learnt Jaina philosophy Mahendra also converted Krṣṇa of Mānakheta to Jainism

At this time there lived Nagārjuna, the celebrated alchemist. He was a Kṣatriya by birth. His father was Sangrāma, and his mother Suvratā. Pādalipta converted him to Jainism.

the same time Sātavāhana was ruling in Pratisthāna, while Balamitra, with his son Dhanañjaya, was ruling in Bhrgu-kaccha Sâtavâhana invaded Bhrgu-kaccha and Pādalipta saved Balamitra from his attack

The four Jaina teachers namely (1) Ārya-khapata, (2) Rudradeva-Sūri, (3) Mahendra-Sūri, and (4) Pādalipta, were successive, and almost contemporary teachers about 484 after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra In Bhrgu-pura there was a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Jainas It was often destroyed by enemies and often restored Among those who restored it one was Vikramāditya whose minister was Limba

In the seventh year of his era he set up a flag and a golden vessel in the Vīra temple, which he restored in Vapata

Siddhasena was Vikrama's teacher Siddhasena was for some time the teacher of Devapāla king of Karmara-nagara Siddhasena helped Devapāla in averting danger to his country from the attack of Vijayavarman, king of Kamarūpa

The above history is an amplification of what was recorded in a Praśasti dated 150 samvat in the Varsāśrama *matha* on the top of the Raivata mountain

R SHAMASASTRY

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NOTE REFERRING TO "CEREBRALIZATION IN SINDHI", *JRAS*, OCTOBER, 1924

Since the above was written Dr Grahame Bailey has kindly allowed me to see the proofs of his forthcoming Grammar of Sinā, in which he gives a full account of one of the Dardic or N W Himalayan languages Consideration of the vocabulary there given leads me to the conclusion that Sinā with regard to cerebralization preserves the Prim Indo-Aryan conditions unchanged except in the groups *tr*, *dr* (> *ṛ ȷ* : cf S *tr dr*) and possibly *ṛt rt* -*n*- -*l*- remain dental, *ṇ*, whether single or in a consonant group, remains cerebral, even *ṣ* is preserved The dental in *ṛt* perhaps, in *rt* probably, is cerebralized (*kaṭ*- spin *nate* dance) Thus with regard to the history of -*n*- -*l*- *n* and perhaps of *ṛt rt*, Sinā agrees

with Bengali exactly, and with Singhalese except that there -l- > l But the most certain agreements here between Sinā and the Eastern languages—namely of PI -n- -l- n—are agreements of conservation, not of innovation, and cannot be adduced to prove anything except that innovations (e g -n- -l- > n l or n > n) which affected the centre of the language area did not affect either extremity The agreement in the development of rt rt, being an innovation, might, if proved, be held to indicate an earlier closer connexion between Sinā and the Eastern languages as opposed to those languages in which rt rt remained dental

R L TURNER

ARE THE FOUR SERIES (FRONT *t*, *d*, *r* *n*, BACK ***t***, ***d***, ***r***, ***n***; ASPIRATES, AND NON ASPIRATES) FOUND IN SINA?

The article of my old friend, Sir George Grierson (Misc., *JRAS*, Oct, 1924), raises some interesting points The greater part of it is devoted to a protest against the common use of *mūrdhanya* and "cerebral" I pass over the former, as I did not use the word, and go on to two points connected with "cerebral" It is advisable to touch on these two very minor details in order to clear the way for the discussion of the real question

Minor point (i) the meaning usually assigned to "cerebral".

In many of the Indian vernaculars there are pairs of sounds generally represented by *t*, *t* *d*, *d* *r*, *r* · *n*, *n* (and others with which we are not now dealing) In each case the point of articulation is further forward for the first-named than for the second "Dental" and "cerebral" are conventional terms applied by Orientalists and philologists to the forward set and back set respectively They *may* be unsuitable terms, but they hold the field at present, for they are employed in this sense by countless Orientalists, including Sir George Grierson himself. To take the latest instance, Professor Turner tells me that in his article on Sindhi Cerebralization

ventional sense without regard to the actual place of articulation Similarly, Professor Jules Bloch referring to his monumental work on Marathi, writes "Il va de soi que je n'ai pas voulu employer le mot cérébrale dans un autre sens que le sens conventionnel"

Phoneticians, however, dislike the word "cerebral", and prefer "retroflex consonant", which Professor Jones defines as "made with the tip of the tongue against any part of the hard palate, i e between the back of the teeth-ridge and the junction of the hard and soft palates" The Orientalist's "cerebral" is a relative term, the phonetician's "retroflex" is a precise definition When I write for Orientalists I use "cerebral", but when a year ago, writing as a phonetician, I attempted to translate into Hindi all the more usual phonetic terms, it did not even occur to me to include "cerebral"

The question of nomenclature is relatively unimportant, what concerns us more is the nature of the sounds indicated

Before proceeding we must remind ourselves of the enormous advance made by the science of speech sounds in the last few years Indian sounds are now being scientifically studied by Europeans and many of them are known with accuracy the descriptions of them in standard Grammars are out of date and cannot be appealed to This science has revealed *inter alia* three facts (i) a man usually pronounces his native language well according to his own particular dialect, but is apt to go wrong and give wrong information when being questioned, (ii) the description of a speech sound is an extraordinarily difficult matter, and anyone who wishes to attempt it requires a long course of phonetics This shows us the reason for the unreliability of most descriptions written by Indians, (iii) a man may have a scholarly knowledge of a language without an accurate knowledge of its sounds

Minor point (ii) Where are these "cerebrals" articulated ? Professor Daniel Jones is probably the most eminent living exponent of speech sounds, and very few Oriental scholars have spent as much time as he in the study of Indian sounds.

He states his opinion that in the Indian languages whose sounds he has studied the furthest back "cerebrals" are found in the Dravidian languages, but that even in their case the place of contact is no further back than half-way along the hard palate In one of his books there is a diagram of a typical retroflex consonant. Articulation takes place at a point between two-ninths and three-ninths of the distance from the back boundary of the teeth-ridge to the junction of the hard and the soft palate In another book he tells us that the Singhalese "retroflex *t* and *d*" are articulated "a little further back than English *t* and *d*"

Mr Lloyd James, Phonetic Lecturer in University College, a very able phonetician who has given great attention to the study of African and Indian sounds, mentions as the place of articulation for Indian "cerebrals" "anywhere from the alveolar position to half-way between the teeth-ridge and the end of the hard palate

The greatest authorities on Bengali sounds are Mr Sutton Page and Dr S K Chatterji Mr Page says that the place of articulation for Bengali "cerebrals" varies from an alveolar position to about a third of the way between the teeth-ridge and the junction of the hard and soft palates. Dr Chatterji, speaking of his own pronunciation, says for *t* and *d* "just behind the teeth-ridge", and for *r*, beginning in the same place but striking against the teeth-ridge with the under surface of the tongue

I myself have made a first-hand study of languages from Darjiling in the east to beyond Kashmir (to the Sinā country and Hazara in the north-west), and in that area extending for more than 1,500 miles I have not come across a "cerebral" further back than half-way along the hard palate.

It will thus be seen that, so far as is at present known to science, *no Indian language possesses a "cerebral" sound which has a point of articulation further back than the middle of the hard palate.*

In the same way "dental" is a conventional term.

point of fact a majority of the sounds which Orientalists call "**dental**" are alveolar. Usually *t* and *d* are dental, and *r*, *n*, *l* alveolar, but they are all conventionally called "dental".

The main question. *Are the four series found in Sinā?*

Let me emphasize the fact that this is the sole real issue. The inquiries as to the meaning of "cerebral" and the exact place of articulation are so subordinate as to be almost irrelevant.

Having cleared the ground, we proceed to the main problem, which is twofold. (i) Has Sinā got any of these pairs and if so which? Col. Lorimer and I assert that it has four pairs, viz. *t, t; d, d; r, r; n, n*. (ii) Does it distinguish aspirated from non-aspirated sounds? We say that it does. In both cases the two sets are as plainly distinguished as in other modern Indian vernaculars. The agreement of his views with mine is a fact of great interest, for we approach the study from different standpoints. Col. Lorimer, whose humility and honesty impart an abiding fragrance to all his writings, has stated over and over again that he does not trust his ear in the differentiation of these sounds. He therefore endeavours to obtain information by direct interrogation. After long experience he knows better than most the difficulties of the task. I have used the sounds all my life and can trust my ear. His results are derived from inquiry, mine from observation. The striking thing is that they agree. His views must be sought in his latest writings, not in the *ad interim* reports of his investigations printed in the *JRAS*, January and April, 1924. His mature conclusions are given in his article on Sinā Transitive Verbs (*Bull. Sch. Or. Stud.*, vol. iii, pt. iii, 1924). Knowing that he had written this article, I asked him to indicate by his method of transcription all his latest decisions. It will be seen that throughout he distinguishes "cerebrals" from non-"cerebrals", and aspirated sounds from unaspirated.

Let us examine it to see whether it agrees with my conclusions. There are 385 instances of *t, d, r, n*, each of which

might have been printed either " cerebral " or non- " cerebral ", and 500 sounds which he might have written either aspirated or unaspirated— 885 sounds in all. I am acquainted with the words used by Col Lorimer in this article, and in every single case I agree with his transcription of them Greater unanimity than this would be inconceivable. Be it remembered that we were not writing words whose stereotyped spelling could be looked up in a dictionary, we were putting down new words in a virgin language It will be noticed that he always writes *thoiki*, to distinguish it from *toiki* which is incorrect, *thoiki* is a mere variant of *thoiki*

Another line of investigation is Khān Sāhib 'Abdu'l Hakīm Khān's testimony Sir George Grierson says that the Khān Sāhib s views differ from mine This can be tested. In *Ling Surv Ind*, vol viii, pt ii, pp 171–2, a text prepared by him may be found In it are 380 sounds which might have been printed either aspirated or unaspirated He has marked them one way or the other, according to the evidence of his ear In these 380 instances there is one sole case in which I differ from him—one out of 380, perhaps a mere slip. We come to " cerebrals " and non-" cerebrals " There are 174 possible cases In one there is an obvious oversight, for an ending several times given correctly is once given wrong I omit this. There is one other word, *uth*, which in Urdu and Panjabi is *uth*, *utth* This has twice been wrongly printed with *t*. It may be a printer's error There is no other word in which I differ from him If even we count these two we get 172 points of agreement to two of disagreement As a matter of convenience, not of mathematical accuracy, let us add the two results We then get 3 points of difference in 554 instances—approximately a half of one per cent A degree of agreement so amazing bewilders one. Remembering the possibility of author's clerical errors, copyist's blunders, printer's mistakes, I should have been prepared for 10 per cent of difference and should still have considered that we were entirely accord. But here we have two men, the Khān Sāhib

myself, one an Indian, one a European, working in different years, in different places, with different people, on an unknown tongue not reduced to writing, and yet producing results with 99¾ per cent of agreement Such a measure of agreement—100 per cent with Col Lorimer and 99½ per cent with 'Abdu'l Hakim Khān—is unbelievable, it is uncanny, yet it is fact The whole range of the Linguistic Survey will probably not furnish anything approaching to a parallel nor, I should think, will any other linguistic work

This makes it clear that these distinctions between "cerebrals" and "dentals", and between aspirates and non-aspirates, are not accidental or imaginary that they do not depend upon individual speakers but are real and permanent

Minor point (iii) There remains only the question of the place of articulation of Sinā "cerebrals" and "dentals" Sir George proposes that we should call nearly all Sinā *t*-sounds, and presumably *d*-sounds alveolar never dental or cerebral and remarks that much of what he has said applies also to *n* and *r* I do not mind what terms are used so long as they convey the facts, but I should be a little afraid that Sir George in carrying so far his protest against the usual use of the terms, might create misapprehension However, I will here set down the place where the sounds are articulated, and he can then choose those terms which will best indicate to scholars the nature of the sounds and in particular the fact that the two series are rigidly separated from one another The same terms will have to be used for Bengali Marathi, Urdu, Panjabi, and other Indian vernaculars for to use one set of terms for Sinā and another for the same sounds in other languages would tend to confusion

Sinā "dentals" (i) pure dental, made right on the teeth: *t*, *d*, final *l*, and in certain circumstances *n* (ii) alveolar, made on the teeth-ridge *r*, non-final *l*, and *n* (except as above).

Siṇā "cerebrals" *t*, *d*, *r*, *n* against the hard palate, point of articulation varying according to definite rules, from a little behind the teeth-ridge, but not on it, to about a third of the

distance along the hard palate, the exact position depends on accompanying vowels

Note — An alveolar *n* in a few words attracts a following *t* or *d* to an alveolar position

I have taken Col Lorimer's views, correctly I believe, from his letters and latest article In his last communication, dated 20th November, 1924, the following statements are made · ' two *t*'s and two *d*'s are consistently distinguished by intelligent Sinā speakers The distinction is significant." They speak also of a third *d*, which his chief informant is "prepared to write as *r*", and he himself is "inclined to think" may be *r* (To describe it as *r* is correct I hope to deal with it in a systematic exposé of Sinā sounds —T G B) Siṇā speakers, he adds, also consistently distinguish *t*, *ṭ*, *k*, *p*, *c*, *c*, from *th*, *ṭh*, *kh* *ph*, *ch*, *ch* "There is," he says, "no question but that aspiration in Sinā is significant"

Sir George asks how I can be so positive about the "cerebral"? I answer— because I have used it since babyhood Like Alexander Pope

I lisp'd in cer'brals for the cer'brals came

Having known them all my life I cannot now confuse them with other sounds

May I strongly urge that in future writing on this subject attention should be directed solely to the question of the existence of the four series in Sinā—as in other Indo-Aryan languages, and that until all are agreed on this point, inquiries into the three minor points mentioned above should be deferred ?

Prof Bloch's admirable words about the "dental" and "cerebral" series cannot be bettered :—" C'est là l'essentiel : les faits peuvent varier dans le détail, l'écartement entre les deux points d'articulation peut être ± grand, la rétroversion de la langue peut être ± forte dans le cas de la 2e série, ce qui importe, c'est l'existence de deux séries."

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

SAMSUILUNA'S SIPPAR INSCRIPTION

The account of Samsuiluna's rebuilding of the wall **and siggurrat** [1] of Sippar, published in an Akkadian version by **Mr.** Smith in *CT* xxxvii, 1–4, and now translated by him, with **certain** additions, in *RA* xxi, 75–8, enables us to reconstitute **most** of the inscription, which like the only other considerable text of this king now extant, was drawn up in both the Sumerian and the Akkadian languages For the sources of the latter we may refer to Mr Smith's article those of the Sumerian version are as follows —

Poebel *Histor and Grammat Texts* (*HGT*) No 101

Langdon *Oxford Editions of Cuneif Inscr* (*OECI*), vol i, pl xxxi

Legrain *Historical Fragments* (*PBS* xiii) No 57

The first-mentioned author has given a translation of his text in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1915, 106 ff and 129 ff In the following parallel reconstruction the lines are numbered according to Mr Smith's (Akkadian) publication, the Sumerian column having too many gaps to allow of consecutive numeration Square brackets indicate conjectural [2] readings, where the texts are broken parentheses that the word or syllable is omitted by one or more of the originals

Sumerian Version	Akkadian Version
1 [*u*(*d*)^{d} *En-lil*]	1 *i-nu* ^{ilu}*En-lil*
2 [*lugal-dingir-ri-e-ne*]	2 *šarru ša i-li*
3, 4 *en-*[*gal kúr-kúr-ra-ge*]	3, 4 *be-lum ra-bi-um ša ma-da-tim*
5, 6 ^{d} *utu-*[*ra igi-kù-ga-na*]	5 6 *a-na* ^{ilu}*Šamaš in bu-ni-šu el-lu-tim*
7 *mu-un-ši-*[*in*]*-bar-ra-a*	7 *ip-pa-al-su-ma*
8 *zimbir*^{ki}	8 *Sipparim* ^{ki}
9 *uru-ul ki-šu-kád-a-ni*	9 *alu si-a-tim ma-ḫa-zu*

[1] *gigunu*, for it is hard to see how this word can have any other meaning. But the discussion does not belong here.

[2] In most cases, of course, the restorations can be made with confidence from parallel or similar passages elsewhere

10 *bád-bi dú-ù-dè*	10. ***dûr-ša e-bi-ša-am***
11 *ê-bàr-ra*	11. ***E-bar a-nâ aš-rı-šu***
12 *kı-bı-šù gí-gí-dè*	12. *tu-ur-ra-am*
13, 14 *Igı-ê-nır gıgun-na-maḫ-a-nı*	13, 14 *Igı-ê-nır* ***gı-gu-na-šu*** *sı-ra-am*
15, 16 *sag-bı an-gım íl-ı-dè*	15, 16 ***rı-šı-ša kı-ma ša-me-e*** *ul-la-a-am*
17 ^{d}*utu* ^{d}*šú-nır-da-bı*	17 ^{ilu}*Šamaš u* ^{ilat}*Aı*
18, 19 *kı-tuš kù-ne-ne-a*	18, 19 ***a-na šu-ub-tı-šu-nu*** *el-lı-tım*
20 *asılal ša(g)-ḫúl-ḫul-la-bı-šu tu-tu-dè*	20 *ın rı-ša-tım u* ***ḫı-dı-a-tım*** *e-rı-ba*
21, 22 *ka-gar-nu-kur-ru-da-na*	21, 22 *ın bı-šu ša* ***la ut-ta-ak-kı-ru***
23 *ne-ın-duq-qa-a*	23 *ıq-bı-u*
24 *u(d)-bı-a*	24 *ı-nu-šu*
25 *ur-sag-sul* ^{d} *utu*	25 *qarradu ıtlu* ^{ilu}***Šamaš***
26, 27. *nam-gal* ^{d} *En-lıl-lı*	26, 27 *a-na šı-ma-tım* ***ra-bi-a-tım*** *ša* ^{ilu}***En-lıl***
28, 29 *Zımbır*^{ki} *ê-bàr-ra mu-nı-ın-tar-ra-su*	28, 29 *a-na Sıpparım*^{ki} ***u*** *E-bar ı-šı-mu*
30 *ḫúl-la-gım*	30 ***kı-ma ḫı-du-tım***
31 *ım-ma-na-nı-íb-gar*	31 ***ıt-ta-aš-ka-an-šum***
32 *Sa-am-su-ı-lu-na*	32 ***Sa-am-su-ı-lu-na***
33 *lugal-[šú-tag]-ga-[nı]*	33 ***šar-ra-am lı-bı-ıt***
34 *[ì-me-en-na-ra]*	34. ***ga-tı-šu ıa-tı***
35 *[ḫúl-lı-eš gù-mu-un-dé]*	35 ***ḫa-dı-ıš ıs-sı-a-nı-ma***
36	36 ***te-ır-tam šu-a-tı***
37	37 ***u-ıoa-e-ra-an-nı***
38	38 ***ı-nu-šu na-ap-ḫa-ar***
39	39. ***ma-at Šu-me-ri-im***
40 . . .	40 ***u Ak-ka-di-im***
41	41. ***ša i-şi-ru-ni-in-ni***
42	42. ***ın lı-ib-bu***
43. . . .	43. ***ša-at-tim iš-ti-a-na***
44. . . .	44. ***a-di samani-šu***

45. . . .	45 *in* [isu] ***kakki lu(?)a-du-uk***
46 . . .	46 *alanı za-ı-rı-ıa*
47. . .	47 *a-na tıle u kar-mı*
48 .	48 *lu-u-te-ır*
49. *lù-erím-hu[l-la] suhuš-bı*	49 *SUHUŠ(?)* (= *išıd*) *a-ıa-bı lı-ım-nım*
50 ***kalam-[ta]*** *he-ım-mı-[zı]*	50 *ın [matım] lu-zu-uh*
51 ***kúr-gú-sı-[a]***	51 *na-ap-ha-ar matı*
52, 53 *dug-ga-má hu-mu-nı-[tuš]*	52, 53 *a-na qı-bı-tı-ıa* ***lu-u-še-šı-ıb***
54 *nıg ud-ul-lí-a-[ta]*	54 *sa ıs-tu u-um sı-a-tım*
55, 56 *sìg ê-bàr-[ra] ba-dìm-ma-[ta]*	55, 56 *ıs-tu lıbıttı* ***E-bar*** *ıb-ba-nı-u*
57, 58 *lugal-pa[ıl-e-]ne-[ır] lugal-na-[me]*	57, 58 *ın šarrı* ***mah-ra*** *šarru ma-an-ma-an*
59 *d utu ba-ra-mu-[na-an]-šı-ın-še-ga-a*	59 [ilu]*Šamaš la ım-qu-ru-**ma***
60 *bád-Zımbır* [ki]	60 *dûr Sıpparım* [ki]
61 *hu-mu-un-na-ta-an-?-dú?*	61 *la ı-pu-šu-šum-ma*
62 *Sa-am-su-ı-lu-na*	62 *Sa-am-su-ı-lu-na*
63 *kı-àg d utu d šú-nır-da-[bı]*	63 *na-ra-am* [ilu]*Šamaš* ***u*** [ilat]*Aı*
64 *lugal kal-ga*	64 *šarru da-num*
65 *lugal ká-dıngır-ra* [ki]	65 *šar Babılım* [ki]
66, 67 *[lugal] an-ub-d[a-lımmu-ba]*	66, 67 *šar kı-ıb-ra-at* ***ar-ba-ım***
68 *[lugal nıg-dug-]ga-[na]*	68 *šarru ša qı-bı-šu*
69 *[kı d utu d šú-nır-da-bı-da]*	69 *ıt-tı* [ilu]*Šamaš u* [ilat]***Aı***
70 *[ba-še-ga-a me-en]*	70 ***ma-ag-ra-at a-na-ku***
71, 72 *[nıg-dug-ga-d utu-d marduk-bı-ta]*	71, 72 *ın qı-bı-ıt* [ilu]***Šamaš u*** [ilu]***Marduk***
73 ?	(73 *ın tı-bu-ut*)
74. ?	(74 ***um-ma-an ma-tı-ıa-ma***)
75, 76 *[ša(g)-mu-bı-ta]*	75, 76 *ın* (*lı-ıb-**bu***) ***ša-at-tim šu-a-tim***

77 [sig-bi m]i-ni-[dù]	77. *libitta-šu al-bi-in*
78 [bád Zi]mbir ki	78 *dûr Sippaŕim* ki.
79 [ḫu]r-sag-ga[l-gim]	79 *ki-ma ša-tu-im ra-bi-im*
80 [mi]-ni-[íl]	80. *u-ul-li*
81 ê-bár-ra [šú-gibil]-im-mi-[in-ag]	81 *E-bar u-ud-di-iš*
82, 83, 84 igi-ê-nir gig[un-na]-maḫ-ne-[ne]	82, 83, 84 *Igi-ê-nir gi-gu-na-šu si-ra-am*
85, 86 sag-bi an-[gim] mi-ni-[íl]	85, 86 *ri-ši-ša ki-ma ša-me-e u-ul-li*
87 d utu d [IM] d šú-nir-da-[bi]	87 ilu*Šamaš* ilu*Adad u* ilat*Ai*
88 89 ki-tuš-ku-ne-n[e-šù]	88, 89. *a-na šu-ub-ti-šu-nu el-li-tim*
90 asilal šà(g)-ḫul-ḫul-la-bi-[ta] mi-ni-[tu]	90 *in ri-ša-tim u ḫi-da-tim u-še-ri-ib*
91-93 ê-bàr-[ra-šu] d lama-šag-ga-[bi] im-mi-[qur]	91–3 *a-na E-bar lamassa-šu da-me-iq-tam u-te-ír*
94 95 kuš-d utud IM d šú-nir-da-[bi]	94, 95 *ša e-li* ilu*Šamaš* ilu*Adad u* ilat*Ai*
96 dúg-ga-ra im-mi-[dú]	96 *ta-bu e-pu-uš*
97, 98 nig-dug-ga d [utu] d marduk-bi-da-ge	97, 98 *qi-bi-it* ilu*Šamaš u* ilu*Marduk*
99 ki-bi-sù im-mi-gar	99 *a-na aš-ri-(im) aš-ku-un*
100 bád-ba d utu	100 *dûri šu-u* ilu*Šamaš*
101 Sa-am-su-i-lu-na-šù	101 *a-na Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*
102 nam-nir nam-kal-ga	102 *iš-ru-uq-šum*
103 ù nam-ti-la-ge	103 *me-te-lu-tam du-un-nam*
104 sag-e-šù mu-ni-in-PA.-KAB DU mu-bi-im	104 *u ba-la-ṭam šum-šu*
105 ḫur-šù-ám d utu	105. *a-na šu-a-ti* ilu*Šamaš*
106, 107 sag-nam-lugal-la-na ? mu-un-íl-la	106, 107. *mu-ul-li ri-eš šar-ru-ti-šu*
108. nam-ti ù-dúg-ga . . . an- ? -ag-a	108–10. *ba-la-ṭi* [illegible] *im da-ga-a-am*

(omitted)	111, 112 *šar-ru-tam ša ša-nin la i-šu-u*
113. *^{giš}gidru nig-si-sá*	113 *ḫattam mi-ša-ri-im*
114. *uku gi-en-gi-en*	114 *mu-ki-na-at niše*
115, 116 *^{giš} tukul - kal - ga ^{giš}gaz lù-kur-e-ne*	115, 116 *^{iṣu}kakkam dannam ma-as-ka-aš na-ki-ri*
117, 118 *[nam-]en ub-da-limmu-ba*	117, 118 *be-lu-ut ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-im*
119 *[du-rí-]šù ag-da*	119 *a-na da-ar e-bi-ša-am*
120, 121 *[nig-ba-]ni šù [mu-]na-an-si*	120 121 *a-na gi-iš-ti-šu id-di-i šum*

Line 9 *ki-šu-kád* = *maḫazu*, cf *RA* XII, 75, ll 39, 40 On the last sign all the copies are unsatisfactory

Line 12 *-šù*, omitted by *HGT* 101

Line 30 Akkadian version reads *ḫi* (not *ḫé*)-*du tim*

Line 31 Variant *PBS* XIII 57 *-ni-in-gar*

Line 32 *OECI* I, 31 Col I ends here

Line 33 *PBS* XIII, 57, ends here

Lines 34, 35 Supplied conjecturally from the Akkadian, cf Samsuil, Bilingual 22

Lines 45–7 Plurals indicated in Akkadian by repetition of the signs

Lines 49–68 Sumerian version *HGT* 101, obv col 2

Line 49 *SUḪUŠ* is probably to be read in Akkad, but none of the originals is clear enough to permit of certainty *HGT* 101, obv col 2, begins here

Line 50 *zi* in Sumer and *matim* in Akkad, both conjectural, but may be restored with confidence

Line 57 *palil*, i e *IGI DU*

Line 59. The Sumer supports 56620 in reading *im-gu-ru* against *im-ma-ru* (102404)

Line 61 *ḫu* in Sumer must be a mistake for *nu*

Line 69, 70 For the restoration of the Sumer, cf Hammur. Sippar inscr 6–9

Lines 73, 74 Omitted in one of the Akkad versions (102404).

Line 77 *HGT* 101 rev col 3 begins

Line 84 Sumer "their (plur) lofty *gigunu*"

Line 96 *OECI*, pl xxxi, col 4 begins

Line 100 ff "Of that wall, 'Shamash has bestowed upon Samsuiluna lordliness, strength, and life' is its name" The sense of this passage is revealed by the Sumerian version, the Akkadian originals being all wretchedly defaced The order of words in the Akkad which is very unusual, and does not, of course, correspond with the Sumer, looks like a stylistic device

Lines 105–7 Sumer version as given is based on the Akkad. *OECI*, pl xxxi, col 4, can hardly be right

Line 108 *HGT* 101 rev col 4, begins, but the reading is doubtful For *ù-dúg-ga*, see Delitzsch, *Sumer Glossar*, 39.

Line 118 *OECI* ends

Line 119 Cf Samsuiluna, Bilingual 92

C J GADD.

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF SVAPNA-VASAVADATTA?

May I venture to point out a not unimportant omission in the interesting references to a *Svapna-vāsavadatta* quoted by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Ganapati Śāstri from the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and *Sṛngāra-prakāśa* in the October, 1924, number of this *Journal*, pp 668–9? Obviously, if these works should give the name of the author of the play as Bhāsa, they would be important witnesses in support of his view that the Trivandrum text of the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* is the work of Bhāsa, if they do not, they can prove nothing whatever as to the authorship Now in neither of them, as quoted by him, is Bhāsa mentioned Has he not omitted something?

I may add that there are grounds for doubting whether the play mentioned in the Bhāva-prakāśa is, after all, identical with the Trivandrum text.

L. D. BARNETT.

THE SALE OF A PRIESTHOOD

In the transcription and translation of Colonel Stevenson's tablet from Wanah wa-Sadûm, which I published on pp 41–8 (pls. iv and v) of the *Centenary Supplement* I made certain mistakes, which I should like the opportunity of correcting

p 41 Mr S. Smith, Assistant in the Oriental Department of the British Museum has pointed out to me that the name of the place where the tablet was found is given by Yâqût (*Kitâbu mu'jami-'lbuldâni* ed Wustenfeld, iv 942 and iii 59) as *Wanah* (ونه) and *Sadûm* (سدوم)

p 44, n 4, and p 45 l 9 For *sûnu* and *sûna* read *šimu* and *šima* respectively

p 45, ll 19 and 21 (n 3) Mr Smith suggests that *HAR MEŠ* stands in the plural (and should therefore be read *šuâtunu*) because *GIR LAL -u-tu* in these places is the plural of *girlalû* and means "*girlal*-priests" and not the feminine abstract noun *girlalûtu*, '*girlal*-priesthood'

p 46, l 26 Delete n 1

p 48 The translation of *ittu* in l 28 as a permansive used in a passive sense is incorrect it is a present-future used actively, and means, as Mr Smith suggests Enlil-udammiq becomes responsible (for any claims that may be raised against Šumâ)" More exactly the situation seems to be this if a claimant (in this case not of the house of Enlil-udammiq) shall bring a valid claim to the share of Šumâ, Enlil-udammiq shall give him satisfaction, since as seller he must make a good title and is answerable for any claims

G R D

BHASA-KRTA SVAPNA VASAVADATTA

We are greatly indebted to Professor Sylvain Lévi, who in his valuable article 'Deux Nouveaux Traités de Dramaturgie Indienne" (*Journal Asiatique*, Oct.–Dec 1923, pp 193–218) has brought to light two quotations from the

Svapna-Vāsavadatta of Bhāsa, who is actually named in connexion with one of them He understands the naming of the author, which is not usual in the text containing the quotation (*Nātya-darpana* by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra), to imply a conscious distinction from a second play with the same title This is one of those agreeable situations where we may usefully indulge in further reflections upon a new fact, and I will endeavour to show that there are grounds for resisting the seductive suggestion of our eminent confrère.

If we speak sometimes of *Othello* or the *Faery Queen*, and sometimes of Shakespeare's *Othello* or Spenser's *Faery Queen*, the inconsistency is not infrequently due to pure accident. But in a multitude of instances it would probably be possible to trace an instinctive reference to some point in the total situation the reference varies from case to case—it may depend upon antithesis, or emphasis, or the intellectual quality or culture of the person addressed or a thousand other factors It is not in the least a rule, or even usual, that such a mention of an author should aim at a discrimination from other authors We may appeal to common experience.

In the present case we may suggest that the phrase *Bhāsa-kṛta*, applied to the work named, was simply due to a relative unfamiliarity of the public for which the *Nātya-darpana* was written with the play or its authorship. At that date people needed in regard to the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* a little more explicitness than in regard to such works as the *Śakuntala*, known outside the circles of specialists in literature Ganapati Śāstrī has already shown why Bhāsa's plays, though they retained their fame, ceased to be in fashion Jonson's *Sejanus* and Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, and their authors likewise, may have great literary fame; but what proportion of the British reading public in 1924 could dispense with a mention of the personal name?

That the phrase *Bhāsa-kṛta* does not presuppose another *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* of different authorship is proved Professor Lévi's next observation; for the description of

Mrcchakatika as "by Śūdraka" (*Śrī-Śūdraka-viracita*) could not have been intended to distinguish the work from the *Daridra-Cārudatta*, the two being already distinguished by their titles The same applies to the other (eight) cases where the citations in the *Nātya-darpana* are accompanied by the authors' names

The import of Professor Lévi's valuable quotations requires to be precisely estimated Apart from the matter of anthology verses, the weak point in Ganapati Śāstrī's position was the lack of attested connexion of the edited plays with the name of Bhāsa This attestation has now been supplied by the *Nātya-darpana* For the *scene* and partly the words which it attests do actually occur in the Trivandrum play The plays have not merely the same subject and the obvious inference is, as Professor Lévi indicates that one is a recast of the other If anyone doubts this, let him find the same relation in the case of other plays dealing with the Udayana story, e g Harsa's *Ratnāvalī* or *Priyadarśikā* or Anangaharsa's *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* The other quotation (in Sāgara's work) from a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* goes further since it shows that the play proper *began* with the same scene and practically the *same words* as the Trivandrum play

We must, however make a further observation, less obvious, but not, I think, less indisputable The mention of Bhāsa in the *Nātya-darpana* does not if the two plays are different recensions of the same original, give the one a superiority in authenticity to the other For clearly the writers cite the one which they happen to know (end of the twelfth century), and, if the Trivandrum text had been that one, the same phrase would, in the case stated, have been used If a writer in the twelfth century quoted a passage from the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśī* as by Kālidāsa, would that be an argument for the superiority of a recension containing that act?

Further, we must not forget that the attestation of some of the Trivandrum plays is of far greater antiquity than the

Nātya-darpana Not to mention Ganapati Śāstrī's last important citations (*supra*, pp 668–9) from the *Bhāva-prakāśa* of Śāradā-tanaya and the *Śrngāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, we should recall his previous demonstration that the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana* is actually quoted by *Bhāmaha* (7th to 8th century), and a verse from the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is given by Vāmana (ninth century), who also, I observe, cites from the *Cārudatta* a half-verse which in the *Mrcchakatika* (Act I, v, 6) occurs *with other readings* Professor Lévi's article supplies (pp 216–17) a new confirmation regarding the *Cārudatta*, supporting the view that it is the original of the *Mrcchakatika*

Nor should we forget that for an author other than Bhāsa we are still without a name, real or fictitious In the annals of famous Indian dramas where should we find a parallel to this? It follows inevitably that no other author of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* was known and it is evident that whatever recensions of the play existed were attributed to him And we have seen that what existed was recensions

As regards the citation by Sāgara of the beginning of the play, the inferiority of his text is patent For the words—

aye katham tapoiane 'py utsāranā

should obviously be spoken not by the Sūtradhāra (unless as re-echoed by him), but by some one *in* the scene, as in the Trivandrum play—

katham ihāpy utsāryate

and the description of Yaugandharāyana as *Vatsarājasya rājya-pratyānayanam kartu-kāmah* is both inaccurate and and ridiculously out of place in the scene Nor would the "out of the way" be addressed specially to one individual. Also the word *pathati* requires some explanation (unless the Sūtradhāra is *repeating* something) It seems as if Sāgara were quoting from a bad memory.

The remaining difficulty as regards the Trivandrum plays is still the matter of the anthology verses. As to the vast

from the *Dhvany-āloka-locana*, I have previously (*JRAS.* 1922, p 81, n) pointed out (what Professor Lévi has not observed) that it should begin with *srañcita*, cf *añcita-bhrū*, not with the meaningless *sañcita* I agree with Ganapati Śāstrī that it could not have a place in the Trivandrum play, though it might occur in a work on the lines of the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja*

F W THOMAS

BHASA AND ACCUSATIVES PLURAL MASCULINE IN -ĀNI

In a note, p 293 *supra*, Dr Barnett alleged a "variety of view" in recognizing on the one hand confusion of masculine and neuter *a*-stems in the *Bṛhaspati-Sūtra* a Sanskrit work of *circa* the twelfth century A D and on the other hand Accusatives Plural Masculine in -*āni* in the Prakrit of "Bhāsa" (date to be determined) To my protest (pp 149-50) that such an allegation involves a failure to distinguish two different phenomena and two distinct languages he now replies (pp 655–6) expanding his view, but not repairing the confusion or adequately contemplating the facts

I think that he should not have written that it was "most perverse [presumably on the part of Dr Printz and myself] to dig out a far-fetched explanation from the inscriptions of Asoka" For, even if he has not had an opportunity of reading the article in which Professor Luders first called attention (Dec, 1913) to the Accusatives Plural Masculine in -*āni*, he has certainly read my own words (1922, p 82) "accusative plural masculine in -*āni*, a form which Professor Luders first distinguished in the Edicts of Asoka and the plays of Aśvaghosa[1]" It is far from immaterial that the idiom occurs in the plays of Aśvaghosa, who is supposed to be a not remote predecessor of the real Bhāsa This is, however, by no means all Professor Luders, who regards the -*āni* as characteristic of the eastern dialects, is able to trace it in

[1] I do not find the reference If this is an error, it is a minimizing one, since Professor Luders quotes even later dramatists

the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Jains, and finds it even extending westwards, so as to appear in the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla. Dr Barnett might have dispensed with his citation of Caṇḍa's Nominative Plural *devāni*, since he could have found enough instances of like character in the article of Professor Lüders and in Pischel's Prakrit Grammar (§ 358, including Caṇḍa).

That this idiom is different from a general confusion of masculine and neuter *ă*-stems requires no proof to any one who remembers that in Latin the ordinary plural of *locus* is *loca*. Similar phenomena are recognized in other Indo-European languages, and it is perhaps likely that the Prakrit usage goes back to the same beginning (although it may have been due to a confusion of acc pl masculine *-ān* and acc pl. neuter in *-āni*). But the existence of the idiom seems to be admitted by Dr Barnett, since, if it had not existed, it could not be 'dug out' from anywhere.

Does this idiom occur in the Prakrit of "Bhāsa"? This ought not to require demonstration, since the fact has been stated with evidence by Dr Printz. I have noted in "Bhāsa's" Prakrit the following Accusatives Plural Masculine in *-āni*:—

ahmāliśakāni (persons! *asmādṛśakān*), *kesāni*, *gunāni*, *gummaāni* (*gulmakān*), *gucchaāni*, *padahāni* (*paṭahān*), *paārāni* (*prakārān*), *phanāni* (*phanān*), *modaāni* (*modakān*), *saadaāni* (*śakaṭakān*),

and of some of these the nominatives (e.g. *gunā* and *modakā*, on the same page with the Accusative *modaāni*) actually occur. Also from other similar stems the Nom. Pl. is in *ā*, and in the Singular the Masculine and Neuter are distinguished. That the forms are written with full intention is plain from the fact that the regular Accusatives in *-ān* appear in the Sanskrit parts of the same dialogues. Moreover, the regular Prakrit Accusatives Masculine in *e* do not, so far as I have observed, occur *at all* in "Bhāsa": to quote, as Dr. Barnett does, an example from the *Matta-vilāsa* (which also we owe to the editing of Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī, in

which is not otherwise specially connected with ' Bhāsa ") is about as appropriate as to quote one from the *Śakuntala*

For the rest I do not doubt that irregularities as between Masculine and Neuter *ă*-stems are discoverable in the plays of " Bhāsa " (Sanskrit and Prakrit), as in other Sanskrit works and in Latin *ŏ*-stems Also if we could suppose that the special idiom of Acc Pl Masculine in *-āni* could have penetrated into Sanskrit, i e the bad Sanskrit in which the *Brhaspati-Sūtra* is composed the four form in *-āni* there, which, in fact are all Accusative might actually be instances of it In that case there would have been on my part some unnecessary " variety of view (article published in 1916) , but the idiom would be established for late Sanskrit (unless a survival from an old text)

In regard to the general Bhāsa question Dr Barnett draws (recalls) my attention to Professor Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for Oct -Dec , 1923 pp 193 218, as proving that there were at least two *Svapna Vāsavadattas* and that the one by Bhāsa was not the Trivandrum play I somewhat shrink from drawing Dr Barnett's own more particular attention to that article, since for the views of which he has been the advocate in Europe it is rather a γοργείη κεφαλή Accordingly I am dealing with the matter in a separate note Here two observations may suffice (1) It is not correct to say that the ' situation in which the first of Professor Lévi's two passages occur cannot be " traced in the Trivandrum play ' Nor does Professor Lévi say that it cannot on the contrary, he says (p 199) that in the Trivandrum play " we rediscover the dislocated elements of the authentic scene, such as Bhāsa had written it , but the *remaniement* has dislodged the king's verse (2) The second passage is an insignificant one, not referred to a Bhāsa and rather obviously depraved from the Trivandrum version We may readily admit that there may have been two, or more, *Svapna-Vāsavadatta's*—it would be strange had there not been—in the sense in which there are two or more *Śakuntala's*,

Vikramorvaśī's, *Macbeth's*, and the like When Professor Lévi writes (p 218) that "we must conclude that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published by Ganapati Śāstrī is not exactly the work cited by Sāgara under that name", he seems to associate himself with the reasonable view that the one was a recast of the other

Dr Barnett remarks that "after this it is hardly necessary to add that there are also two *Kalyāna-saugandhikas*" Conceiving that this is a reply to the statement that "Sanskrit dramas usually (and the older ones known to us invariably) have distinct titles", a hasty reader might suppose the two *Kalyāna-Saugandhikas* to be two old Sanskrit dramas He can learn from Dr Barnett himself (*Bulletin S O L*, iii, 1 p 33 n) that one is of uncertain date (it is a short and little known composition), while the other, certainly late or modern is not at all what is understood by the term "Sanskrit drama", being in mixed Sanskrit and Malayalam[1] Not even a *sāgaropama* of such cases would affect the matter.

Under the witty title *Ābhāsa-Bhāsa* (but the witticism might have been credited to the Indian writer on this subject from whom it is taken) Dr Barnett has now published in the *Bulletin* (iii, 3, pp 519–20) an article in which he again repeats the suggestion that the *nyāya-śāstra* of Medhātithi mentioned in the *Pratimā* is Medhātithi's commentary on Manu The improbability of this suggestion, which will strike every scholar, has been sufficiently exposed by Professor Keith (iii, 2, p 295) But it should also be observed that by Medhātithi the dramatist evidently means Gautama, identifying him (as Professor Satīścandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa does, *Indian Logic*, 1921, p 18) with the Medhātithi Gautama of the *Mahā-Bhārata* An early date for the *Pratimā* is then not merely not forbidden, but even supported by this reference, as by the other details of the passage.

F. W. Thomas.

[1] I have not been able to see the work. A *campū* of the same name has just been published in Travancore.

CHINESE IN ANCIENT KHOTAN

If in ancient Khotan there were quasi-Greeks (*supra*, pp. 671–2), much more naturally and certainly there were Chinese and quasi-Chinese, and the word *Cina* occurs, no doubt, in this sense There were probably also Persians and other Iranians, as is evidenced by a few names and other words While proposing to dwell more upon this in another connexion, may I beg the help of Sinologists in dealing with certain possibly Chinese designations of buildings, etc , as given in the Tibetan chronicle of Li-Yul (Khotan) ?

The buildings are Buddhist Vihāras and Saṃghārāmas erected at various times and on different occasions by apparently successive kings the succession is, however, unimportant, and all that matters is that the relatively late ones were in closer relation with China The language also we know to have been partly Chinese , for instance, the local name *Hgeḥu-to-śan* for the Gośṛnga-parvata has been shown (*Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus*, vi p 186 naturally anticipated by a Chinese scholar such as Professor Pelliot *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, ii p 145) to be Chinese, and *shan* " mountain " recurs, no doubt in the name of the mountain *Pha-śan*

The names refer to the circumstances of the foundation This is obvious in the case of some of them, and it is quite in keeping with the observation of Sir M A Stein (*Rājataranginī*, trans , ii, p 369, n 85, already adduced by Professor Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1923 i, p 184, n 2) that similar foundations in Kashmir had appellations ending in *bhavana* " abode ", preceded by the name of the founder or some other participator Thus the Zei-ro-ḥjo Vihāra was built for the Arhat Za-ro, and the Hdaḥ-no-yo-no Vihāra by the Minister Hdaḥ-no-ya the Vihāra " Maitra ", " friendship ", was due to co-operation of King Vijaya-Dharma and the Chinese Minister Ser-the-śi The Dro-mo-ḥdza Vihāra is named from Dharmā, and the Na-mo-ḥbu-gdon from Na-mo-bod, and so forth.

In the cases in question the problem is not quite the same as generally confronts us with regard to Chinese representations

of foreign words Here we are given in a foreign alphabet words supposedly Chinese, and the problem is to discover Chinese words of corresponding pronunciation at the period and of suitable meaning, which latter we begin by inferring from the circumstances For a particular reason not much stress need be laid upon the vowel (as between *a* and *o*), and the last syllable (*no*, *jo*, *to*, etc) may be neglected The cases are as follows —

(1) The '*Er-mo(-no)* Vihāra, built by the daughter of King Vijaya-Hjaḥ-la, wife of the Gu-zan king, for the Bhiksunī Arhatī Vijayā "The daughter's Vihāra" ?

(2) The *Kho-mo-no(-no)* Vihāra, built by Vijaya-Pāla for his wife, who had become an Arhatī "The Queen s Vihāra" ?

(3) The *Khye-śo(-na)* Vihāra, built by Vijaya-Simha for his queen's Kalyāna-mitrā, the Arhatī Bdun-gśegs ("Seven", "going) from Su-lig (Kashgar) "The Bdun-gśegs Vihāra" ?

(4) The *Po-blo-na-jo* Vihāra, built by Viśa-Dzaya, daughter of Vijaya-Kīrti, for her elder sister, the Arhatī Vi-te-śe(?)-ci. *Po-blo-na* ?

(5) The *Khe-gan-tsa* Vihāra built by King Vijaya-Sambhava and the Chinese Minister Ka-the-śi for two Arhats, his Kalyāna-mitras U-dren-dra-rod-ci ('Udrendraroci) and Dharmānanta The foundation seems to appear elsewhere as the *Hi-kwan-sze*, built by the Minister Ka-thi-śi (Sarat Chandra Das' *Tibetan Dictionary*, s v *Ka-thi-śi*). Can *Khe-gan-tsa*, *Hi-kwan-sze* refer to the two Kalyāna-mitras ?

(6) The *Yo-zo(-ḥjo)* Vihāra, built by Śo-rgya, Queen of Hdon-ḥdros, for her elder sister Śoḥi-dzaya, who had come from China to be her Kalyāna-mitrā "The elder sister's Vihāra" ?

In this connexion I may inquire concerning the image *Phye* (*v l* *Phyi*)-*se*—pronounce *Phe*(*Phi*)-*se*—standing before the Kaśyapa Caitya on Mount Gośrnga. In the circumstances this might well be Vaiśramana or Vairocana. Can it be a Chinese shortening for *Pei-che(she)-lo-man-nang* = Vaiśramana (see Professor Lévi, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, iv, p. 544) or for *Pi-(lu-)shê-(na)* = Vairocana ?

F. W. THOMAS

Postscript —*The names Kuṣana and Vijaya* (Wei-she), etc —I venture to make the following suggestions, of which I hope shortly to publish some justification –

(1) The name *Kuṣana* (like *yabgu*) belongs to the language of the Khotan region A variant form is *Kurṣana* (*κορσανο*) and, both probably denoted "Ku(western ?)-mountain" (Chinese *shan*) The forms *Ku-ṣa* and *Kur-ṣa* had probably the same sense

(2) *Jitogha*, the surname (*JRAS*, 1921 p 280) of the Khotan kings, is not derived from *Vijaya* on the contrary, *Vijaya* (*Vidzaya*, *Wei-she* etc) is an etymologizing equivalent of *Jitogha*

(3) A name of the Khotan region or part of it was (as was long ago conjectured by Dr Laufer) *Bru-sa* its language (*wah-ma*) was monosyllabic and had nothing to do with "Old Khotanese"

F W T

CAKIKA

The word *cākika*, cited above (*Centenary Supplement*, p 136) from the play *Pāda-taditaka* by Śyāmilaka a Kashmiri writer, is no doubt misprinted for the *cākrika* noted by Sir M A Stein as occurring in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v 268 (see trans) with the meaning "intriguer" For the earlier history of the word see Bohtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Dictionary*

F W Thomas

THE LATE DR HOERNLE'S MSS

A list of the MS papers left by the late Dr Hoernle and deposited in the Library of the India Office was published in this *Journal* for 1923, p 551 They are fragmentary Besides them he had prepared a transcript of a medical tractate written in Khotanese script, one of Sir A Stein's discoveries. It consists of a Sanskrit text with a full Khotanese commentary, and he enriched it with an elaborate introduction, careful notes, and a complete vocabulary of all the Khotanese words with references to the places where they occur The whole was made over to the Clarendon Press in Oxford to be published as the second volume of *Manuscript Remains of*

Buddhist Literature found in Turkestan, but the cost of publishing the first volume had been very great, and there have been no sufficient subsidies to aid the publication of the second volume so as to make it pecuniarily successful Hence this, his last work, has remained in abeyance in the custody of the Press

The tractate deals mostly with various medicinal preparations of ghee The Sanskrit text is faulty, like many Buddhist Sanskrit writings, and is of little intrinsic value, but the introduction, notes, and Khotanese vocabulary are valuable, especially the vocabulary This note is published at Sir A Stein's desire, so that scholars who may be at work on Khotanese may know of this important aid to their researches

F E PARGITER

THE NETTIPAKARANA AN EARLIER BOOK THAN THE PATTHANA (MAHA PAKARANA)

Nothing is yet known as to the date when either work was compiled, nor as to who wrote either The former is ex-Canonical The latter is Canonical, being the seventh and last book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka And since Edmund Hardy edited the former work (Pali Text Society, 1902), our improved knowledge of the said Pitaka enables us to venture to make this opening remark This is how we may arrive at such a conclusion —

In the Netti is a little chapter on "Parikkhāra", that is equipment Usually applied to a monk's few necessaries, it is here applied to mean all that goes to bring about a happening all the conditions to produce an effect Now these are twofold the *paccaya*'s (*pratyaya*'s) or causal accessories, and the *hetu* or particular, intrinsic cause Thus a seed becomes a shoot if exposed to soil and water, etc —these are *paccaya*'s— but its nature to *werden*, to grow, is its *hetu*. Those it shares with other kinds, but this is "not-held-in-common" (*asādhāraṇa*) Take now this happening: "a seeing some thing." Here the eye is the dominant condition (*adhipati paccayatāya paccayo*). The thing seen is the object cond

(*ārammaṇapaccayatāya paccayo*) The light is the medium-condition (*sannissāyatāya paccayo*) But attention (lit mind-work) is the *hetu* In conclusion, it states whatever is sufficing condition (*upanissaya*) that is a causal antecedent (*parikkhāra*)

Now this simple exposition is a development of the yet simpler wording in the Suttas There no distinction is drawn between *hetu* and *paccaya* *Ko hetu ko paccayo* ' what's the cause, what's the reason that occurs often but no distinction is drawn in the reply

But let us open the Patthāna Here at the start not only has a distinction been drawn but an elaborate classification of *paccaya*'s, twenty-four in kind, is drawn up as standardized knowledge *Hetu* is a species of *paccaya* first and chief of them Further "dominance object medium ' (lit dependence, *nissaya* now not *sannissaya*) sufficing condition" (*upanissaya*) are classed as *paccaya*'s Nos 3, 2, 9, and 8 And further, the invariable way of assigning causal relation in a happening is not the Netti's way, but (*hetu-*, etc)-*paccayena paccayo*

We may conclude from this that the writer *did not know* of the Patthāna He did know some Abhidhamma He alludes to a method in the first of its seven books (*Dhs* §§ 176 9 cf *A* ii, 149 f), to a definition in the second book (*Vbh* , p 85), but never to that notable schema in the Patthāna

Yet in the works ascribed to Buddhaghosa a tremendous homage is paid to the Patthāna The teaching of its infinite wisdom " produced the nimbus round the Teacher (*Expositor*, pp 11–18), and the Visuddhi Magga splashes about in the Paccaya's for ten pages In the Netti exposition we see the twenty-four beginning to emerge But the scheme-idiom is not yet there, or it would surely have been brought in

This does not make out a very great antiquity for the Netti It only suggests for the book a date between the Kathāvatthu and the two works added on to the Canon after the Council of Patna—the Yamaka and the Patthāna. Some evidence as to this is given in my *Buddhist Psychology*, 2nd ed., p 272 f

C A RHYS DAVIDS.

TWO NEW MANICHAEAN MANUSCRIPTS FROM TUN-HUANG

Among the numerous manuscripts brought back from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, and now preserved in the British Museum, Dr Lionel Giles has found two Manichæan rolls of great interest of which he has very kindly ceded to me the right of publication

One (No 3969) is the beginning of the very same roll of which I brought back a small portion to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Paris fragment has been published and translated by Chavannes and myself in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, i, 105–16 But here we have the title of the work 摩尼光佛教法儀略 *Mo ni kuang fo chiao fa yi lio*, or "Compendium of the religion of the Buddha of Light Māni", and the indication that the work was translated (or, rather, adapted) by imperial order in 731 A complete translation and a commentary will appear in an early number of the *Journal Asiatique*

The other manuscript (No 2659) is perhaps of still greater importance It is a hymnal, in which the text of the hymns is sometimes translated into Chinese, but more often given in pehlvi written phonetically with Chinese characters The work of putting back the Chinese transliteration into the original pehlvi will be an arduous one, but may finally prove to be of great service even for ascertaining the pronunciation of the pehlvi language in the seventh or eighth century

PAUL PELLIOT.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Orientalia, chiefly Indian

1 THE WORLD'S LIVING RELIGIONS By ROBERT ERNEST HUME 6½ × 4½, 298 pp New York. Scribner's, 1924. $1 75

This is an amazingly clever work In less than 300 pages the author has contrived to give an account of eleven of the important religions of the world, those which he thinks may be described as "living" Opinions will doubtless differ as to the religions which have a right to this name, but no one will question the ability with which he seizes on the characteristic features of the different forms of belief which he has chosen Each account closes with a statement of the elements of strength and of weakness in the religion under discussion It is open to question whether the author is well advised in attempting to preserve an attitude of impartiality towards Christianity As an ex-missionary he probably finds in Christ and Christianity more than his pen can express, his apparent aloofness, therefore, strikes one as unnatural This is clearly seen in his statement of the elements of weakness in Christianity In the case of other religions he mentions things inherent in their systems, but when he comes to Christianity he refers only to such weakness as arises out of the failure of certain Christians to live up to their faith. The attitude adopted by Dr J N Farquhar in his books is really more satisfactory He endeavours, like Dr Hume, to be scrupulously fair to others, but makes no effort to conceal his own convictions

On the whole the bibliography is extremely well chosen, but no bibliography of Judaism, however short, should omit Davidson's Theology of the Old Testament. The books given under Christianity are not superior to many others that might be mentioned.

2. **Dictionary of the Hindee Language** By the **Rev. J. D. Bate** Second edition $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, 810 pp **Allahabad**: Indian Press, 1916 Rs 6

The Indian Press has reprinted with a few alterations the **well-known** dictionary compiled by the late Mr J D Bate, **Baptist** Missionary in Delhi The changes are unimportant, **and are** not all improvements Thus, some archaic words are **omitted**, the retention of which would have been of great **assistance** to students of Avadhi and Braj poetry Mr Bate **wrote at** a time when Roman spelling was not fixed Here and **there** his Romanizing has been altered, but unfortunately the spelling "Hindee" has been kept in the title This dictionary, valuable to those who are reading Hindi literature, is now brought within the reach of all

3 **The Elements of Hindustani Grammar** By **Ram Pershad** $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 2 + 75 pp Ajmer The Author, 1916.

The author of this little work on Urdu has undertaken **a task** somewhat beyond him He may be an excellent speaker **of the** language, but he has not acquired sufficient acquaintance **with** scientific method, and he experiences a difficulty in **expressing** himself in English In so short a book the **questions** on English grammar and composition are un-**necessary** We must, in justice to the author, give heed to the **modest** request implied in the closing words of his preface "discovery of mistakes proper or misprints that may be found **creeping** is welcome"

4. **Catalogue of the Library of the India Office** Vol. II, Part IV, Supplement, 1906–20 Bengali Books By J F **Blumhardt** 9×6, i + 523 pp **London**. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1923

This is a very thorough piece of work It gives a list of the **Bengali books** belonging to the library, and indicates in a line **the nature of each work** This feature is of special value to

serious students. There are two good indexes, one of persons, the other of subjects

5 THE WONDERS OF THE HIMALAYA By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, i + 210 pp, 1 photograph and 1 sketch-map London John Murray, 1924

Sir Francis Younghusband is known not only as a successful administrator and as a forceful writer on religious subjects, but also as an explorer who wields a facile pen He has produced a very brightly written book, which shows us vividly the life which he lived while exploring, and lets us a little into the secret of his success We can see here how attached he became to his faithful followers, and how much they reciprocated his feelings We see also how he first came to hear the call of the mountains The appeal which they made to him in his subaltern days he continued to feel in maturer manhood and middle age, and the memory of them remains with him as an abiding possession This volume of travel is one of great human interest and will repay the time spent upon it

6 EXAMPLES OF INDIAN SCULPTURE AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM Selected by LAURENCE BINYON Introduction by WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN $11 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, 12 pp, 12 plates. London India Society, 1923

Mr Binyon has chosen his subjects well, and in Mr Rothenstein he has found an interpreter full of a vast enthusiasm The latter has laid on the colour with possibly too lavish a hand, but his appreciation will serve as a foil to the underrating of Indian art which was common till recently in India as well as in Europe We must heartily endorse his defence of Indian temple art against the charge of over-ornamentation As he says, the vast plains are sometimes monotonous, and in the richly carved hieratic buildings æsthetic instincts are satisfied which have been starved outside It would be interesting to ascertain whether beautiful scenery has ever produced a tendency to less ornate

plastic representation Mr Rothenstein thinks that the homage we pay to Indian Epic poetry should be paid in equal measure to her sculpture

7. **Travancore Archæological Series** Vol IV, Part I By K. V Subrahmanya Aiyar $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, ii + 115 pp, 6 plates Trivandrum Government Press 3s 6d

Mr Aiyar, a member of our Society, has written a full and valuable description of certain stone and copperplate inscriptions in Travancore In addition to describing their appearance he has given historical and geographical notes, and entered into questions of language and style It must be a source of gratification to scholars that here and there all over India are arising archæological and linguistic scholars who are more and more enabling the country to take true possession of her heritage Many of the States have now archæological departments under competent superintendents

8 **English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary** By G W Murray $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, xlii + 195 pp Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press 1923 £3 13s 6d

This important book is outside the sphere of our Society's work, but a short notice of it is not inappropriate Mr Murray, himself a diligent student of Nubian, has laid under contribution not only his own notes, but everything hitherto published on the language In the introduction we find an account, not always easy to follow, of the relationship of Nubian to other Nilotic or Niloto-Sudanic languages 16 pages on the phonology and 10 on the grammar Unfortunately there is no discussion of the phonetics, and we are left in doubt as to the pronunciation of the letters used in the dictionary A notable fact, which emerges from a study of the words, is that Nubian is widely different from surrounding languages, and has far less connexion with them than one would anticipate Those who have derived profit from the researches of Westermann, Meinhof, Reinisch, Lepsius, and

Almkvist will welcome this well-printed and painstaking volume

9 ANCIENT INDIAN FABLES AND STUDIES: A SELECTION FROM THE PANCHATANTRA By STANLEY RICE, late I C S $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, 136 pp London John Murray, 1924 3*s* 6*d*

The Panchatantra of unknown date and origin and authorship, better known perhaps in the form of the Hitopadeśa, which is an imitation or later recension, is a good example of the worldly wisdom of India Here we get very near to the heart of that country, and as the editors of the Wisdom of the East Series aim at bringing about a better feeling between the East and the West through a fuller knowledge of Oriental thought, they could hardly have chosen a more suitable work than this These fables give us the worldly side of Indian thought, and portray the cult of the clever and the expedient, the path of self-interest and profit, but other volumes in the same series (four of which are by Dr Lionel Barnett and two by Dr Edward Thomas) let us see India as it stretches out its hands to the Creator and says "Oh, that I knew where I might find Him!" This work was required to complete the picture It is not a translation, but a retelling and condensation of one of the versions of the famous original. All known versions are comparatively late, but the original may go back to any time after Buddha The stories are very interesting and readable

10 PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE SECOND ORIENTAL CONFERENCE (CALCUTTA), 1922. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, cvi + 651 pp Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1923

The conference had one remarkable feature It was held in India, and yet India as we know it, its languages, religions, customs, the people who inhabit it—all are ignored, as if they had no existence. I have succeeded in discovering

in over 750 pages 6½ lines which refer to modern vernaculars, and the speaker who made this reference hastened on as if he had been detected in a felony. The advisability of forming a Linguistic Society for India is spoken of as a pious hope, but fear is expressed that funds will not be available. This conference was very successful in numbers and interest, and in the good feeling which existed among the members. There were thirteen sections: Vedic, Iranian, Ethnology, Sanskrit and Prakrit, Archæology, Political History, Social and Religious History, Philosophy and Religion, Philology, Buddhism, Science, Arabic and Persian, Geography. It will be noticed that geographically the conference was very narrow in its outlook. The best paper was perhaps that of Professor R. L. Turner, on the Loss of Vowel Alteration in Indo-Aryan.

11. INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION. PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS. Vol. V. Fifth Meeting held in Calcutta, January, 1923. 10¾ × 6¾, iii + 165 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1923. Rs. 3 As. 2.

The Indian Records Commission continues to do useful work. At the fifth meeting a number of papers were read which are of value to residents in India, some of them having a wider interest. The most notable is a paper by Mr. Beni Prasad, on Aspects of Education and Literature under the Great Mughals. The author is known as editor of an abbreviated edition of the Sūr Sāgar. He maintains here the genuineness of Amīr Khusrau's Hindi poetry "composed after the Persian model." He holds that Sūr Dās is the greatest of Hindi poets, and that Bihārī's Satsai is "throughout Persian in sentiment."

12. GASPAR CORRÊA. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. 6½ × 4, vii + 93 pp. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1924. 4s.

Corrêa, born about 1496, at first page to King Manuel, then secretary to Alfonso de Albuquerque (who was governor of Cochin), was employed in positions of honour till his death

by violence at Malacca in or very shortly after 1563. He wrote a valuable history of the Portuguese governors of India, which in spite of his saying of it "fiz este breue sumario de lendas", consisted when published in 1856–66 of eight 4to volumes, extending to 3,500 pages of 300 to 400 words each The little work before us gives a vivid picture of a truly remarkable and outspoken man, a man of small education, who yet wrote so striking a history of events in India, and showed that though he lacked book learning, he could create an atmosphere and judge a character Corrêa is little known in Portugal and unknown outside, but this book, which is well worth reading will serve to counteract the disfavour which Fortune has shown him

T GRAHAME BAILEY.

JOURNAL OF THE GIPSY LORE SOCIETY Third Series, Vol III, Part I Editor, R O WINDSTEDT, 151 Iffley Road, Oxford

This number contains a folk tale in the Welsh Gipsy dialect, by Dr Sampson and a scholarly article by Professor Turner on *traś*, frighten, in the course of which he shows that Romani like Kaśmiri, Laihndi, and Sindhi, has the combination dental $+r$, and agrees with Kaśmiri and Laihndi in retaining *r* after labials It should be remembered that these are marked characteristics of Panjabi Thus, we have *pr̦ā*, brother, *tra'nā*, frighten, *tr̦ā nā*, drag, *tre'*, thirst (The lower and upper inverted commas indicate the low-rising and the high-falling tone respectively) On the other hand, Laihndi sometimes has forms like *pir̦a* brother

T GRAHAME BAILEY.

ANALYTIC DICTIONARY OF CHINESE AND SINO-JAPANESE. By BERNHARD KARLGREN, Fil. Dr Professor in the University of Goteborg $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, 436 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1923

Fifty years ago Dr Legge in his valuable discussion of the ancient rhymes of the Odes stated that "the manner in whi

the rhyming dictionaries were constructed after the introduction from India of the system of syllabic spelling has never yet been elucidated by any foreigner Nothing satisfactory . has been done to complete what Morrison said upon the subject in the Introduction to his dictionary ". "How it was that phonetics came in process of time to assume several different pronunciations or sounds, some of them widely diverse from the original sound each was intended to suggest, is an inquiry that has considerable attractions for the minute philologist " The "minute philologist has now arrived and has begun a work which may yet carry us back to the Odes themselves and give us the ancient pronunciation of three or four thousand years ago

Professor Karlgren has shown that ' phonetics which to-day seem to have little or nothing of common origin do represent sounds that even in the T'ang dynasty had much more in common than they now show From these he infers in systematic fashion the sounds which the ' phonetic " signs represented at a still earlier date He thinks that " the great majority of the phonetic compounds were created in the later part of the Tsou or in the Ts in and Xan dynasties ", in other words, either between 500 B C and 255 or between 255 B C and the early part of our era a sufficiently indefinite statement It would require a careful study of the books attributed to those periods to come to any kind of conclusion as to which of them is correct indeed as to whether his statement can be accepted Certain it is that whatever additions were made during those two periods, they were founded on a phonetic system already ancient, of the beginnings of which we as yet know little or nothing The oldest Chinese books we possess notably the Odes, clearly prove the age-long existence of " phonetics " as part of the written system. Therefore, more work remains to be done before the author's statement will receive unreserved assent But his claim to have carried us back at least to the beginning of our era will be gratefully granted There remains still a field of great

importance to explore in the really ancient phonetic period, "proto-Chinese" as the author calls it

Probably one of the principal causes of the gradual breach between later pronunciation and the phonetic spelling—as in our own language—was the great admixture of peoples in that angle of the Yellow River, which has played so important a part in Chinese history, and where the most important archæological discoveries are likely to be made, unless the sites be ruined by incompetent diggers The struggle between Chinese and Tartar has lasted millenniums, the Goth conquering only to become a Roman Other reasons no doubt exist for spoken phonetic changes in addition to the invasion by Tartar tribes, for the absorption of indigenous races was still in progress, as also much intermingling of clans through numerous migrations caused by war, famine, and flood It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that in undisturbed communities the stereotyping of pronunciation is as remarkable in China as in Europe and, once fixed, pronunciation tends to remain little changed, apparently, through centuries, especially if there be little admixture with clans outside the particular zone I know an area, for instance, where unaspirated *p*, *t* *k*, *ts*, and *tś* do not exist, they become unaspirated *b*, *d*, *g*, *dz*, and *dz*, while across the mountain pass the former are universal

The author has rendered valuable service in studying "12,000 of the most current characters" If he will now collect the whole of the extant "proto-Chinese" phonetics, and give us the result of his further studies, we shall be carried nearer to the period when the phonetic system was invented, or introduced In the study of "proto-Chinese" phonetics evidence may be found for the settlement of that long-disputed question of the relation of the early Chinese people with other known civilizations.

The author's training in the modern study of phonetics has fitted him to do what his predecessors could not be expected to do. Such men as Morrison, Callery, Legge,

Chalmers, Edkins, Parker, helped to clear the jungle through **which the** author has found an easier path to peg out his **claim and**—even sinologues are not supposed entirely to **discard** gratitude and generosity to their fellow-students!

We shall all be happy to consider any evidence he may yet produce in proof of his assumption that the Analects of Confucius, for instance, were written in the spoken language of that day At present, this view, like his claim to have proved that Chinese was originally an inflected language, is void of support

As he had already given the result of his researches in his *Études sur la phonologie Chinoise* it has been questioned whether the author was well advised in publishing this dictionary A reviewer in the leading Shanghai newspaper apparently takes this position, but he clearly reveals his own incompetence to deal with work of this description The book being in English will be acceptable to English students and have a larger community than his *Phonologie* could have

The Introduction on the phonetics is a valuable contribution His solution into an early *t* series of the *ch* (*ts*) before *i* series—which over wide areas change into *l* (*λ*) or *ts*—is on lines that I have long expected, more recently from a study of transliterations from Sanskrit The 影 and 喻 series of words with vowel initial are found at their best in southern China, where there exist complete series of laryngeal explosive vowels and those of smooth vocalic ingress, e g *a a e e*, etc It is still a fundamental law in certain parts, if not all over the south, that all the upper series of tones are formed by a surd consonant or a 影 vowel and the lower series by sonants and those of the 喻 vowel class The unaspirated sonant, if one may so call it, exists in certain areas the unaspirated surd then being absent As to his assurance that an original *z* preceded *iang* in sheep, may I suggest that still further back the sound may have been neither *iang* nor *ziang* but something much more onomatopoeic!

When the author deals with the characters apart from their

phonetics he does not inspire the same confidence. Take the two examples he offers in the first page of his Introduction. He tells us that the Shang dynasty symbol for 申 was incomprehensible to the men of later ages who entirely remade the letter Is it not more likely that for convenience the two hands at the ends were slipped to the middle of the thing stretched? Again, in the word 在 his "unintelligible symbol" 十 may very well be its central and "radical" part with 才 added later as phonetic I still dare to use the word "radical" without fear of "signific" disturbing its sinological roots!

Glancing through the Dictionary pages one wonders whether it would not have been much wiser for the author to have omitted his etymological notes derived chiefly from the Shuo Wên and often quite misleading Page after page arouses a spirit of criticism The following are taken quite at haphazard—

橋 Why should it be a "curved" bridge if 喬 is merely phonetic as in the other characters of the series?

求 If the idea of a hand holding a pelt by the tail be accepted as the original symbol, why not say "offering a pelt for sale", hence, seeking a customer, beg, entreat, etc?

公 The author has evidently not seen Mr Hopkins' definition which has everything in its favour

类 Why "round dumpling of rice" instead of two hands in the act of rolling?

豐 is almost certainly not "a vase with flowers" Is there any evidence that flowers were ever used until after the advent of Buddhism? It might be a vase with sacrificial herbs, but even that is doubtful

侖 "Bamboo slips strung together" seems to fit the picture better than to collect "documents"

魯 A "fish (unable to) speak"—if there is any such connexion it might even be a fish talking, foolish, stupid, etc.

閃 If it must be a man and a door for "to flash" why not a man flashing past rather than "through the door"?

舍 Roof, pole, beams and a surrounding wall, are as much suggested as " wall and a roof made of straw."

葬 What objection is there to " a dead man on a resting **place under the grass** " instead of the suggestion of embalming **by covering** him above and below with ' herbs '?

蚤 I submit the upper part is a picture of the insect on which **you put** your finger and it is not there and not a " claw, **thus** the scratching insect." It might conceivably be the insect that causes scratching?

冤 can have no possible connexion with 兔 as phonetic, moreover, the definition of " a hare shut up captive " under a 冂 is far from convincing.

直 straight " ' when ten eyes have controlled it there is any bend it is sure to be straight.' Without at all approving the derivation I suggest it would be better to say ' when ... was any bend it is sure to have been straightened '!

Finally I think the author claims too much for the work of Li Ssŭ. He is the outstanding figure in a period when the apparatus of writing was producing a great change in the form of long existing characters and expediting the introduction of new forms on the basis of the old, but to imply that he broke away from the forms of the bulk of the characters found in the considerable ancient literature in order to invent an independent system, is a view difficult to accept. He tells us that " only indirectly has " the modern script " anything to do with the older stages of the script. For the small seal was not, as it has often been stated, a mere shortening and simplification of the earlier script, it was in fact to a large extent a new system of writing." A bold position to take!

I cannot close without an expression of congratulation to Mr Karlgren for his distinctive work. Fourteen years ago we discussed in T'aiyuanfu his objection to the definition of Chinese as a monosyllabic language. When he has reached its early " polysyllabic " period—in the non-technical sense—and brought evidence to bear that it ever was inflected, it will be a pleasure still further to congratulate him. He puts too much

responsibility on Professor Giles for my dictionary, for it was half finished before I obtained a copy of the first edition of his invaluable work My struggle with phonetics has been for practical, not archæological purposes M Paul Geuthner is also to be congratulated on his enterprise in publishing so difficult a work

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHISTS IN CHINA By LEWIS HODOUS, D D, Professor of Missions in China at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Conn 17 × 5, xii + 84 pp New York Macmillan, 1924

This book makes no pretence to be a contribution to philosophy It is a simple fair-minded sketch of popular Buddhism in China for the general reader All works of this description lay themselves open to criticism by their attempt to reduce a very complicated religion to a few tens of pages Buddhism being as complex as Christianity, is refractory to the summarizer Nevertheless, the author has acquitted himself with credit The chief value of his book is that it supplies the latest information concerning the revival of Buddhism in China Chapter VIII gives an interesting account of friendly conversations the author had in Peking with a monk who "spent a few months recently lecturing on Buddhism to members of parliament and to scholars from various parts of China"

W E SOOTHILL

CONTES CHINOIS TRADUITS DU CHINOIS By J HALPHEN, ancien élève de l école polytechnique 7¾ × 5, 196 pp. Paris Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1923

In this volume M Halphen has rendered into French a number of short stories from three Chinese collections They make easy and agreeable reading, and are furnished with a minimum of short footnotes.

The general nature of these tales may be gauged by the fact

that one of the collections is the *Liao Chai Chih I*, or *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, which deal so largely with the Fox and his, or should I say her, Jekyll and Hyde mutations, the inverse theme to Mr Garnett's "Lady into Fox"

M Halphen, rather surprisingly employs the Wade system of romanizing Chinese words, not the French For the same reason no doubt that led him to buy Professor Giles' *Strange Stories*—out of gratitude as he says for the latter's Chinese-English Dictionary, though he hastens to add that he has never read the two volumes of the *Stories* from presumably, some countervailing motive It is however to be regretted that he abstained for the ruthless parsimony of P u Sung-ling's pregnant and matchless prose tries a Western translator very high Some of these stories from the *Liao Chai* appear in both Professor Giles' and M Halphen's pages and a comparison reveals various discrepancies and misunderstandings Thus, to give a single instance, the French scholar renders the penultimate sentence of the *Histoire de l'homme à la double pupille* by "On ne l'appela plus que l'homme à deux pupilles, quoique borgne, il avait pourtant ses deux yeux But the point in the original Chinese is missed while it is brought out in Professor Giles' version, "Further although Mr Fang was still blind of one eye, the sight of the other was better than that of the two together"

The printing of romanized Chinese words in Europe is always a vexation of the spirit and M Halphen has suffered, though not unduly, in this respect, but in *Amour predestiné*, pp 178–80, there are a good many errors of this kind

L C Hopkins

Indica

1 The Soul Theory of the Buddhists Published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, pp 823–958 1919. By Theodor Stcherbatzky 11 × 8, 52 pp Petrograd, 1920

2. The Buddhist Conception of Spirits. Calcutta Orient Series, No II, B 4 By Bimala C Law With a foreword by S Krishnaswami Aiyangar. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 95 pp. Calcutta and Simla Thacker Spink and Co, 1923.

3 Dialoghi del Re Milinda Versione dall' Inglese, di G Cagnola Milano Casa Editrice Isis, 1923

4 Buddhism and Buddhists in Southern Asia. By Kenneth J Saunders $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, x + 75 pp. New York: Macmillan Co, 1923

5 Epochs in Buddhist History The Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago 1921 By Kenneth J Saunders. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1924

1 This contains a translation of the appendix to the 8th chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, the subject of which is an inquiry into "Individuality" This is set forth as a debate between a Vatsiputrīya and Vasubandhu The translator prefixes an outline of the argument with some general remarks These he has since enlarged in his monograph on Vasubandhu and we have dealt with the subject elsewhere (*Bull Sch Or Studies*, 1924)

In the argument we are, as we never are in any part of the Canon, in a world of highly developed word-craft The disputants fence with adequate foils—adequate that is for purposes of dialectic, of word-duelling, rather than for getting at the truth of things through a minimum of words We have only to compare the stiff, clumsy dialectic of the Kathāvatthu, one of the latest (not, I judge, the very latest) works in the Canon (Books 6 and 7 were later), to see either how much later or how much more advanced in language and in dialectic was this world

Professor Stcherbatzky has done notable pioneer work in this translation What is next needed is an annotated edition of the whole work, examining the many references it contains to Pali and Sanskrit older works. We shall then see that much which is here ascribed to sayings in the Suttas is either more or

less misquoted or—and this is perhaps more probable—is derived from a different literary tradition now lost to us. And this edition is now being accomplished for us by Professor de la Vallée Poussin

2 This little study is a digest of nearly all the traditional "stories of the past" told in the Commentary on the canonical anthology called Petavatthu This Commentary, ascribed to Dhammapāla, was edited for the Pali Text Society by Edmund Hardy with all the care and thoroughness he put into all he did, and was published in 1894 A word acknowledging indebtedness to its help would have become the present study well The digest is preceded and followed up by a brief omnium gatherum of Peta-lore from ancient and modern authorities and a few remarks resuming the main beliefs concerning Petas that emerge from the Commentary. In Professor N Chakravarty's article "Spirit belief in the Jātaka stories" (JASB, x 7) Dr Law acknowledges a foregoing co-worker in the same field of inquiry

There is, as he well points out in neither verses nor Commentary a vestige of *pitri*-worship, or of worship of any kind, there is the one central faith in karma in past action and present result There is the urgent admonition to secure future weal by present generous giving

A slip indicative of our careless idiom is on p 87 "still in the world of the living" for "still on earth" We had fain seen India correcting these foolish slovenly usages of ours Equally to be deprecated is the use of the word "spirits" for Petas Equally could India correct us here Petas were no less embodied men and women than we only otherwise, in other conditions Petas were no more and no less "spirits" than we, who are, behind the mind and body we wield, spirits Discounting these weaknesses of wording these two studies are useful additions to the inquirer's shelves

3 This is a work of pure vulgarization—in the French sense of the word The translation has been made, quite uncritically, from that of Rhys Davids, with reference to

Schrader's partial and the German Nyanatiloka's complete translations It is good that the Italian general reader should have access to so profoundly interesting a work as the *Milinda pañha* The usually graceful Pali idiom comes out admirably in the beautiful tongue And the soul of Dante, faintly but truly is felt in such noble lines as

> Allorchè il grande Saggio scorge da lungi un uomo,
> forse anche a cento o a mille leghe,
> maturo per l'illuminazione, direttamente va
> e dolcemente lo guida al sentiero della Verità
> (*Mil*, 411)

But the translator has scarcely been wise in pursuing his popularizing work so much alone Taking the English translation as practically his sole guide he has asked no one why certain letters were italicized The bad old Max-Muller way of transliteration held no mysteries for him, and so out it all comes —Kandagutta, Kakkāyana, K̲ariyā Pitaka K̲etanā, Gāli, K̲akkavatti and many more! Mistakes in the English text are not discerned, e g Culla Nārada Jātaka remains Kulla Nānada Gātaka (!) Nor is any effort made to reproduce the ñ in words left in like *saññā*, *viññāna* Better have left them out

Once more, where he gives his readers a brief introduction, he fails to see how the Milindapañha traverses the old high and dry view as to North and South Buddhism He echoes the claim for " buddhismo meridionale ' to set forth " primitive doctrine, original traditions " in relative purity Equally does he claim for this confessedly northern work a statement of *antica dottrina* !

Finally, he shares with here and there a scholar the view that inferiority in grasp, even to meticulous puerilities, is a necessary result of the probably later minds who composed books IV to VII For our part we find not a few puerilities in the first three books, right from the very first dialogue upholding sister Vajirā's feeble argument, and we find some of the finest passages as to both burden and style in the latest

books. The whole work is *Dichtung* rather than *Wahrheit* from A to Z, and there is no ground, as there is to a qualified extent in the Canon, for expecting deeper sayings in what is very possibly older

4, 5 In Mr Saunders we have as we know, not only another popularizer, but also a Christian propagandist These books are propaganda, too, of the best kind, of the only kind that is tolerable The ignorant narrowness of much Christian propaganda in Buddhist countries has begotten a very bitter equally sectarian counter-propaganda in which nothing is too bad to print about Christianity its Founder and its professed votaries It is possible that had Mr Saunders's co-religionists learnt what he knows and shown the sympathy he reveals in his books, there would never have arisen such a wordy war

Very impressive are the little pictures he etches from his own experience (in 4) showing how deeply rooted is the venerable Dhamma as a tradition of the past as "the custom" of the present, as a general ideal of good life

Actually, the earnest Buddhist of to-day is taken up into the ethical tradition of the world to-day even when he deems the venerable doctrine possessed that tradition from the first Thus, he now deems that loving service of man to man was its key note overlooking the fact that the Eightfold Path omits it, and that the old teaching *annexed* the injunction to think lovingly and pitifully, nor ever made service a central tenet

In 5 the writer has grouped a study of Buddhism in time around a number of places The time embraces some 13 centuries (500 B C –A D 800) The places range from Rājagaha to Lhasa by way of the Far East It is a happy idea, and makes fascinating reading The second lecture, on the spread and canonizing of the Dhamma, centres not unnaturally in Patna, Asoka's capital But one result is that Sāvatthī is not mentioned Yet the great library of early Buddhism—a library not, it may be, written out but perhaps written only in *uddesas* or (as we used to print) "arguments"—was almost

certainly at Sāvatthī No one can read page after page of the Suttas without coming to the conclusion that a long and diligent collecting of materials was carried on from there. When all but the outline of some address had been forgotten the collectors wrote their "*evam me sutam* —the Master was once staying at Sāvatthī" He was often staying there, but the preponderance of such Suttas is too overwhelming. Evidence of such collecting occurs already in the Vinaya

C A F RHYS DAVIDS.

Reviewed by G L M Clauson

TÜRKISCHE BIBLIOTHEK Band 21 Die Osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pasha By Dr L FORRER. 7¾ × 5, viii + 207 pp Leipzig Mayer & Muller, 1923

Rustem Pasha's Turkish Chronicle exists only in three manuscripts, one at Vienna containing the whole text, including a notice by a second hand of the death of Rustem Pasha, and two at Cambridge both incomplete, the end being absent The early part of the chronicle is a mere transcript from certain earlier authorities, but the part which deals with the later years of the author's own lifetime (he lived A D 1500–61) is an original authority of the highest importance It seems fairly clear that the work was never completed and is still only in draft form, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that at any rate part of the Vienna manuscript, which is in four different hands, two of which are contemporary with the Pasha himself, was a direct transcript of the author's working copy Dr. Forrer has very wisely contented himself with giving a mere summary of the chapter headings for the first part of the chronicle, but gives a more or less detailed précis of the whole contents of the work from the accession of Sultan Bayazid II (A.D. 1481) onwards The work will be a useful "source" for future historians of the Turkish Empire, but Dr. Forrer has been unfortunate in having an inadequate supply of geographical

authorities to assist him in dealing with the accounts of campaigns in, for instance, the Yemen and Western Persia On p 157 Mavza in the Yemen is almost certainly Māwiyah, on p 178 M n d ll i is certainly Mendali, and B bār is probably a mistake for Badrā Careful research would probably produce a number of further identifications

INDEX UND STELLENNACHWEISE ZU FR SCHWALLY'S BAIHAQÎ-AUSGABE By O RESCHER [Giessen Topelmann 1902] $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, ix + 20 pp Stuttgart Printed for the Author, 1923

This proper name and subject-index to Herr Schwally s edition of Baihaqi, together with a list of quotations from other works contained in the text has been prepared by Dr Rescher in order to bring to the notice of a wider circle of readers the merits and utility of this work Such indices are of great value to scholars who have not time to plough through long and difficult texts in order to find two or three references to subjects in which they are interested, and Dr Rescher is to be commended for undertaking a task the labour of which is so disproportionately great compared to the apparent results achieved

MEMOIRES DE LA SOCIETE FINNO-OUGRIENNE No L Die Tatarischen Lehnworter im Tscheremissischen. By M RASANEN $10 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 99 pp Helsingfors Société Finno-Ougrienne 1923

It is well known that the Tcheremiss language, a Finno-Ugrian dialect still spoken in the Vyatka Kazan, and Ufa Governments of Russia, has been strongly influenced by the neighbouring Tchuvass and Turkish (Tatar) languages as well as by Russian itself, and Mr Rasanen, who in No 48 of the Mémoires published a very long and detailed study of the Tchuvass loan-words in Tcheremiss, has now produced an equally learned and detailed but, owing to the scantier material, somewhat shorter account of the Tatar loan-words, of which he has traced some 700 Among these are a number

of words of Arabic origin and perhaps these are to the ordinary scholar the most interesting in view of the extraordinary transformations both of sound and meaning which they have undergone For instance, *ak* "price" goes back through the Tatar *ak*, *ḥak* to حق, *aịbat* "good" is هيبت, *k'āl* or *al* "strength" is حال Numerous other examples could be found

Du Genre Grammatical en Sémitique By M Féghali and A Cuny 7 × 5, 101 pp Paris Geuthner, 1924

The authors of this "modest little work", to use their own phrase, have collected a number of interesting facts regarding the gender of nouns in Arabic together with parallels from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac Their inspiration is, of course, derived from M A Meillet's well-known studies of gender in the Indo-European languages They have assembled a quantity of useful information, especially regarding those words which are feminine in gender without being feminine in form, and have wisely confined themselves to a minimum of theorizing on the difficult and little-explored subject which they have chosen, but their work suffers from a somewhat chaotic arrangement, and is unfortunately neither divided into numbered paragraphs nor provided with a table of contents

Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben Seiner Gemeinde By Tor Andræ 10½ × 6, 394 + v pp. Stockholm P A Norstedt & Soner, 1917.

It is to be regretted that owing to an oversight the review of this substantial work has been much delayed. The author, after giving in his introduction a short account of the conception which Muhammad appears to have had of his own personality and mission, attempts in the main body of the

book to give some idea of the views held by Moslems themselves regarding the personality and actual position and functions of the Prophet The subject is, of course, an enormous one, for the ideas held from time to time by different classes of Moslems have varied very considerably, but the author has acquitted himself well The principal criticism which must be made is that the incoherence inseparable from such a theme has been greatly accentuated by the absence of any kind of table of contents or summary of the main thread of the argument It is also to be remarked that the author presupposes in his readers a considerable knowledge of Moslem theological literature It is distinctly not a book for beginners.

KLEINERE SCHRIFTEN DES IBN AL-'ARABI Nach Handschriften in Upsala und Berlin zum ersten Mal herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Kommentar versehen By H S NYBERG $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, xiv + 203 + [illegible] pp Leiden Brill, 1919

Dr R A Nicholson in his *History of Arabic Literature* observed that a final statement of the theological system of Muhīyyu d-Dīn ibnu 'l-'Arabi or his position in the history of Sufism and of the development of religious and mystical thought in Islam could not be made until considerably more work had been done upon his writings The present volume therefore is to be welcomed as an instalment of such work The author has produced careful critical editions of three of the minor works of ibnu l-'Arabi, namely *Inshā'u 'd-Dawā'ir*, *'Uqlatu 'l-mustaufiz*, and *at-Tadbīrātu l-ilāhīya*, together with a general introduction and a close and careful study, extending over 130 pages, of the theological system of ibnu 'l-'Arabi, especially as exemplified in these three works, which will be of lasting value to future workers in this difficult field.

DAS ORIENTALISCHE PROBLEM ZUR ZEIT DER ENTSTEHUNG DES TUERKISCHEN REICHES NACH VENEZIANISCHEN QUELLEN. By MAX SILBERSCHMIDT [Band 27 of

Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance Herausgegeben von Walter Götz.] 9½ × 6¼, xiii + 206 pp Berlin and Leipzig: Teubner, 1923.

This interesting book is a close and scholarly study of the relations of Venice with the Ottoman Kingdom, Byzantium, Hungary, Genoa, and the Kipchak Kingdom during the period A D 1381-1400 It is based entirely on the Venetian Archives, and is thus in contrast to most books which find their way to the Society and which are as a rule based on the Oriental sources The period is a little known one and the author has broken a good deal of new ground, the reviewer may, therefore, perhaps be permitted to confine himself to congratulating the author on his successful treatment of the subject and refrain from criticism for which he is not qualified.

ANNUAIRE DU MONDE MUSULMAN Statistique, Historique, Social et Économique Première année (1923) Rédigé par L MASSIGNON 10 × 6½, iv + 356 pp Paris: Leroux, 1924

The intentions of this work are excellent, it sets out to be a kind of Whittaker's Almanac of the Moslem world, giving information regarding the population, past history, present government and administration, and economic position of all countries which are wholly Moslem or contain a substantial Moslem element The utility of such a compilation must necessarily depend on the accuracy of the sources on which it draws, and it must be said that, at any rate as regards most of the Moslem areas within or connected with the British Empire, the sources used are in many cases unusually inaccurate and defective No use, for instance, appears to have been made of the published reports of the Palestine Government.

It is not possible within the limits of a short review to indicate all these errors and mis-statements, but one or two examples may be given. No secret Anglo-Hejaz treaty of 1915 exists; no subsidy of £400,000 a year or any lesser amount

is paid to the King of the Hejaz by His Majesty's Government; the King of the Hejaz does not possess accredited diplomatic agents in London, New York, Paris, or with the League of Nations, although he has from time to time had personal agents in those places, Kamaran and Perim are not within the political territory of the Yemen the ibn Rashid family no longer reigns in the Jebel Shammar Bahais and Yezidis are not Moslems (see the notice of 'Iraq) the constitution of the Legislative Council of Palestine which is at present in abeyance, is not as stated, the British Section of the Palestine is not officially known as the "Blacks and Tans", neither can it properly be described as a "Special Corps of repressive Police", the editor does not appear to know that Cyprus was annexed to the British Empire in 1914 and he is ignorant of the very peculiar and interesting constitution of Nejd, where 'Abdu l-Aziz is the Sultan or secular ruler, and his father 'Abdu'r-Rahman, who is still alive, is the Imam or spiritual ruler

While fully admitting that accurate information on some at any rate of these subjects is difficult to obtain and that M. Massignon is therefore not wholly to blame we would strongly urge him to correct in future editions these and the other errors in which this work at present abounds

G L M Clauson

A Study on Mathurānātha's Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya By Saileswar Sen, M A 66 pp Wageningen, 1924

The title of this booklet is rather misleading Mathurānātha's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya* is a big work—almost an unexplored mine of ontological and logical speculations of great value. "The aim of this book," as the author himself says, "is to illustrate Mathurānātha's style and method by the translation and analysis of a portion of his commentary on Gangeça's *Vyāpti-pañcaka*" Mathurānātha's great work is a commentary on Gangeśa's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, which he calls *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya*. In his preliminary discursion on

the nature of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) Gaṅgeśa gives us five provisional definitions of "invariable concomitance" and rejects them all as being faulty, later on he gives another definition, which he considers to be correct The present work gives a translation of a portion of Mathurānātha's commentary on one of these definitions, consisting only of this single line—*na tāvad avyabhicaritatvam tad dhi na sādhyābhāvavadavṛttitvam* He has translated 113 lines of Mathurānātha's commentary on that single line of Gaṅgeśa, and has also translated five lines of Gaṅgeśa's text He has also given us some chronological notes on Navya-nyāya, and also some interesting notes on the technical terms found in Mathurānātha's text, and he has supplemented his translation of Mathurānātha's text with an analysis of it Though the title was misleading, yet he did not promise to give us more—for it was intended to illustrate Mathurānātha's style and method, and in this he has fairly succeeded Mathurānātha's text is exceedingly difficult, and I do not know of anyone else who had the courage to handle it or the text of any one of his other colleagues, Raghunātha, Gadādhara, or Jagadīśa, in any European language Mr Rājendranāth Ghosh's great attempt on *Vyāpti-pañcaka* deserves special attention in this connexion Another work of this period of great value is *Muktāvalī* with its Dinakarī commentary, but thanks to the untiring energy of Dr F W Thomas, the translation of the whole of this difficult text is ready for the press, and when this will be out one good solid piece of work will be accomplished.

Ordinarily the principal test of a good translation is that it should be faithful to the text and it should be intelligible without reference to the text But it would be too much to expect that such a highly difficult technical text as that of Mathurānātha could be made intelligible without reference to the text in a translation. But the translation ought to give us material assistance in understanding the text, but I cannot say that Mr. Sen has always been successful in giving

us this much-desired assistance He ought to have given us suitable comments and explanations His analysis is not always helpful, and sometimes leads us astray Thus, if we compare, for example, his translation, i, pp 36–8, with his analysis, i, p 49, he gives us full ten lines in his analysis under the heading "Result attained", but that result was never attained in his translation, i, pp 36–8, which was nothing else but a purely grammatical discussion, the result of which was of a purely grammatical nature and not logical at all He ought to have given us some notes in the way of criticism, comment, or explanation on this grammatical discussion—and surely there was much to say on it—or he should have left it out and not translated it at all

Sometimes his mode of translation leads to some confusion also, thus he describes the knowledge of invariable concomitance as being the indirect cause (*karana*) But *karana* can hardly be translated as indirect cause, it may be translated as the most important instrument of operation (*sādhakatama*), and *parāmarśa* could then be described as the activity of the operation This is important for *vyāpti-jñāna* is called a *karana* as distinguished from *parāmarśa*, which is not a *karana*, but a *kārana* *Sādhakatama* does not mean "cause *par excellence*" but rather instrument *par excellence* *Parāmarśa* is not a *karana*, because it has no *vyāpāra* or operating activity, for it itself is a *vyāpāra* He fails to note the distinction between *linga-parāmarśa* and *parāmarśa*, and thus wrongly criticizes Mathurānātha's rendering of *linga-parāmarśa* as *vyāpti-jñāna* *Linga-parāmarśa* is simply *vyāpti-jñāna*, which is the agent, and *parāmarśa* is the intellectual activity associated with it, resulting in an act of inference

He has tried in many cases to give symbolic representations of certain relations, and some of them are very ingenious, but do they in any way help us to enter better into the spirit of the text? He compares Navya-nyāya with Boole's Logic, but is there any proper ground for doing so? Navya-nyāya

is no symbolic logic in the sense in which Boole's Logic is

It seems to me that this new system was developed at a time when success in giving unimpeachable verbal definitions was highly prized To be able to give definitions which cannot further be criticized, and to be able to dig holes in definitions given by other people, are the defensive and offensive weapons in a debate, and the man who could wield them properly had not only fame for his scholarship but money as well Even now the Nyāya scholar is considered invincible in debates of scholars arranged on the occasion of Śrāddhas, etc, and the highest sum is still allotted for him This tendency to give accurate definitions of logical functions is the dominant characteristic of this Bengal school of Nyāya This attempt was made successful by the method of the terminology at the disposal of the scholars of this school, by which they could draw very subtle distinctions between various kinds of relations which are seldom taken note of in our everyday life or even in most systems of metaphysics or ontology But much of their discussions could have been made simpler if they were not chained down to their own system of dogmatic ontology and metaphysics Their definitions had to be so made that they might not come into conflict with any of their cherished theories or views They not only formulated the definitions but they also tried to demonstrate that these did not come in conflict with any deductions that could be made on the basis of any of the views or concepts of Nyāya-Vaiśesika, and they signified only the term or the logical function that they sought to define and nothing more or nothing less. No one would say that Boole's Logic was based on similar principles. If the work of these scholars was not chained at each step with the Vaiśesika ontological and metaphysical doctrines, the logical result attained could have been made much greater The difficulty of the text is due largely to the very subtle distinctions of relations and very subtle and out-of-the-way objections, which would seldom occur to our ordinary

logical course of thought, and which are introduced at each step. These distinctions are often of a semi-logical and semi-ontological character, based on the Nyāya-Vaiśesika assumptions, which would lose much of their force if these assumptions were denied—and surely they are no self-evident assumptions But a study of their investigation in the nature of relations and their distinctions might convince many of our neo-realistic brethren in the west who talk so much about relations, that they have often been most cruelly anticipated by the Bengal school of logicians about four or five centuries ago

In conclusion, I should like to draw the attention of Oriental scholars to this important publication of Mr Sen It is a good thing that Mr Sen has been attracted to this field of study early in his scholarly career I beg only to express a hope that he will continue his studies of *Tattva-cintāmani* with all its important commentaries and give us the mature fruit at some future date

S N DASGUPTA

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH ART New Facts and Principles of Research By J STRZYGOWSKI Translated by O M DALTON and H J BRAUNHOLTZ Sm 4to, xviii + 267 pp Oxford, 1923

In this great work beautifully illustrated, the master of the craft, Professor Strzygowski, sums up in a series of lectures the results of his research and investigations He has spent many years of his life in carving out for himself a new path in the history of art, and he has concentrated his activity to a large extent upon the origins of Christian art in buildings and decoration of every kind The conclusions at which he has arrived differ fundamentally from those hitherto held by prominent men, who have devoted their attention to the history of art Professor Strzygowski has freed himself from all the dogmatic formulas which have hitherto impeded a free investigation He starts from quite

a different principle and denies in the first place that religion as expressed by the Church in building and art and secular authority have had a decisive influence upon the shape formative art has taken in the ancient church For him the leading principles are the geographical and local influences which have forced the artisan to utilize the material at hand, e g. in one place wood, in another stone, and to shape it so as to give expression to his own individual inspiration Race, geography, and locality are the primary elements which have left their impress upon primitive buildings, and it has taken a long time in the course of an evolution which lasted for centuries to break through the fetters of Church and Authority in order to create those monuments which Professor Strzygowski describes in such a masterly manner. He traces step by step the influence which the various races of the East have exercised upon these ancient churches The origin of the dome, which he traces to Armenia, and the barrel vault, the origin of which he finds in Mesopotamia, have all started in the East, and as for representative and non-representative decorations, he traces them back to the conflict between Semitic traditions and Mazdeism and Manichæism. In the monuments of the West, he now endeavours to trace a conflict of forces which have been combined by the craftsmen in their production, and he searches in the first place for the separate and elementary units which have thus been combined in a new whole Like all the other works of Professor Strzygowski, the student of ancient art will find the book extremely stimulating He demands for his science that it should combine not only the study of architecture but also a knowledge of the background of music and poetry, for all these must be blended together if we are to read aright the writing on the walls of these ancient monuments

A word must be added in praise of the beauty of the production

M. Gaster.

Siam. By Karl Dohring Band I, Land und Volk; Band II, Die bildende Kunst (mit Ausnahme der Plastik) Munich Georg Muller Verlag (Der Indische Kulturkreis in Einzeldarstellungen) 1923

The author of this publication, who has spent many years in Siam, gives a succinct account of that country in these two profusely illustrated volumes In his first volume he deals with the country and the population in its various occupations and pastimes Among the numerous plates, those relating to the cremation ceremonies of personages belonging to the royal family will be found of special interest, and also those which picture the life in the Buddhist monasteries The term "priest" applied to the inmates of those convents would perhaps be appropriately replaced by "monk" The plates 128 ff of the first volume render the indigenous theatricals and dances The *wayang* puppets of leather reproduced in plates 140–2 remind one of Indonesia, although their style is strikingly different from that of the well-known specimens of Java and Bali

The second volume of Professor Dohring's book is devoted to Siamese art in its various aspects architecture, painting, wood-carving, stucco work, lacquer work, and other decorative minor arts Among the motifs used in decoration we find Buddhist subjects borrowed from the Buddha legend or from the *jātakas* (pls 41, 116, and 117), but also a great number pertaining to Brahmanical mythology, such as the gods Brahmā and Indra (pl 40), Vishnu on Garuda (pl 55), Garuda (pl 99), Kinnarī and Nāgas (pl 94) Evidently the story of Rāma is as popular in Siam as it is in India From the summary given by the author (ii, pp 21 ff) it will be seen that on the whole the Ramakien, as the Siamese Rāmāyana is called, closely follows the Sanskrit epic It is curious that here the repudiation of Sītā by Rāma is ascribed to the intrigues of the latter's old enemies, the Rākshasas.

Professor Dohring's work will be welcomed by all who take

an interest in the Buddhist kingdom of Further India with its essentially Indian culture.

J PH VOGEL.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA Vol i, pt i edited by TAW SEIN KO and CHAS DUROISELLE, Rangoon, 1919, vol i, pt ii edited by CHAS DUROISELLE, 1920, vol ii, pts i and ii, 1921, vol iii, pt i, 1923 11 × 8¾ Rangoon Superintendent, Government Printing, 1923.

Of the five volumes so far published of this important series the first contains photographs, transcriptions, and translations with notes of the polyglot inscriptions found some thirty-seven years ago near the Myazedi Pagoda in the neighbourhood of Pagan, Upper Burma Professor Duroiselle deals with the Burmese and Pali texts, and Mr Blagden with those in Mon (or Talaing) and an unknown language In the second and fifth volumes (rather inconveniently called vol i, pt ii, and vol iii, pt i) Mr Blagden treats eleven other Mon inscriptions in the same way, and in the third and fourth Professor Duroiselle deals with the plaques on the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan

These facts are not obtainable from a cursory inspection of the volumes The first two have no title-page, or anything to show what the volume is about The table of contents, though in the ordinary place in some, is in most printed on the outside of the back of the cover, where no one would think of looking for it In the first volume Mr Blagden's name appears only once, at the end of his part, in the second, which is entirely his work, it does not appear at all

All the inscriptions are in alphabets allied to the Sanskrit, and strict transliteration has generally been adopted That is, each letter is represented by the Roman symbol (with or without a diacritic) prescribed for the corresponding Sanskrit letter by the International Oriental Congress of 1894. This is the only possible method, though it makes old Burmese unintelligible to speakers of modern Burmese, and though

some letters have no Sanskrit relative, and have to be represented by a Roman symbol chosen for their supposed sound But Professor Duroiselle has been justly criticized in the last number of the *Journal* of the Burma Research Society for attempting to represent the modern pronunciation of certain Burmese words by a system of his own which is neither consistent with itself nor explained by him with the result, among others, that his *th* stands sometimes for the sound in E *thin*, sometimes for that in *then*, and sometimes for an aspirated *t*, while for a single Burmese letter (with no Sanskrit relative) which is to be pronounced, he says, like the vowel in E *met* or F *lait*, he uses the two symbols *ai*, each of which has already been assigned another value All this confusion could have been avoided by using the system of the International Phonetic Association whenever it was thought necessary to indicate the pronunciation

Professor Duroiselle's description (vol 1, p 12) of the Burmese tones and his division of them into short, medial, and heavy, are misleading and many years out of date It is true that Sir George Grierson's article on "The Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages" (*JRAS* Oct, 1920) had not been published when he wrote but it had long before been shown that the only real tones in Burmese were the level and falling tones, what Professor Duroiselle calls the short tone being, primarily at least, a glottal check Moreover, the disquisition is irrelevant in this work, for we do not know what the marks used eight hundred years ago meant They may have represented tones which have since disappeared, they may even, for aught we know, have been used to differentiate vowels Professor Duroiselle's use of numbers to represent the supposed tones is also meaningless It would have been simpler and less misleading to use the symbols themselves, as Mr Blagden has done in his part of the volume.

Of the four texts of the polyglot inscription above mentioned the Burmese and Pali had already been deciphered,

though imperfectly, in 1892, and translated later. Mr Blagden broke new ground in his preliminary studies of the Mon version and the fourth text in this *Journal* between 1909 and 1911, and the present first volume gives the ripe fruit of his labours

The fourth text is in a language which Mr Blagden has provisionally called Pyu, because a people of that name is mentioned in early records (Chinese of the eighth and ninth and Arakanese of the twelfth century) as dwelling in Burma, and their name, like this language, has long since disappeared As has been shown elsewhere, everything points to the fact that the Burmese were only one of a number of tribes, each with its own language and customs, which formerly inhabited the country The Burmese grew in strength, and, aided by monastic schools and travelling monks, were able gradually to impose their language and customs on the others The language of the fourth text was one of those which thus tended to disappear Others, once spread over a wide area, but now spoken by comparatively a few persons, are Kadu in the north and Mon in the south

The Mons, however, as Mr Blagden shows in the second volume of the series (vol i, pt ii), seem to have given the Burmese much of their civilization, and especially southern Buddhism as distinguished from the northern form, before the process of absorption began , and even the speakers of the lost language used in this inscription a more archaic script than the Burmese, and may have had an older civilization.

This account of the Mons, coming from so accurate a scholar as Mr Blagden, is a valuable addition to the history of Burma, which includes that of the Mon people The inscriptions he has so far deciphered come, however, from Upper Burma, and throw light on the history of the Burmese people, not on that of the Mons. The uninteresting nature of some of them, and the fragmentary results obtained from others, do but increase one's admiration for the patient care with which the task has been performed.

Professor Duroiselle had an easier, and to most people a more attractive, task in the third and fourth volumes (vol ii, pts i and ii), which contain three hundred and eighty-nine excellent photographs of the plaques, illustrative of certain Jatakas, on the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan In spite of the explanation in his preface it is not clear why the two volumes should not have been printed in one, for the letterpress in part ii is nearly all a repetition of that in pt i, and could have been kept near the relevant plates by using smaller type for the notes, or by printing some of the longest at the end of the volume

REPORTS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA, for the years ending the 31st March 1922, and the 31st March 1923 $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ 47 pp Rangoon Supt, Government Printing, 1923

When Māra came before the Buddha on his throne, and challenged him to prove his right to it, Vasundharā sprang from the earth, and, wringing out her hair wet with pious libations, broke the hosts of the evil one with the flood that came therefrom

This is the legend of the earth-goddess Vasundharā, not to be traced in Indian or Burmese records, but found in a Pali work extant in Cambodia and Siam, and told by Professor Duroiselle in the earlier of these two reports Europeans in Burma are familiar with the figure of her, wringing out her long hair, but few know the story

Professor Duroiselle thinks that the Mongols did not commit in Burma the atrocities (' tens of thousands of ears ") attributed to them in Europe, since the Burmese records are silent on this point But may not some of these stories have been invented in the west in order to keep up the martial spirit of the combatants? There are modern parallels With orientals the trick might have had the opposite effect

The appearance of crosses in a fresco made after the fall of Pagan (corrected date 1287) is thought by Professor Duroiselle

to show the presence of Christians in the Mongol hordes. The Government resolution on the report points out that crosses taking the form of a multiplication sign are not necessarily Christian Unfortunately the fresco is not reproduced, and one cannot say whether the crosses of this shape to be seen in the background of early Byzantine pictures of the Virgin and Child would support Professor Duroiselle's inference

It is depressing to learn that these precious frescoes are in danger of disappearing owing to the failure of the Government to keep the buildings in repair On the other hand, one hears with pleasure of the preparation of a guide to Mandalay palace, the importance of which Professor Duroiselle demonstrates The building answers in almost every detail to the description of Kublai Khan's palace at Khan Baliq (Peking). Yule has described the plan as pan-Asiatic, and Fergusson says ancient architecture is best studied in the living illustration at the Burmese capital

LIK SMIN ASAH The Story of the Founding of Pegu and a Subsequent Invasion from South India By R. HALLIDAY $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 249 pp Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press, 1923

This is a Talaing (or Mon) poem written a hundred years ago, with preface, translation, and glossary The English of the translation leaves a good deal to be desired, but it is much better to have this translation than nothing. The meaning of the title is not explained in the preface or translation It appears from the story, however, that Asah was a Mon hero of dragon descent, and son of one of the twin founders of the Mon kingdom of Pegu. His father was killed by the other twin, and to avoid a like fate for him his mother left him on birth with a herd of wild buffaloes. The boy grew up among the buffaloes, and was seen by a hunter and brought to court. After leading an army of wild buffaloes against

Indian invaders and routing them, he returned to his foster-mother, whom he rather ungratefully sacrificed to a demon

R G B

Pedagogics of the Talmud and that of modern times, a comparative study By Sir Hermann Gollancz M A, D Litt Rabbi $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 124 pp Oxford University Press Humphrey Milford, 1924

It was a happy idea to write this interesting little essay, because East and West ancient and modern times, meet in it on the common ground of the education of the young The author traces a kind of history of teaching beginning with the Pentateuch through the Talmud and early rabbinic writings, placing his extracts in parallels with European authors from Luther down to the late Professor Sully It is not surprising that in Biblical and Jewish literatures religion is the basis of all teaching though not exclusively This presupposes the faculty of reading and writing and the Mishnāh relates that special officials were appointed to superintend the children's reading during divine worship The ritual law demanded the pursuit of secular branches of learning such as natural science, anatomy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, the last-named for fixing the festival calendar Metaphysics, however, was barred, as we see in a well-known passage of Ben Sira and the Mishnāh On the other hand the study of Greek was especially encouraged in the phrase *Let the beauty of Jepheth (Greek) dwell in the tents of Shem*, an allusion to the Greek version of the Pentateuch The Talmud also gives instruction as to the constitution of schools, the duties and privileges of teachers, and their relation to their pupils The discouragement of unmarried teachers finds an interesting parallel in the writings of Al Jāhiz, who inserts an energetic attack on sodomy in an essay on teaching Sir Hermann shows a praiseworthy acquaintance both with the older Jewish and modern European literatures on pedagogy from which he has culled many gems. The book may be recommended to readers even outside the

practical teaching craft It would, however, have been an advantage had the author adhered to the recognized system of transcribing Hebrew words

H HIRSCHFELD.

THE EXEMPLA OF THE RABBIS being a collection of Exempla, Apologues, and Tales culled from Hebrew Manuscripts and rare Hebrew Books By MOSES GASTER, Ph D 1924

The value of Hebrew legendary lore to the student of folk-lore and the migration of folk-tales has long since been recognized, but as practically no translations of the ancient Hebrew manuscripts were available, only few writers have been able to include Rabbinical versions in their works But now, thanks to the untiring labours of Dr Gaster, covering no less than a quarter of a century, we are in possession of 450 Exempla, Apologues and Tales translated chiefly from ancient Hebrew manuscripts

It is hard, if not impossible to assign any definite date to these *Agadoth*, or *told* stories, but many ante-date both *Talmud* and *Midrash* In a learned Introduction, Dr Gaster deals with the literary side of the problem 'with the Collection itself, of ingarnering and disseminating, and not with the psychological problem of originating and moulding"

Palestine is the home of these legends rather than Babylon, and like the Buddhist *Jātakas* and the mediæval *Gesta Romanorum*, they were used primarily for moralizing upon in sermons

Hebrew scholars and students will be grateful for the text of the Exempla which is also included in the volume.

Space will only permit the briefest glance at the stories themselves

Although Dr Gaster states in his Preface that his collection contains scarcely any of the Indian cycle, there are quite a number of exempla which have Sanskrit variants and are not mentioned in his *Literary Parallels* (p. 185 *et seq.*). [illegible]

instance, his No 12 (p 54) and No 329 (p 118) prove the impossibility of one thing by showing the impossibility of another This *motif* occurs in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, ch xl, in *Jātaka* No 218, and in a Bihari tale by S C Mitra (*Journ Ant Soc Bomb*, vol vi 1902 pp 140–1) No 351b (p 129) deals with the incident of the difficulty of finding a pure person in an emergency again we find a variant in Somadeva (ch xxxvi) where no chaste woman could be found in the city to cause the king's elephant to move from the spot where it had fallen

Many other examples could be given viz No 110 (p 79), the "Overhearing" *motif*, No 114 (p 79), "Why he laughed and why he cried" No 149 (pp 90 177) "The language of signs" No 159 (p 93), "Recovering money by clever tricks" No 226 (p 102) "Sybarite story" No 34 (p 124), "Stolen jewels in bird's nest" All these have Indian variants Dr Gaster gives variants to the latter on p 246, and quotes Grimm, *Kinderund Hausmarchen*, No 7, and Bolte and Polivka's work on Grimm vol i p 59 but neither of these references mention the "Jewel in bird's nest" incident

The "Literary Parallels" cited are no less than 4,000 in number, the Hebrew ones are given first in chronological order (as far as possible) followed by other variants in alphabetical order

This huge mass of evidence gives to the work an importance which, alas, is seldom found attached to collections of folk-tales Even Cosquin's works lack indexes, thus greatly minimizing their value The Index in the present work is excellent

Regarded from every point of view, then, the *Exempla of the Rabbis* can be taken as a model of conscientious and unremitting research, of the utmost value alike to the student of Hebrew legendary lore and to the collector of folk-lore and storiology

N M. P

Reviews on Arabic Subjects

1 THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAELITES PRIOR TO THE RISE OF ISLAM By D S MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., D Litt 9½ × 6, 86 pp The Schweich Lectures, 1921. London Oxford University Press, 1924

This book contains a series of three lectures, each dealing with a separate period Each period offers a special problem. The three great questions that arise are whether the Israelites were derived from Arabia, what was the influence exercised by Arabia on Palestine in the biblical epoch, and what was the nature of the Judaism that existed in Arabia in the early Christian centuries The part of the Arabs in history, in any case considerable, would be magnified if it could be proved that the Jews were Arabs and that the Jewish system and religion owes any debt of importance to Arabia. Exact knowledge of the position of the Jews in Arabia in the seventh century is evidently necessary for understanding the beginnings of Islam

Of the three questions, that which relates to the time of the Bible seems to be the least difficult, but the material for an answer, most of which is in the Bible itself, is often not easy to interpret, and some debatable points remain The other two questions do not seem to admit of any final answer at the present time Professor Margoliouth's conclusion that an Arab origin for the Israelites, if not proved, accords best with the facts known to us, will probably be accepted by most people His views as to the Jews in Arabia may lead to some modification of commonly accepted opinions.

As a whole, the subject of the lectures requires a wide range of knowledge for its adequate treatment No one could be more peculiarly well qualified to deal with it than Professor Margoliouth He shows himself as much at home in philology, epigraphy, and Hebrew literature as he is in Arabic poetry and pre-Islamic history. He collects the latest results of modern researches, and all his facts are supported by

references where necessary. His clear arrangement and valuable and interesting comment make the lectures good reading

2. KITÂB AL-'ILM AL-MUKTASAB FI ZIRA'AT ADH-DHAHAB Book of Knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of gold By ABU 'L-QÂSIM MUHAMMAD IBN AHMAD AL-'IRÂQI Arabic text edited with a translation and introduction by E J HOLMYARD M A 10 × 6½ 62 + er pp Paris Geuthner 1923

El Muktasab contains an exposition of the theory of the transmutation of metals and directions for compounding the elixirs required to turn silver, copper and the other metals into gold All that seems to be known of El 'Irâqi is that he enjoyed some considerable repute as a writer on alchemy and similar subjects He is believed to have flourished in the seventh (thirteenth) century His book is constructed on a methodical plan and written in plain language A commentary on it by Jildaki eighth (fourteenth) century is in existence, and has been used in the preparation of this edition

No one need feel surprised if he finds the directions impossible to carry out but as material for the history of alchemy, El Muktasab is clearly of considerable value It compares very favourably with the obscure and enigmatical works, like those of Jâbir, published by Berthelot, or the treatise of Ibn Bashrûn, included by Ibn Khaldûn in his prolegomena, which make up a large proportion of the few Arabic alchemical books that have been printed hitherto The theory and practice described both look as if they dated from pre-Islamic times and it seems to be very difficult to discover any indication of independent practical knowledge on the part of the author Mr Holmyard will no doubt consider these questions in a later volume which he promises

He is to be thanked for a useful introduction and a carefully edited text His translation, if not always entirely beyond criticism, is generally very successful in conveying the meaning and overcoming a number of not inconsiderable difficulties. The edition altogether is a good sound piece of work

3 MAQRÎZÎ EL MAWÂ'IZ WA'L-I'TIBÂR FÎ DHIKR EL-KHITAT WA'L-ÂTHÂR Edité par M GASTON WIET Vol IV. Fasc I 14 × 11, 176 pp In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire Cairo, 1923

The last instalment of this edition previous to this one was noticed in the *Journal* for 1923 One is glad to see that the work is making steady progress The edition proceeds on precisely the same lines as before, and the editor is as indefatigable as ever This fascicule continues the section of the original which deals with Egyptian towns and completes it. A good deal of important historical matter is included, particularly that relating to Damietta, which is the town that receives most notice The Faiyûm comes in here also

4 LE PELERINAGE À LA MEKKE By GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES 10 × 6½, viii + 332 pp Annales du Musée Guimet Bibliothèque d'études, tome 33 Paris: Geuthner, 1923

Originally the author meant to treat of the pilgrimage from both the political and the religious point of view, but he gave up this design and modestly describes his book as notes for the study of the rites of the pilgrimage It consists of a full description of the place of pilgrimage—the sacred territory, the mosque of Makka, etc – and of the rites It is based on original authorities, a list of about fifty of those most frequently cited being given Students will appreciate its value as a guide It is a pity that it was not possible to add a plan and a map

5 SELECTED PAPERS ON ANTHROPOLOGY, TRAVEL, AND EXPLORATION By SIR RICHARD BURTON. Edited by N M PENZER, M A. 8½ × 5½, 240 pp. London: Philpot, 1924

A collection of ten of the rarer and more inaccessible of Burton's articles, well calculated to show the many-sidedness

of the explorer All the papers are worth reading, and one may wonder at the diversity of the author's interests and activities

6. R BRÜNNOWS ARABISCHE CHRESTOMATHIE Third edition, improved reprint of the second edition of 1913 Edited by AUGUST FISCHER $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, Arabic text 183 pp, Glossary, etc, 162 pp Berlin Reuthner and Reichard, 1924

This is one of a series of Oriental reading books It consists of prose extracts from classical works including the Qur'ân, Ibn Hishâm, Bukhârî, and several others The specimens selected are interesting in themselves, and will give some idea of the general nature of classical Arabic literature and of Muhammadan notions on several matters, besides serving to teach the language The carefully prepared glossary will be found most useful Faults in the impression occur here and there, but mistakes are extremely hard to discover One of these seems to be نُشَار on page 1, which should surely be corrected to يُسار, the entry referring to it being deleted from the glossary

7 EL MASHRA' (THE WATERING-PLACE) By the Rev P. PAUL SBATH $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 210 pp Cairo, 1924

A collection of lectures and addresses in Arabic concerning the Christian religion, delivered by the author in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, in the hope of bringing Muhammadans and Christians into agreement, polemics written in a temperate style

8 THE CALIPHATE By SIR THOMAS W ARNOLD, C I E, Litt D 9×6, 223 pp London Oxford University Press, 1924

The Khalifate has been little more than an empty show ever since the tenth century, yet the question of the Khalifate is still not entirely dead, and has at least some possibility of renewed vitality There has been a good

deal of misapprehension with regard to the matter, even among people who ought to be well-informed Professor Arnold's book should dispel all illusions. The situation could not be put in a clearer light All the necessary ground is covered from the origin of the Khalifate down to the time of publication The subject has not been treated thoroughly in such a way before in English, and although the author minimizes any claim to originality, it is evident that he has done a great deal more than bring together the result of the researches of others

The views of the Shî'a and Kharijites concerning the Khalifate are now of quite minor moment They are dealt with sufficiently by two or three pages in an appendix The book confines itself almost entirely to the Khalifate among the orthodox One of its special features is its clear examination of the claims of the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey. Professor Arnold shows that there is no valid evidence of any surrender of the Abbasid rights to the Ottoman dynasty and the story commonly accepted in the West appears to be groundless The Ottoman claims have no better origin than a bare assumption of the title in the fourteenth century For a long time, the Turkish Sultans seem to have set but little store upon the complimentary epithet which they had bestowed on themselves, but towards the end of the eighteenth century they began to assert their rights emphatically and to press them As is well known, their efforts for recognition as Khalifs had a certain measure of success What is remarkable is how they were helped by the Abbasid story and how its origin seems to have been simply a mistake by a European historian

A point emphasized by Professor Arnold is that the Khalif has never had spiritual powers of the kind which he has been supposed to possess, and that the parallel between him and the Pope so often drawn by European writers is entirely false The error has been demonstrated by Western scholars, and he collects a few of their statements with regard to it.

The theory of the Khalifate receives a due share of attention. Some further stress might perhaps have been laid on the fundamental difference between the Shî'a and the Sunnîs, which is implied by the cardinal Shî'a doctrine of descent from 'Alî

The difference, to be sure, is obscured by the Sunnî legists' allowing nomination Their reasons are easy to see, but the effect of nomination is to make their position illogical The appointment of the Khalif by election is the true basis of the orthodox theory Ethical and philosophical writers come round to the view that the lawful Khalif is the sovereign who is actually exercising the functions Election and *de facto* right have this in common that both depend ultimately on the consent of the community

According to the strict legal doctrine, there has been no real Khalif since 'Alî and this opinion we are told, is actually held by the Hanafites There has been no real *de facto* Khalif—none ruling over all Islam ever since the Umaiyads, or at the latest since the early Abbasids Even to the general mass of the orthodox who could not be expected to be particular about rights and powers but would merely accept what they heard and saw, there has never been since the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, any Khalif to whom all could look up

The Khalifate in a full sense implies a united Islam under a single ruler As Professor Arnold says, this ideal is still cherished and is likely to survive for many generations to come

9 L'ISLAM ET LES RACES Par P J ANDRÉ, Capitaine d'infanterie coloniale (Pierre Redan) 9 × 5, 2 vols, xxvi + 266 + 321 pp Paris Geuthner, 1922

This is a broad and comprehensive survey of Islam, written for the serious inquirer who wishes to understand the whole system in connexion with present-day problems The author sees in Islam an Arab trunk with a Turco-Mongolian graft.

In the first volume, which describes the principal Islamic institutions and doctrines, he traces the main growth from the origins to the most recent times The second volume follows out the branches under the headings of schisms and sects and of the local movements derived from the Arab and from the Turco-Mongolian expansion respectively, the former covering Arabia, Egypt, and Africa, the latter the Far East, India and other parts of Asia, also Russia, it ends with general conclusions, chiefly political, driving home the author's racial theory

The book is written in a vigorous style, and is likely to exercise a good deal of influence It is full of ideas and contains many shrewd observations, salient points are emphasized, and details subordinated with much judgment. The uninstructed can get from it a notion of the immense and complex development represented by Islamic history in the past and the extensive and diverse influences that Islam still continues to exercise Those already informed, although they will hardly accept all its generalizations or agree with all its arguments, may find in it some new conclusions, the truth of which they may recognize At least, they will find plenty of material for reflection It is unfortunate that there is a certain amount of obvious inaccuracy in detail An index ought to be supplied in the next edition

10 BIBLIOTHEQUE DES ARABISANTS FRANÇAIS Contenant les mémoires des orientalistes français relatifs au études arabes parus dans les périodiques, et qui n'ont pas été réunis à ce jour Première série SILVESTRE DE SACY. Tome premier, cxvi + 264 pp, Tome deuxième, xl + 277 pp Le Caire Imprimerie de l'institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1905, 1923

In this collection each Orientalist is to have a separate series, and the first series is allotted appropriately to the illustrious de Sacy, who died in 1838 A full biography by Monsieur Hartwig Derenbourg forms part of the first volume

and enables one to realize the estimable qualities of de Sacy and how greatly he promoted Arabic studies An enumeration of his distinguished disciples and pupils fills two or three pages and the list of his publications of all kinds includes more than 450 items Some of those which come within the scope of this reprint must be by this time more or less superseded The three *mémoires sur la nature et les révolutions du droit de propriété territoriale en Égypte* which constitute the second volume of this series, will long retain their value

11 LA SYRIE A L'ÉPOQUE DES MAMELOUKS D'APRES LES AUTEURS ARABES Par GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités et des beaux-arts Bibliothèque archéologique et historique III 10 × 6½, CXIX + 288 pp Paris Geuthner 1923

This book consists of a translation of the chapters of Qalqashandi's *Subh el a'shâ* which relate to Syria El Qalqashandî who was in the Government service in Egypt, died in A D 1418 His work in Arabic was published a few years ago by the Egyptian Government The chapters translated include a geographical description of Syria and an account of its administrative organization under the Mamlûks In an appendix are added certain other extracts relating to Syria from the same book, concerning the post, including the pigeon post, arrangements for transporting snow from Syria for royal use in Cairo, fire signals, etc The translation is furnished with many useful notes

Monsieur Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in his introduction, pays a graceful and well-deserved compliment to Mr Le Strange for his services to Western historians of the Middle Ages by his *Palestine under the Moslems* and *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, and he intends the present work to be, as it were, a supplement to the Syria and Palestine of Mr Le Strange, as it covers a period for which contemporary authors have only

recently been made available Besides the translation, there is a long introduction giving an account of Mamlûk administration in general The work seems to be well executed Its utility will be realized

12 LES CHÂTEAUX ARABES DE QESEIR 'AMRA, HARÂNEH ET TÛBA Par les RR PP JAUSSEN et SAVIGNAC, Professeurs à l École biblique de St Étienne, Jerusalem. Publications de la Société des fouilles archéologiques. Mission archéologique en Arabie II, Atlas, 12 × 8, lviii planches III, Texte avec 21 figures, 11 × 7½, 134 pp. Paris Geuthner, 1922

These remarkable monuments in the Syrian desert some 35 miles east of the Dead Sea are of great interest architecturally and from other points of view as well Qeseir 'Amra which was a hunting lodge, is notable for its paintings, including one shown by Greek and Arabic inscriptions to represent Roderick the King of the Visigoths at the Arab conquest of Spain This building probably dates from the eighth century, the other two are doubtless earlier, but their date is quite uncertain Qasr Tûba resembles Mushatta, which is in the same district, and both show strong Mesopotamian influence Qasr Harâna is considered to be intermediate between Syrian and Mesopotamian work

All three monuments have been described before The authors found the description of Qasr Harâna and Qaṣr Tûba faulty and unreliable, and redescribe them completely They give numbers of views of Qeseir 'Amra and a briefer description The text includes also itineraries and historical and epigraphical notes It is well arranged, and seems to supply all the information that can possibly be wanted, the plans and views, too, are excellent

13 THE TREATISE OF AL-JAZARÎ ON AUTOMATA Leaves from a manuscript of the Kitâb fî ma'arifat al-hiyal al handasiya in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and

elsewhere By ANANDA K COOMARASWAMY, D Sc (Lond), Keeper of Indian and Muhammadan Art in the Museum 9 × 12, 21 pp, viii plates Boston, 1924

The treatise was written early in the thirteenth century, and has recently been edited and published Eight leaves are reproduced here in monochrome and described, six of the eight are in the museum Each leaf contains a full page illustration The drawings represent machines for lifting water, water-clocks, apparatus or toys in the form of figures worked by water The artistic interest of the drawings depends a good deal upon their early date Mr Coomaraswamy discusses the whole matter thoroughly The character of the Arabic text on some of the leaves seems strongly to support his conclusion that one can hardly hesitate to assign them to the thirteenth century

14 ISLAMICA Editor A FISCHER Vol i fasc i, Oct, 1924. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 141 pp Leipzig

A new German periodical to be published as a supplement volume of the *Asia Major* and to be devoted chiefly to the languages and civilizations of the Arabs Persians and Turks So as to secure readers in India and in Egypt, the space is to be divided between German and English The first issue contains four articles concerning Arabic philology, besides others by well-known Orientalists In one of them, Professor Margoliouth makes the welcome announcement of the discovery of a further volume of Yaqût s *Irshâd*, which is to be printed before long

15 ARABS IN TENT AND TOWN An intimate account of the family life of the Arabs in Syria, their manner of living in desert and town, their hospitality, customs, and mental attitude, with a description of the animals, birds, flowers, and plants of the country By A GOODRICH-FREER, F R G S (Mrs H H SPOER) 9 × 6, 325 pp London: Seeley Service & Co, 1924

This book is written in a pleasant gossipy style, and abounds in tales and anecdotes It shows an intimate acquaintance with the country and people, and one is not surprised to learn that it represents twenty-four years' personal observation. Mrs Spoer, by means of experiences of her own, reminiscences of conversations, and other similar touches and sidelights, succeeds in producing a genuine atmosphere rarely to be found in more systematic descriptions Her chapters on family life may be recommended particularly to anyone who cherishes extravagant myths about the degradation of women in Arab countries Altogether, her book tells one a great deal about every kind of matter connected with her subject One notes a few obvious mistakes and inaccuracies in the Arabic cited

A R GUEST

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES AT THE CITADEL OF CAIRO By K A C CRESWELL 9 × 11, 167 pp, 10 plans, 30 plates Le Caire Imprimerie de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1924

THE ORIGIN OF THE PLAN OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK. By K A C CRESWELL $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, 30 pp, 8 plans Jerusalem. British School of Archaeology, 1924

Captain Creswell dedicates the first of these two publications to Monsieur Paul Casanova whose memoir on the Citadel of Cairo is well known The architectural studies of the late Herz Pasha, which were to have accompanied that memoir and are referred to in it, were, unfortunately, never published; nor has any trace of them been found Captain Creswell, who expresses the hope that his researches may help to fill this gap, gives a clear description and a reasoned analysis of this important monument of military architecture. The sympathetic co-operation of the British military authorities and the financial support of the Committee for the Preservation of Arab Monuments were both gained by Captain

Creswell; and he has, by careful study and judicious excavation, brought to light many features hitherto unknown A short historical introduction contains a summary of events for the twenty-three years prior to the construction of the Citadel, culminating, on the death of the last Fâtimid Caliph, in the appointment, by the Abbâsid Caliph of Bagdad, of Saladin as Governor of Egypt The subsequent revolts of Fâtimid partizans are described and it was chiefly to the fear of further risings that Captain Creswell attributes Saladin s decision to build the Citadel as a place of refuge for use in the event of a serious revolt The description is illustrated by easily followed plans and photographs of the whole circuit of fortification The leader is conducted, as it were round the walls and their towers The different kinds of masonry and the structural methods are pointed out and cogent reasons are given for the conclusions reached It appears that though Saladin's enclosure was completed before he left Cairo, never to return, for his war against the Crusaders yet his brother, and successor, Al 'Adil, found it necessary to add important new works, and to strengthen many of Saladin s towers by heavy masonry casings Further modifications were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Others were made by Muhammad Ali in the beginning of the nineteenth century One of Captain Creswell's most interesting discoveries is the hitherto unidentified Bab al Qarâfa

In his paper on the Dome of the Rock, Captain Creswell describes the plan, examines and accepts Mauss s geometrical theory, he reviews the question whether the present plan is the original plan, and concludes that it is, he accepts Signor Rivoira's contention that the annular rotunda is, in origin a creation of Roman architecture, but claims that "the final links in the chain which culminated in the Dome of the Rock were forged in Syria" He gives reasons for believing that the geometrical principles which controlled, according to Mauss, the setting out of the Dome of the Rock had been followed a century and a half earlier in the setting out of the

Cathedral at Bosra, and also, at an earlier date, of the Church of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives

E T R

BABYLONIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS By SIDNEY SMITH, M A. London Methuen and Co, 1924.

This book contains six very important chronological texts, all of the late period, and continues in most welcome manner the remarkable material previously discovered in the British Museum by Dr L W King and Mr C J Gadd Of these six excellently edited documents two are new copies of previously published and well-known texts Of the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, a completely new copy is given on plates xi–xiv, and a new critical edition on pages 98–123 A fragment of another version of this chronicle, which contains some material bearing upon the second and third years of the reign of Nabonidus, was published by Strassmaier, and studied by Weidner in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, vol vi, 119 This fragment refers to an invasion of the land of the Hittites in the second year of his reign, and has not been utilized by Mr Smith. On plate xviii, the author has given a new copy of the historical section of a tablet previously published by Strassmaier, it contains an account of the fifth–sixth years of the reign of Antiochus Soter (280–260 B C), or if Mr Smith's reading in rev 16 be accepted, we must refer lines 16*b*–22 to the seventh year He reads against Strassmaier's *KU* the sign *DUL* and transcribes *Teshrit*, which must of course fall in the next year, since the events given in lines 15–16 occurred in Adar of the sixth year It is unusual in such documents for the scribe to pass from one year to another without mentioning the fact, and even with the new copy in hand the reading *šipišta-šuna tattalku ûmu* 12-*kam*, "Their rescript came to the Babylonians," seems to be worthy of consideration The author's new reading *mašku ši-pir-tu* in this text is a brilliant correction of the earlier editions. See for *šipištu*, also *Lutz, Cassite Letters*, 87, 14, in *Publications of the*

Babylonian *Section of the University Museum*, Philadelphia, **vol. i.**

Plates i–iii contain a new text, the *Esarhaddon Chronicle*, **edited on** pages 1–21, it has the curious scribal note *gigam-[dǎš-dǎš]*, found on another text of the same series, and which **I take** to mean *eppirāti* "the disasters", or "the wars" *dǎš-dǎš* as a plural for *meš* is well known cf *MU-dǎš-dǎš* = *šumāti* "lines", C T 13, 15, 148, *Sumerian Grammar*, p 85, § 130, Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 13 1, 8, a Sumerian value *dith* = *ma'dûtu*, is indicated instead of *dǎš dǎš*, by *Vocabular* ***Assur***, 523, ii, 39 At least the contents of the two tablets which bear this subscription appear to support this interpretation, for they relate almost exclusively to wars This tablet is a very considerable contribution to the history of the reign of Esarhaddon (twelve years), an arch-enemy of Babylonians, and a character which would naturally attract a compiler of the calamities that befel the Babylonian people in various epochs There is an illuminating discussion of the new historical data here, especially on the geography is Mr Smith both learned and convincing Some of his historical reconstructions in attempting to reconcile the Greek and Jewish references to Senecherib with his discovery and the finding of a reference to an eclipse in obv 5 for the year 680 in the signs read *U-šu KU-KU-ur-ru* will appear to most Assyriologists as hazardous I can make nothing of the passage myself In line 16 I suggest *ballussu imût* "he died although in good health"

On plate iv another new fragment is published This text contains a brief chronicle of the accession year of Shamash-shum-ukîn and of the disasters which befel this rebel viceroy at the hands of his brother Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, in the sixteenth–seventeenth years of his tenure of office, together with other brief notes of the affairs at Babylon to the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal (Kandalānu) [1] and the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nabopolassar, when there were revolutions (*saḫ-ma-ša-a-ti*) in Assyria and Akkad

[1] Contracts from Dilbat (unpublished) seem to prove the identity of *A* and *K*.

On plates v–x is a new and most instructive *Verse Account of Nabonidus* in which the author sees a composition by a Babylonian priest to portray Nabonidus as a heretic king who justly deserved his fate The compilers of other accounts of Nabonidus in cuneiform, apparently at the instigation of their Persian lords, took the same line, and the author has devoted pages 27–97 to an exhaustive treatment of the new facts which are many and valuable The treatment of the cities Teima and Ḫarran in this chapter are solid and instructive Other arguments are certainly based on a perilous footing For example, the discussion concerning the meaning of *sarinu*, on which is built up the theory that Nabonidus subordinated the cult of the sun god to that of the moon god, presupposes that *kurnu* (a reading *qurnu* is possible) is a variant *kutl* form of *karnu* " horn " There is no evidence for this, and the Sumerian *za-rin* (shining stone ?) which is rendered by *sarinu*, *sarinnu*, *gur*(?)-*nu*, seems to indicate that *sarinu* is a loan-word The author is right in saying that my suggestion of a Semitic derivation in VAB iv, 264, is not possible Scheil connected *sarinu* with Hebrew *zarnîk* and Greek *arsenikon* There is an astonishing amount of true learning in this chapter, mingled with perilous conjecture, but every scholar, who has the mind of a discoverer, has a right to freedom in this respect In col ii, 24, *tu-du*, road, is replaced by the synonym *ḫarranu* In col v, 24, read *u-šu-uz*, he stood See Meissner, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p 73, n 1, etc , col ii, 3, read *zikir-šu ú-ma*, etc , " Anu knew not Adapa ever " On page 92, Zimmern's note on *lakuruppu* and *laputtu* in ZA 32, 177, should be mentioned *Kuruppu* occurs in *zakpu u kuru-pu-u* (*kurupû*), planted and ploughed, BE 8, 44, 2, and *bitu kuruppu*, Clay, *Morgan Collection*, ii, No 1 *karāpu*, to plough (*Voc Scheil*, 30=BM. 93059, 4), seems to be identical with *bakāru*, to plough, and perhaps also eventually the root of *kirbitu*, field Aramaic *k-r-b* does not exclude the identity of the two roots, Arabic *bakara*, Hebrew *b-k-r*, Babylonian *bakāru*, to split, plough, care for (v. VAB. iv, 323), seems to be original.

A most important discovery is the *Chronicle concerning the Diadochi*, an entirely new source for the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus, and Alexander IV, plates xv–xvii, of which a good edition is given on pages 124–49. Here we have an example of how much can be expected from cuneiform inscriptions. Even matters which concern the history of Macedonia are mentioned here, and the length of the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus (eight years) is confirmed, at any rate such are the figures on this tablet. The author has made the most of it, and his discussion is very informing. On page 147, for *ṣabābu*, Holma's note in his *Korperteile*, page 140, should have been consulted, where another (Arabic) derivation is defended. On page 149 the reference to CT 35, 4 38, *ku-ku=uddātu*, clearly contains the word *uddātu* "calamity", as the Sumerian word shows, and the synonym *sululu* "darkness" proves. The passage in the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, p. 114, l. 26, still defies interpretation. *ušbinimma* cannot be taken from *šebû* and *šutibbu* which is taken for *šutûbu* (Inf. III), offers insurmountable difficulties. Attention should be called to the illuminating note on the epigraphy of the signs *ME* and *LAL*, and the revised reading *šib-sa* "he turned back".

The *Nabonidus Chronicle*, iii, 17–18, may possibly receive elucidation from Clay, *Morgan Collection*, ii, 47, 12, and 20. In this contract a man undertakes to execute the office of *girlalûtu* and assumes the responsibility in the following terms:—*ša be-el la šakānu u simannu la u-te-ti-ik*, or *ša la šakānu ša be-el u la šu-tu-ú-ku ša simannu*, and ll. 27–8, *ki-i Anu-balat-su-ikbi šuatu be-el ištakan u siman*[*na*] *ul-tu-ti-ik*. It appears then that *bêl šakānu* or "to permit *bêlu*" is a sacrilege, and the *Chronicle* also proves that *be-la ul iššakin* describes the proper state of affairs. *be-la* and *be-el* probably mean "to discontinue", from *bâlu*, cognate of *balû*, cf. *šimtum ub-ti-il*, "fate brought (me) to naught," Ebeling, *Koheleth*, 9; *šimtum ub-til*, KAR 169, R iii, 10.[1] I suggest that the *Chronicle* should be rendered, "The cessation of

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anything in Esagila and the temples did not occur and no appointed ceremony was passed over" The accepted interpretation, "No weapon was set up, etc," is most improbable S LANGDON.

TEXTES DE COMPTABILITÉ PROTO-ÉLAMITES Mission Archéologique de Perse, Vol XVII Par V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut.

In 1905 Professor Scheil published 193 small tablets written in the early Anzanite script of Elam,[1] these were all inventories or lists of objects and quantities of foods and drinks, but the script remained pictographic and is undecipherable In the present volume the author publishes 490 documents of the same kind He has made some progress in the interpretation of this enigmatical script of ancient Elam and has given a more complete list of the signs Few of them can be identified with the earlier pictographic and linear signs of the Sumerians, and his new publication proves that the Proto-Elamitic or Anzanite script was entirely independent of any known external influence Scheil assigns the entire series to the period of the so-called second class of painted pottery at Susa, and divides the sources into three groups The earliest group of tablets he believes to be contemporary with the dynasty of Agade (twenty-seventh century B C), and the latest group he declares to be contemporary with the Ur-Nammu dynasty of Ur (twenty-fourth century B C.). He recognizes an intermediary group, probably contemporary with the Gutean kings The Anzanites borrowed the Sumerian script as employed in the period of Sargon of Agade, and consequently their own script remained undeveloped and apparently used only in writing business and economic documents Their literary monuments are invariably written in the Sumerian phonetic script; the author has published a treaty between Narâm-Sin and Elam, written in the style of the script of Agade, but in the Anzanite language (*Délégation*

[1] *Délégation en Perse*, vol VI

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en Perse, xi, pp 1–11) The Sumerian script was also employed for writing economic documents at Susa as early as any of the published tablets in the native script (see *Dél en Perse*, xiv, 62–126, *Tablettes de Comptabilité, Ect de l'Époque de la Dynastie d'Agadê*, par Leon Legrain) These documents are almost entirely redacted in the Sumerian language, but Semitic words occur, and they reveal all the characteristics of similar economic documents written in Sumer and Accad in the same period

The Proto-Elamitic writing is apparently of much later origin than the Sumerian script, the cuneiform script was known and employed at Susa as early as the oldest documents in Proto-Elamitic published by Scheil It is clearly a survival from an earlier period, for obviously its invention could serve no purpose after the more highly developed and serviceable Sumerian writing had been introduced by the kings of Agade Happily, the original Anzanite hieroglyphs have been preserved in these economic documents although almost none of the signs can be definitely interpreted Pére Scheil's service to Elamitic and Anzanite epigraphy, history, and philology is inestimable For nearly half a century he has published stately volumes on the Anzanite, Elamitic, and Semitic sources found at Susa, and he is, in fact the founder of this department of cuneiform study and the undisputed master of the subject

A thankless task it is to copy and attempt to decipher a mass of uninteresting lists of objects, written in a primitive and obsolete script which never became the medium of literature and history The signs are almost totally unlike the Sumerian, and even on clay they retain the linear design It is in no sense a cuneiform script, although it might have reached that stage, if the more convenient Sumerian system had not superseded it almost in the beginning The author is compelled to resort to conjecture whenever he essays to explain a sign The scribes of Susa have left no epigraphical explanations or tables of these signs, explained by their Sumerian equivalents.

The most valuable, and the only trustworthy information, which results from the patient study of these documents is the numerical system Although Pére Scheil inclines to recognize a sign for 60, p 62, No 1528, and the multiple 600, Nos 1526–7, it is apparently certain that the Proto-Elamitic numerical system was purely *decimal* The tablets do not appear to admit the values 60 and 600 for the signs in question. On tablet 280, Rev, the sign which is said to mean 60 precedes the large circle, and the large circle has certainly the value 100, as the author himself has proven See *Dél en Perse*, vi, 115 Moreover, the inverted small arc of a circle which Scheil first interpreted by $\frac{1}{6}$, now turns out to be $\frac{1}{5}$ (see vol vi, 117), and this new value is established by the author, p 3, No 17 of the present volume One who is accustomed to deal with Sumerian figures, would naturally suppose that the small arc represents $\frac{1}{6}$ of a circle, as does the similar sign *šuš* in Sumerian (see *Sumerian Grammar*, p 120) The Anzanites therefore, divided the circle into *five* parts, not six The arc is invariably written with the convex side turned to the top, whereas the Sumerian arc or sign *šuš* is drawn with the convex side to the left But this Sumerian sign, like all the others, has probably been turned 90 degrees to the left The Anzanite sign for *ten*, the small circle, or sometimes a small *disc*, is identical with the Sumerian sign *U* (Thureau-Dangin, *REC* No 486) But the large circle in Anzanite is 100 and not 3,600 as in Sumerian This value of the large circle, p 62, No 1530, has been determined by Scheil, p 4, No 20, and vol vi, p 115 It is probable, then, that the large circle, with the small circle placed within, represents 1,000 See tablet 456 in the present volume This sign is 36,000 in Sumerian

The horizontal club-shaped sign for *one* in the early Sumerian script, *REC* No 485, is universally employed for the unit *one* in Proto-Elamic also The sign formed by juxtaposition of the two signs for 10, joined by two horizontal bars (p. 55, No 1230), in some places stands for 100, i.e. 10 by 10. (See tablet 443 Rev and p. 29, called *tibira*, by the author.)

more linear form of this sign occurs on tablets 19, 277 (where it looks like two signs for 1 placed *vis-à-vis*), 45 Tablet 45 is one of the few documents whose figures can be controlled by the totals on the Reverse, and the sign under discussion clearly means 100 here The system, therefore, has *two* signs for 100 It is obvious that no separate sign for 60 existed , for 70–80–90 is written with 7–8–9 small circles The enlarged sign for *one* as seen on tablets 280, 424, 431, cannot be the unit of the sexagesimal system as in Sumerian, as Scheil is still inclined to believe It is a higher unit than 100 on these tablets, and it may be for 1,000 Few of the tablets are well preserved, and none of them enable us to calculate the value of this sign or its multiple (by 10)

A fraction inferior to $\frac{1}{5}$ is represented by two signs for *one* placed *vis-à-vis* in perpendicular position, as on tablets 26, col i, 29 Rev, col ii, 54 Rev, 68 Obv, col ii, etc It must be less than $\frac{1}{10}$ for on tablet 373 it occurs twice, and if $\frac{1}{10}$ be assumed for this figure, we should have a value identical with the sign for $\frac{1}{5}$ The natural inference here is that we have to do with this fraction doubled on tablet 373, but the same sign occurs on tablet 77, Obv iv, where it is not a numeral The fractional denominator 10 is to be expected in a decimal system, and the sign may mean $\frac{1}{10}$ *as a fraction*

It must be remembered that the measures enumerated here are totally obscure and the use of *two* signs for 100 may be due to some convention as in Sumerian, where the numerals before *iku* are not always the same as those before ordinary objects Scheil has demonstrated that the unit *one* or club-shaped sign has the value $\frac{1}{2}$ when placed in perpendicular position, vol vi, p 116, and this sign actually indicates $\frac{1}{2}$ in Sumerian when placed before *GAN(iku)*

Our first impression is that the Proto-Elamitic or Anzanite figures must have some connexion with the corresponding Sumerian figures The signs for 1 and 10 are identical The principal fraction $\frac{1}{5}$ is formed in the same way as the Sumerian fraction $\frac{1}{5}$. The enlarged sign for 10 is 100 here and 3,600 in

Sumerian This sign is multiplied by 10 in the same way in both systems This would lead to the suggestion that the sexagesimal principle introduced into the Sumerian system is secondary, and due to some racial admixture and incorporation of a foreign element Dr Christian [1] and Professor Meinhof [2] have already suggested that Sumerian is the result of an amalgamation of two agglutinative languages, or the incorporation of a racial group and a cognate language into the old Sumerian race and language Certainly this theory is supported by the mixed decimal and sexagesimal numerical system of the Sumerians which has been inherited by European peoples to the present day [3]

S LANGDON

Indica

1 THE SANSKRIT DRAMA IN ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, THEORY, AND PRACTICE By A BERRIEDALE KEITH. 9 × 6, 405 pp Oxford University Press, 1924 £1 10*s*

2 CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE By A BERRIEDALE KEITH Heritage of India Series $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 153 pp. Oxford University Press, 1923 2*s* 6*d*

3 A PRACTICAL SANSKRIT DICTIONARY By A A MACDONELL $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 382 pp Oxford University Press, 1924 £1 10*s*

4 DER RIGVEDA ÜBERSETZT UND ERLÄUTERT By K F GELDNER Vol I $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, vi + 442 pp Gottingen. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923 M 28

5 WELTANSCHAUUNG DES INDOGERMANISCHEN ASIENS By J VON NEGELEIN 9 × 6, viii + 186 pp Erlangen: Palm und Enke, 1924 M 6 50

6 ALTINDISCHE POLITIK By A HILLEBRANDT $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, xii + 209 pp Jena: Gustav Fische, 1923 M. 3

[1] *Untersuchungen zur Palaoethonologie des Orients*, vol liv of *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1924

[2] *Zeitschrift fur kolon Sprachen*, v, 318 ff

[3] For sign No 1035, note that it occurs also on a Fara text, Deimel, *Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara*, No 147.

7. **Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft** By Bruno Liebich Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften Four parts, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 95 + 53 + 86 + 88 pp Heidelberg Winter, 1919–20 M 12 90

8 **The Ramayana of Valmiki (North-Western Recension)** Edited by Ram Labhaya Fasc 1–3. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 250 pp Lahore The Research Department, D A V College, 1923 Rs 4 8

9. **La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois** By J Przyluski Annales du Musée Guimet $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xv + 459 pp Paris Geuthner, 1923

The title well expresses in epitome the contents of this last notable book from the hand of Professor Keith That a further attempt to deal with the history and being of the Sanskrit Drama as a whole was urgently needed will not be denied by any As the author points out in his preface, our knowledge has been greatly increased since the publication of Professor Sylvain Lévi's *Le Théâtre indien* thirty-two years ago Perhaps most important has been the discovery of the fragments of Aśvaghosa's dramas, the importance of the discovery of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa will be variously estimated according to belief or disbelief in the correctness of the ascription Professor Keith himself, as was already known, has no doubt But the great value of this book is in its able covering of the whole field of Sanskrit drama, and in its wealth of reference At the same time it has the large merit of being an essentially personal presentation, particularly is this observable in the first part, where the author discusses origins, and in the last chapter of the second part, where he sums up the characteristics and achievements of the Sanskrit drama with a clearness and dispassionateness altogether admirable Throughout Professor Keith shows a very just appreciation of the relative position of Sanskrit and other literary dialects and of the vernaculars, although it may not

be possible to subscribe to his exposition in every detail. On page 86 he implies that *bamhana-* (*bráhmana-*) passed through the stage *bambhana*, the form found in Aśvaghosa; this is most unlikely, since in the modern languages *bh* in this position normally is retained. It is hard, too, to see exactly what he means when on the same page he says that in the *jj* (*ry*), *cch* (*cch*), *kkh* (*ks*), *tth* (*st* and *sth*) of Aśvaghosa we have earlier forms of what become *yy*, *śc*, *sk* or *hk*, *st* of the grammarians' Māgadhī. Whatever may be the explanation of the latter forms, they are manifestly not derived from those of Aśvaghosa. Indeed, most of the evidence available would show that *ry* passed through the stage *yy* on its way to *jj*, certain of the modern languages such as Singhalese and the N.W. group, which distinguish *y* from *j*, also distinguish *ry* from *jj*. Similarly on general phonetic grounds M. Grammont claims that *sk* was the intermediate stage between *ks* and *kkh*. The different development of *jñ* and *ny* as *ññ* and *nn* (p. 88) is due in all probability rather to regional than temporal difference, since Sindhī preserves *jñ* and *ny* as *ñ*. Is *edisa* (p. 89) necessarily an older form than *erisa*, in face of forms like τηλίκος πηλίκος, Lat. *tālis quālis* OSl. *tolikŭ kolikŭ*, the etymology upheld by Bartholomae and Wackernagel, although doubted by Boisacq? Again, in discussing the language of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa, Professor Keith says that the form *ganhadi*, used in them, is older than the form *genhadi*. But here, too, we have not necessarily a difference of age, but a difference of dialect or locality. *Genhadi*, resting presumably on *ginhāti* < *gṛhnáti* belongs to that dialect group in which *ṛ* > *i* or *u*, whereas *ganhadi* belongs to that in which it became *a*, the two are to-day represented respectively, among others, by Sindhī *ginhanu* and Singhalese *gananu*. These examples may perhaps indicate how dangerous it is to argue as to date from differences of language, without a full appreciation of dialectical differences. On page 87 Professor Keith implies that the failure to cerebralize an intervocalic *-n-* is evidence of

the early date of the form. If so, the fact that spontaneous cerebralization of -*n*- is alleged to have occurred in certain words in the Ṛgveda might be held an indication of the extreme age of these plays. But, of course, this cerebralization is a dialectical phenomenon, which did not occur everywhere at the same date, and in some dialects not at all: witness in the extreme north-west Šiṇā and in the extreme south Singhalese, which still distinguish Skt. -*n*- from -*ṇ*-. The form *nikhanta* (p. 89) is by no means necessarily later than *nikkhanta*. As in other languages, the final of a prefix appears to have been pronounced as though it were the final of a word. Finals in Sanskrit were all implosive. Thus a consonant group of which the first member was the final of a prefix was liable to develop differently from the same group in the middle of a word; for example, whereas *sk*, *śc*, *st* > *kkh*, *cch*, *tth* respectively in the middle of a word, they became *kk*, *cc*, *tt* when the sibilant was the final of a prefix. This treatment appears to be regular already in Pāli, and is fully attested by the modern languages. In the same way *mb* of the group *sam-b-* was liable to different development from ordinary *mb*, e.g. Hindī *samujhnā* < *sambudhyati*, but *lā̂bā* < *lambā-*; -*ts*- > -*cch*-, but -*ts*- in *ut-s-* > -*ss*-. In Sindhī -*rv*- of *nir-v-* became *b*, whereas ordinary *rv* became *ḇ*. Exceptions such as Pāli *nikkhamati* or *niccharati* one is tempted to explain as bye-forms in which the root began with *s* (cf. *khita-* and *saṃ-skhita-*, *páśyati* and *spáś-*, *candrá-* and *su-ścandrá-*, *vikirati* beside Hindī *vikhērnā* < **vi-skirati*), or, less likely, as derivative from forms in which the *s* was no longer felt as the end of a prefix. Whatever the explanation, we have no right to call *nikkhanta* necessarily an earlier form than *nikhanta*.

His next book, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, from which discussion of the drama has been excluded for want of space, forms a useful, if necessarily summary, supplement to the above. Professor Keith has admirably succeeded in compressing within the narrow limits admitted by this excellent series a lucid and stimulating account of the classical literature.

He has prefaced it with a most interesting chapter on the language in which that literature was composed, and its relation to the other written and spoken languages of the time. To the Englishman this divorce between spoken and written language may seem strange (although the difference in his own is often greater than he thinks), but there is more than one modern parallel, which might usefully have been adduced from India or elsewhere. Indeed, one cannot help regretting that some stress was not laid here, as it might be elsewhere, too, on the contribution which a thorough study of the modern languages from the standpoint of comparative philology might make to the elucidation of some of the linguistic problems of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Such a suggestion might have been the more fruitful in that this series has so wide and so well-deserved a circulation in India itself. A small point deserves notice. It is not necessary to suppose that *ruksa*, tree, as stated on page 20, was a Sanskritization of Pkt *rukkha*. Rather it was a form that had always existed in the language (does it not occur in the Ṛgveda, probably with the same meaning?), and Pkt *rukkho* is the phonetic development of *ruksáh* not of *vṛksáh*. The existence of such pairs, in which the functions of the two sonants are reversed, is probably of Indo-European origin. cf. **wḷkʷos* Skt. *vṛkáh* Lith. *vil̃kas* Eng. *wolf* beside **lukʷos* λύκος Lat. *lupus* Skt. (Indo-Aryan) **rukah* seen in Gypsy *ruwo* wolf. The same transposition is seen in Av. *caþru-* beside Lith. *ketvir̃tas* (cf. Meillet, *Introduction à la grammaire comparative*, p. 113).

The Delegates of the Oxford University Press are to be congratulated on re-issuing Professor Macdonell's *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, with one and a half pages of corrigenda and addenda. It is of great help to beginners, who are bewildered by the difficult order of the bigger dictionary of Monier-Williams, and is not to be despised by the scholar for purposes of ordinary reading. It is only to be regretted that the method of reproduction, by photography, has necessarily perpetuated the clumsy system of transliteration employed in

the first edition, and so has hindered the eventual use of a single system, advocated by this Society, to reap the full benefit of which all parties must be prepared to sacrifice one or more well-loved particularities

The publication of the first volume of Professor Geldner's annotated translation (and the notes are not the less important part) of the Ṛgveda is a most welcome event With it and Professor Oldenberg's Prolegomena and Notes, the Vedic student is well equipped to attack this most interesting, if most difficult, field This volume contains the first four mandalas We can only regret that it is the first and not the last volume, but in his preface the author says that the whole translation has been prepared and that the most part of it is ready for the press That was a year ago May it soon appear! Grassmann's *Worterbuch der Rigveda*, despite its still great use, is antiquated, and it is to be hoped that the word-index promised by Professor Geldner for the third volume will supply its deficiencies In face of the difficulties and enormous costs of publishing in England, one is almost tempted to envy the economic conditions of a country which can produce such works as this

In his *Weltanschauung des indogermanischen Asiens* Dr von Negelein has pictured the attitude of the early Aryans towards the universe and particularly their conception of the relation of man to surrounding nature *Weltanschauung der Arier* might have been a more accurate title, since the author concerns himself almost exclusively with the material provided by the Avesta and the older documents of Indo-Aryan The book is founded on a lecture delivered at Nurnberg. This is printed in full, and occupies 28 pages, the remaining 148 pages consist of notes and a bibliography The notes contain much useful material and interesting parallels, but their arrangement in this form makes the book tiresome to read Yet it cannot be denied it is a contribution towards the understanding of the Hindu attitude towards life.

Professor Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik* forms one of a

series of works on sociology entitled *Die Herdflamme*, **to the editor of which we may be grateful for persuading** Professor Hillebrandt to write this survey of the **political life** and theory of ancient India, instead of waiting till **further** research, as he says, has expanded each of its chapters into a separate volume The problems of the past are largely the problems of to-day, and this book, though it deals only with the past, might well be studied, not only by those with an academic interest in the history of India, but also by those who are in any way connected with the practical administration of that country In these troublous times, at least, no one will deny the truth of the saying "bhāro hi sumahāms tāta rājyam nāma suduskaram

The four parts of Dr Bruno Liebich's *Zur Einfuhrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft* mark a notable addition to our knowledge of that science to which India gave a more original contribution than any other, the science of grammar In the first part the author discusses Śarvavarman's *Kātantra*, and translates Books I–IV, in the second he discusses the growth of grammatology, and in the third Pānini s Dhātupātha, of which he gives the text and a useful alphabetical index, in the fourth he returns to the text-books and makes an analysis of the Candra-vrtti, which he believes to be a true reflection of the lost Pāninīya-vrtti, as taught orally by Pānini to his pupils The importance of these volumes cannot be denied, only it is to be regretted that the author from the study of the Sanskrit grammarians seems to have caught a little of the crabbedness of their style

In editing the North-Western recension of the Rāmāyana Pandit Ram Labhaya is undertaking a work long overdue. For Professor Sylvain Lévi has stated as his opinion that the North-Western or Kāśmīrī recension is the older It is therefore most important that its readings should be made available. The three fascicules already published contain the first seventy-one Sargas, and part of the seventy-second, of the Ayodhyā-Kānda It is greatly to be hoped that the editor

will succeed in completing his task Pandit Ram Labhaya studied the recensions of the Rāmāyana under the late Dr. A. Venis, Principal of Queen's College, Benares—an institution connected with the name of more than one famous Sanskritist, and now ruthlessly sacrificed to political considerations—who did so much, by his teaching and example, to encourage in others the love of learning

La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka proves M J Przyluski to be the brilliant pupil of a brilliant master, for this book carries forward the work of Professor Sylvain Lévi in the literature and history of Northern Buddhism The Aśokāvadāna is known from four recensions two in Chinese, the A-yu wang tchouan and the A-yu wang king, and two in Sanskrit represented by long extracts incorporated in the Divyāvadāna These are compared chapter by chapter, with the object of discovering their relation to other Buddhistic works and schools and the method of their accretion In the second part is a translation of the A-yu wang tchouan The author shows that originally the Aśokāvadāna was a product of the Buddhist School of Mathurā a century before Kaniska, while he pleads for Kauśāmbī the honour of being the centre of Pāli literature The result of his discussion is to present a picture of the way in which Buddhism spread south-west along the route between Pātaliputra and Bharukaccha, and particularly north-west, by Mathurā, across the stronghold of Brāhmanism, to Taxila and Kashmir, and the confines of the Iranian world The book is one which concerns not only the student of Buddhism, but almost equally the historian and the linguist

R L TURNER

THE BOMBAY CITY POLICE, 1672–1916 A Historical Sketch By S M EDWARDES $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, vi + 223 pp Oxford University Press, 1923

In his masterly review of the present political situation in India, A. C. Carthill[1] remarks "If we have worked well and

[1] *The Lost Dominion*, p 351

faithfully, then it is well with us." Mr Edwardes, in his interesting summary of the work of the Commissioners of Police in Bombay Town and Island, gives us a record of such good and faithful work, which should be carefully studied by those who take pride in the performances of Englishmen in the East The story, commencing with the acquisition of Bombay from the Portuguese, leads us through the régime of seven distinguished commissioners to the most recent occurrences, of which the author of the work, whose tenure of office will not suffer by comparison with Forjett s and Souter's, can write from personal experience The pages of the book, whether they deal with Forjett s share in the suppression of incipient mutiny in the perilous times of the sepoy rising, or with the complex problems raised by religious fanaticism at the Muharram or the visit of distinguished travellers, are alive with interesting information, and bring out clearly the debt that is owed to the great men controlling the permanent sources of unrest in Bombay City The book is one that should be read by all students of the British administration of India

R E E

Indica (et alia)

1 OOSTERSCH GENOOTSCHAP IN NEDERLAND Verslag van het Eerste (Tweede, Derde) Congres $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 55, 56, 45 pp Leiden Brill, 1921–3

The formation of the Oriental Society of the Netherlands, and the holding of the Congresses of which the transactions are contained in the volumes before us, mark an epoch in the history of Oriental studies in Holland on which our Dutch colleagues may be heartily congratulated Oriental studies for centuries past have been earnestly and ably cultivated in the Low Countries, but until comparatively recent times their scope was somewhat limited, and its extension was not favoured in academic circles Now they are zealously pursued

in almost all their branches by a large and increasing number of talented and admirably trained scholars under the guidance of masters of the first rank in the world of learning The Congresses of the Society appear to have been thoroughly successful, the papers read at them, though in no cases extraordinary, attained a good average of interest and scholarship, and several of them have subsequently appeared in the excellent *Acta Orientalia* published by the Society in association with the sister bodies of Copenhagen and Christiania We note that the Society includes a Hellenistic-Byzantine section, with good reason, perhaps the R A S might do well to follow this example

2 THE HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS By C S SRINIVASACHARI, M A $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, 24 pp Mysore Wesleyan Mission Press, 1924

Mr Srinivasachari's paper on the Pallavas is a summary of the chief facts and theories relative to a dynasty which exercised an immense influence in moulding the culture and history of Southern India Though he contributes nothing new to our knowledge, the paper will be useful to young students We could wish, however, that the last two sentences had been omitted there is no cogent reason to identify the Pallavas with the Kurumbar

3 GUIDE-CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE GUIMET LES COLLECTIONS BOUDDHIQUES (Exposé historique et iconographique) Inde Centrale et Gandhâra, Turkestan, Chine Septentrionale, Tibet Par J HACKIN $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 175 pp, 24 plates Paris-Bruxelles Van Oest, 1923

4. GUIDE TO THE BUDDHIST RUINS OF SARNATH With a plan of excavations and five photographic plates By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A, Rai Bahadur Third edition. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 47 pp, 6 plates Simla Sup Govt Central Press, 1923.

M. Hackin has given us an excellent guide to the Musée Guimet's fine collections of Buddhist art from Central and

North-Western India, Turkestan, Northern China, and Tibet, which comprise sculptures, stucco reliefs, paintings, and metal-work. The book is really nothing less than a summary, but sound and critical, history of Buddhist art in these countries from the pre-Gandharan age onwards, and is remarkably well written and documented, with a useful bibliography and glossary, and including even a sketch of the Bon-po of Tibet. The plates are well chosen and well executed, and the book will be exceedingly useful to all students of Eastern art, whether they have the good fortune to visit the Musée or not.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni's *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath*, published by the Archæological Survey of India, has already reached a third edition, and its success is thoroughly well deserved. As a practical description of these remarkable ruins and the beautiful works of art found in them it leaves almost nothing to be desired; the information is full and accurate, and the plates, which depict a specimen of carving on the Dhamekh Stūpa, the Lion Capital of Asōka's pillar, a statue of the Buddha preaching, a Bōdhisattva, and a stele representing scenes from the Buddha's life, are excellent. The pilgrim who visits Sarnath with this little book in his hand will assuredly be *siddhārtha*.

5. TIRUKALUKUNRAM (PAKSHI-TĪRTHAM). Illustrated. Published by M. M. KUMARASĀMI MUDALIYĀR. 9×5½, pp. iii + 67, 32 plates, 2 plans. Madras: Diocesan Press, 1923.

Tirukkalukunram, 9 miles S.E. of Chingleput town, is a well-known Śaiva sanctuary, and the little handbook bearing its name as title, which has been issued by Mr. Kumarasāmi Mudaliyār with the collaboration of Mr. P. V. Jagadīśa Ayyar, is a handy guide to it, giving a description of the local temples and their cult. The most remarkable feature of the place is the daily arrival of two sacred "eagles" (in reality, we believe, they are birds of a somewhat less aristocratic kind, to wit, the genus *Neophron percnopterus*) at the sacred pond known

as the Paksi-tīrtham to be fed, and legend asserts that these visits have taken place daily since the Trētā-yuga. The architecture, sculptures, and inscriptions of the temples are in some cases very interesting, especially those of the Mūvar-kōvil, which contains among other things some fairly old reliefs depicting a local legend of a Cōla king Sura-guru. In spite of the fantastic character of this story, Sura-guru seems to be a real person; he is, moreover, believed to have founded the temple, and until recently a drama, the *Sura-guru-nātakam*, was annually performed in it to celebrate him (an exact parallel to the *Rāja-rājēśvara-nātakam* in the great temple of Tanjore). The photographic illustrations are on the whole fairly adequate, and altogether Mr Kumarasāmi Mudaliyār is a good *cicerone*.

6. Aśōk-kē Dharm-lēkh. Edited by Janārdan Bhatt, M.A. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, viii + 500 pp. Benares, 1923.

Mr Janārdan Bhatt's volume proclaims patriotic sentiments by its cover, which is of yellowish-green *khaddar*, and the preface of Mr Narēndra Dēo (written in highly Sanskritized Hindi with a sub-current of English idiom) dwells upon the importance of Aśōka as realizing national ideals, as in his reign "many laborious teachers went abroad to diffuse Indian religion and culture" and the political unity of India was accomplished. The texts of the Edicts and other records of Aśōka and Daśaratha, which are furnished with Sanskrit and Hindi translations and Hindi notes, are preceded by eight chapters of historical prolegomena in Hindi, and followed by appendices also in Hindi on the origin of Indian scripts (the view accepted being of course the patriotic one), the grammar of Pali and the Aśōkan inscriptions, etc. The book makes no contribution to science, but may be of some use as a practical introduction to the subject for readers who are not yet ripe for more scientific study.

7. Materalien [sic!] zum Dhātupātha. Von Bruno Liebich. (Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissen-

schaften Stiftung H Lanz Philos-hist Klasse, Jahrg, 1921, 7 Abh) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 60 pp Heidelberg Winters, 1921

Dr Liebich's *Materialien* comprises three parts and a "Nachwort" The first of these gives alphabetical lists of Sanskrit verbal roots with their meanings as presented respectively in the Nirukta and in the grammars, arranged in parallel columns In the second part appear the roots of the *Dhātu-pāṭhas* of Pāṇini and Candra, arranged according to the meanings assigned there to them, and the third gives alphabetical lists of the verbal roots recognized by Pāṇini and Candra, as used in the active, middle, and both voices This is work of an unpretentious, but very sound and useful sort The "Nachwort" reasserts the author's view that Patañjali, the grammarian, c 150, is also the author of the Yōga-sūtra

8 THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY'S PALI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Edited by T W RHYS DAVIDS and W STEDE. Parts V–VI (P–M) $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, 167+1 pp Chipstead, 1923–4

The Pali Text Society may be congratulated on the steady progress of their new Dictionary towards completion All parts down to the end of the letter M have now appeared, and the ship is in sight of its haven It is, therefore, fitting to acknowledge the ability and energy with which the huge cargo has been handled and the vessel piloted thus far

It must, however, be confessed that the work shows some defects in philological method Apart from a few misprints, not corrected in the Errata (e g "rays from a dust heap", p 1[a], for "rags ", "uusally", p 4[a], "familiarly with", p 4[b], for "familiarity with", "quâsi", p. 17[b]; "faehp", p 83[b], "fermo" for "fremo", p 122[a]; and a few cases of omitted diacritics), there are instances of inadequate treatment of words, and even of manifest errors, in regard to both Indian and comparative philology. Taking

the former class of mistakes first, we note a few random examples: p. 1[a], *sam-ppa* should be *sam-pa*, p 5[a], s v *paggharati*, it is a mistake to identify *gharati* with Skt. *kṣarati*, for it is an independent root avouched by the Skt grammarians (*jigharteh siñcati-karmanah*, Yāska VII, 24, *ghr secanē*, Dhātu-p I, 985, *ghr kṣarana-dīptyōh*, ib III, 14, *ghṛ prasravanē*, ib X, 108), p 13[b], following Aufrecht on Halāyudha, the Skt *pātaccara* is wrongly translated as "shoplifter", and the Pali *pataccarin* is incorrectly derived,[1] while the Skt form *pataccara* is ignored, p 17[b], *patijīvan* seems to be a mistake for *patijīva*, p 62[b] s v *palāyati*, at least some of the "contracted forms" might reasonably be attributed to *pari-ēti* (cf A Mg *palei*), [2] p 67[b], *pavecchati* is wrongly derived, and should be explained as = *pra-viścati* (cf *vrścati dānakarmā*, Nigh III, 20), p 72[a], *pākata* is *sans façon* equated with *pakata*, p 71[a], s v *pāni*, *alla* is not "clean" but "wet" (Skt *ārdra*) p 79[a], the root of *piŋsati* 2 is not *piś* or *piŋś*, but Skt *pis*, I E *pis* p 85[b], *puggala* should not be derived from *pums* (the meaning "person" is secondary), pp 97[a] and 102[b], *sputh* is an error for *sphut*, p 108[a], *bahūta* is inadequately explained as "for pahūta = Sk prabhūta", and is really a mixture of *pahūta* and *bahu*, p 117[a], the defn "raping" of *brahmacariyantarāya* is inexact Several times perfectly classical Skt words (e g *pariskāra*, *pracura*) are described as "late Sk" The English has sometimes a foreign sound. e g "prepondering" (p 4[a]), "at" in the sense of the German *bei* Turning to comparative philology, we are faced by a delicate problem If the work is *not* meant to be a thoroughgoing etymological dictionary, the numerous notes on comparative philology with their lists of phonetic equations from all the I E languages are unnecessary, in the case of well

[1] The word in its Sanskrit and Pali forms is probably to be connected with the gloss in the Dhātu-pātha *pat gatāu*, and primarily meant "vagrant", then "tramp", "robber".

[2] In this connexion we may venture to point out that s v *appēti* the editors have confused Skt *apyēti* and *arpayati*

established and important etymologies brief references to standard works like Brugmann are all that is required If, however, the work is expected to deal fully with the etymology of Pali, it must be confessed that the treatment is on the whole hardly adequate Numerous as they are, the etymologies given are only sporadic Moreover, side by side with many familiar equations of assured validity we find not a few that are highly speculative, and some that are contrary to the established rules of philological science There is, e g, no good reason to connect *pāpa* with *patior* and πῆμα, nor to set up a new I E root *peig* beside *peik* to explain *pimsati* 1, nor to associate *pisāca* (probably a word of foreign origin) with Lat *piget*, while the derivation of *bādhati* from I E *bheidh* is a glaring error in defiance of first principles, as is the attempt to connect P *takka* and Skt *tarka* with an I E root *treik* However, these imperfections in details, which after all are not essential, ought not to blind us to the great merits of the work as regards the main issues. It contains a vast amount of ordered material, and will be of immense benefit to students not only of Pali, but also of Indo-Aryan languages in general [1]

[1] Since writing the above notice we have received part vii of the Dictionary, which shows the same features as its predecessors There are misprints, e g *rannāta*, *qudsi*, and some curious English, as "restituted", p 46, s v *lōma* There are serious imperfections in Indian philology thus s v *yēbhuyya*, p 15, we read "ye = yad in Māgadhī form, thus yad bhūya = yad bhiyya", whereas *yē* is properly Māg for *yas*, and *bhiyya* is a *vox nihili*, s v *rana*, p 20, much of the difficulty can be cleared up by comparing Tamil *ranam*, *iranam*, from Skt *rana*, *rūpa*, p 32, is *not* "connected etymologically with *varpa*" (read *varpas*), if philology is a science, *lakāra*, meaning a sail, our editors derive from *alankāra*, perhaps rightly, and they compare "Hindī and Marāthī langara, Tamil ilankaran", but omit to mention that the Hindi, Marathi, Tamil and Persian words mean *anchor*, s.v *vacca*, p 50, the Buddh Skt *vaccah* is quoted, but no mention is made of the classical Skt *varcas* The comparative philology too leaves something to be desired, e g, s v *rakkhati*, p 18, *aggala* is said to be from a base *areg*, and *vasati*, p 62, is wrongly equated with Av. *varəhaiti*

9. **The Vishnudharmottaram** (Part III) A Treatise on Indian Painting By Stella Kramrisch, Ph D $9\frac{1}{4}\times 6$, 1 + 59 pp Calcutta University Press, 1924

The Visnudharmôttara, in the edition published by the enterprising Vēnkatēśvara Press at Bombay in 1912, purports to be a continuation of the Visnu-purāna, and contains, in addition to a collection of Vaisnava religious teachings, an encyclopædia of instruction in the arts and sciences compiled from various sources, which even includes a superficial sketch of Prakrit One of its most interesting chapters is that on painting, and Dr Kramrisch has rescued it from the obscurity of the bulky original folio by publishing the present translation in the *Calcutta Review*, with an introduction In spite of the remarkable achievements of the Hindus in painting, singularly little ancient literature on the subject has been preserved, hence this translation is a useful contribution The age of this anonymon is uncertain Dr Kramrisch would place it after the fifth century and the *Bharata-nātya-śāstra*, and before the period of Śankara Ācārya, on the ground that "had Śankara existed at the time of the compilation the author would have incorporated him into the Vaishnava pantheon in spite of his being an incarnation of Śiva"—an argument which is by no means cogent, or even plausible To us the work suggests a much later date, especially as its prohibition of placing one figure before another indicates complete ignorance of Ajantā and its traditions It might, in fact, be comparatively modern, at any rate, the character of the edition of the Bhavisyôttara-purāna published by the same press as the Visnudharmôttara makes us inclined to caution. But whether old or new, it has an interest and value, and the translation and introduction are satisfactory, except for some very slight slips and the Bengali barbarism "Vhidha-shalavamjikam" (p 16)

L D Barnett

OBITUARY NOTICES °

William McDouall

By the death of Mr William McDouall, who passed away at Khanikin in Iraq, on November 2nd at the age of 69, the Royal Asiatic Society and the British community in Iraq and the Persian Gulf have lost one of their oldest members He was the son of the Reverend W S McDouall, rector of Owsden, Suffolk, and descended on both sides from old Galloway families - McDouall, of Freugh, and Dalrymple Hay, of Dunragit Park Wigtonshire He was educated at Uppingham under Dr Thring, and in 1875 went to the Persian Gulf on appointment to the Indo-European Telegraph Department He served at Jask, Charbar, and Fao, amongst other stations, until his appointment in 1889 to Mohammerah, where he was the first incumbent of the Vice-Consulate established there in 1891 in connexion with the opening of the Karun to ships of all nations He held this post, which was subsequently raised to the status of a Consulate, till 1909, when he was transferred to Karmanshah in a similar capacity On his retirement, in 1917, from the Consular Service, he served in Mesopotamia as Assistant Political Officer at Badrai, near the Persian frontier, till 1921, when he took up his residence at Khanikin, where, until the date of his death, he acted as adviser on local affairs to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company Limited

His kindly, though retiring, disposition, and his intimate acquaintance and sympathy with Oriental ways and thought, endeared him to a wide circle of Arab and Persian, as well as of British, residents at Mohammerah, where he spent the best part of his life, and enabled him to do valuable pioneer work in connexion with the first beginnings of British trade in Arabistan He was for nearly forty years a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and during his long residence in the Gulf had amassed a curiously varied stock of information on

local topics and on local languages, to the study of which he devoted in early days much of his spare time

A T Wilson

C. H. H. Macartney

The Society has lost by death Mr C H H Macartney, who was a member for fourteen years He earned the gratitude of Arabic scholars by his elaborate edition of the Odes of Dhu'l-Rummah, an Umayyad poet, famed for the wealth of his vocabulary, but more than ordinarily monotonous. For this edition Mr Macartney availed himself of practically all existing materials, and his work constitutes a monument of accurate scholarship To appreciate these odes seems to require not only a great command of the language of the desert, but a very special taste, such as few Europeans possess or acquire

D S Margoliouth

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1924)

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has become an Associate Society of the R A S

Gifts

Mr H G Cholmeley has presented copies of the ***Journal*** from 1914 up to date, Dr M Gaster his work *Exempla of the Rabbis*, Miss Elliot several books and MSS from the Library of her grandfather, the late Sir Henry Miers Elliot, the Council of the Persia Society a set of its publications, and Mr A G Ellis *Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen* (Castrén), 1854, *Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre* (Castrén), 1856

The following are needed for the Library —

China Branch R A S, *Transactions*, pts v–vii, 1855–9

China Review, vol i, pts ii, iii, vol iv, pt iv.

Hakluyt Society Rundall, *Collection of Early Documents on Japan*, 1850

Le Strange, "Mesopotamia and Persia in fourteenth century A D from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi" *As Soc Monographs*, 1903

Numismatic Chronicle, vol ii, Nos 5, 6, vol iii, Nos 9, 11, 12, New Ser, Nos 9, 10 *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, vol i, pt iv, vol ii, pt. iv

Sudan Notes and Records, vol i, Nos 2, 3, vol ii, No. 1.

Supplement to the *Geographical Journal*, No 5

Temple, *Legends of the Punjab*, vol iii

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol ii, pts ii–iv, vol 6, vol xxix, pts iii, iv

Zeitschrift der D Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, vol viii.

Lectures

In October Professor Margoliouth read a paper on the "Origins of Arabic Poetry"

He said that fabrication of the so-called pre-Islamic poetry was encouraged by the Caliphs, and he mentioned three points of internal evidence against the genuineness of "early poetry"

1 The religion of the pre-Islamic poets, so far as they display any, is Islam

2 Their language is that of the Qur'an from whatever part of Arabia they come, though before Islam there was great multiplicity of dialects and even languages in the peninsula

3 The general form of the odes is dictated by what the Qur'an says about the procedure of poets

In November Dr Gaster spoke on the subject of "Indian Tales in Jewish Literature" He said that story telling was the chief source of entertainment before the age of printing, and pointed out the surprising fact that the same tales were found among nations of most diverse nationality This he accounted for by the theory of migration and said that it is now believed that most of these stories had their origin in India, from whence the missionary, trader soldier, and sailor carried them to other lands The West in turn had its own romances, which made their way to the East, and the chief agents in this dissemination of tales were the Jews

Turning to written literature, the books which had the deepest influence on European literature were the Bidpai and Sindibad or the Seven Wise Masters, and these were unquestionably of direct Indian origin

In December Dr Barnett spoke of "The Ancient Tamil Township and Village" He said that in Ancient India the soil was the property of the King In earliest times it was common property, the King having only a right to its produce In the time of the Brahmanas the Kings began to claim the entire ownership of the land, and finally arrived at complete absolutism.

From the earliest ages on record Brahman Settlements are found in Southern India, where there are Brahman and non-Brahman joint-villages

Dr Barnett then spoke of the commercial and industrial corporations, the Temple and its functions, and the Provincial Organization

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Public Schools Gold Medal Competition

As neither of the two essays sent in reached the required standard the Council decided to award no medal for 1924, but gave specially bound book prizes to D. C Spicer, of Uppingham School, and J Gibson, of the Royal High School, Edinburgh The book selected was *India, a Birdseye View*, by Lord Ronaldshay

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Thirty-one members were admitted during the past quarter —

Mr N Laiq Ahmad, M A
Mr S K Banerji, M A
Rev P Bodding
Mr L Hari Chand
Mr S C Chatterjee
Mr S K Chatterji, M A
Rai Bahadur Munshi B S Darbari, M B E , M A
Mr H Dodwell
Mr K C Dutt, L M S
Sheikh Abul Fazl, Ph D , LL D
Mr J D Gupta, M B
Miss E Hull (Library Member)
Mr L A Krishna Iyer
Mr H M H Haza Khan
Professor Liebich
Mr J. Van Manen
Mr T P Meenachisundaram, B A , D L
Mr M M Mukerji, H M D
Mr A H Nizamuddin, Ph D
Mr V Gopal Paranjpe, M A., LL B , D Litt
Dr W Popper, Ph D
Mr Riaz A Qureshy, B A.
Mr H Chandra Rai, M A.
Pundit J L Raina
Mr B Lakshmana Rao, M A.
Mr S P Sagar
Mr Imre Schweiger
Mr F L de Silva
Mr N M Prasad Tewara, B Sc., LL B
Mr. E L. Gordon Thomas.
Dr P. Lal Varma, M D.

Nine members have resigned —

Dr. Burger
Lady Deane.
Mr. Drake-Brockman
Mr. Knox-Shaw
Sheikh Mahaldar
Babu J S Porov
Rev W Purser
Mr A C Sangal
Professor B D Sharman

And six have been removed by death —

Rev J R Hill
Mr C H H Macartney
Mr W McDouall
Mr D B Mudalier
Dr Hopkyn Rees
The Raja of Travancore

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Books

Adventures in Turkey and Russia, by E H Keeling London, 1924 *From Publishers.*

Al-Baghdadi's Characteristics of Muslim Sects (Al-Fark Bayn al-Firak), abridged, ed by P K Hitti Cairo, 1924 *From Publishers*

American School of Oriental Research, Annual Vols i, ii Ed by C C Torrey and W J Moulton New Haven, 1920, 1923 *From Publishers*

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Arabs in Tent and Town, an intimate account of the family life of the Arabs of Syria, their manner of living, hospitality, etc, by A Goodrich-Freer (Mrs H H Spoer) London, 1924 *From Publishers*

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—— Survey, Burma Report for the year ending 31st March, 1924 Rangoon, 1924 *From Government of Burma*

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3	Kyaukpyu District	13	Myaungmya District
4	Sandoway District	14	Ma-ubin District
6	Insein District	15	Pyapon District
7	Hanthawaddy District	16	Toungoo District
8	Tharrawaddy District	17	Salween District
9	Pegu District	18	Thaton District
10	Prome District		

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OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*ṛ* or *ri*
ॠ	*ṝ* or *rī*
ऌ	*ḷ* or *li*
ॡ	*ḹ* or *lī*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*ṅa*
च	*ca* or *c̲ha* [1]
छ	*cha* or *c̲hha* [1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*ḍa*
ढ	*ḍha*
ण	*ṇa*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only

ध	*dha*
ण	*ṇa*
प	*pa*
फ	*pha*
ब	*ba*
भ	*bha*
म	*ma*
य	*ya*
र	*ra*
ल	*la*
व	*va*
श	*śa*
ष	*ṣa*
स	*sa*
ह	*ha*
ळ	*ḻa* or *ḷa*
ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ* } or
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐* }
ः (*visarga*)	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*)	*ẖ*
≍ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*)	
Udātta	
Svarita	
Anudātta	

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making , कल *kal* (not *kala*), to morrow

The sign ˜, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars thus आँ *ã*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at **beginning of word omit**, hamza elsewhere ʼ or **alternatively hamza** may be represented by ʼ or

ب	*b*
ت	*t*
ث	*t* or *th*
ج	*j* or *dj*[1]
ح	*h*
خ	*h* or *kh*
د	*d*
ذ	*d* or *dh*
ر	*r*
ز	*z*
س	*s*
ش	*s* or *sh*
ص	*s*
ض	*d*
ط	*t* or *t*[1]
ظ	*z* or *z*[1]
ع	ʻ
غ	*g* or *gh*
ف	*f*
ق	*q*
ك	*k*
ل	*l*
م	*m*
ن	*n*

[1] **Although allowed** by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in **England or India is not recommended**; nor for modern Indian languages **should** ط **be transliterated** by *t* or ظ by *z*, as these signs are there **employed for other purposes.**

و	*w* or *v*
ه	*h*
ة	*t* or *h*
ى	*y*

vowels ـَ *a* ـِ *i* ـُ *u*

lengthened ـَا *ā* ـِى *ī* ـُو *ū*

Alif-i-maqsūra may be represented by *á*

diphthongs ـَى *ay* and ـَو *aw* or ـَيْ *ai* and ـَوْ *au*, respectively

e and *o* may be used in place of *i* and *u*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish —

ل of article ال to be always *l*

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s* for ث, *z* for ذ and *z* for ض

wasla

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated —thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written —thus گناه *gunah*

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū and Pashtō

پ	*p*
چ	*c*, *č* or *ch*
ژ	*ž* or *zh*
گ	*g*

Turkish letters

ك	when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted
ڭ	*ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō.

ٹ or ټ *t*

ڈ or ډ *d*

ڑ or ړ *r*

ں (*nūn-i-g͟hunna*) ˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Pashtō letters

څ *t͟s* or *ts*

ژ *ẓ* or *zh* (according to dialect)

ږ "

ښ *k͟sh* or *sh* or *kh* (according to dialect)

ځ or ځ *d͟z* or *dz*

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

APRIL, 1925

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1925

PART II—APRIL

Prakritica

BY SIR GEORGE A GRIERSON, K C I E, M R A S

1 √sthā-

ACCORDING to the Prakrit Grammarians of the Western school, the Śaurasēnī-Mahārāstrī equivalent of Skr *sth* is *tth* (Pischel, § 303), but the Māgadhī equivalent is *st* (or, according to Namisādhu, *śt*) (Hc iv, 290, Pischel, § 303). Nevertheless, the Māgadhī equivalent of *tisthati* is *cisthadi* (Hc iv, 298), as compared with the Śaurasēnī-Mahārāṣṭrī *cittha(d)i* I shall deal later on with the initial *c* So much for the Western school

Māgadhī was an eastern form of Prakrit, and the teaching of the Eastern school of Grammarians regarding that dialect was quite different, though, owing to textual corruptions, it presents difficulties in regard to this particular word The materials available are —

Vararuci (Vr), Cowell's edition, with the various readings.

Kramadīśvara (KI) I have three editions printed in Calcutta, one prepared by Rājêndra-lāla Mitra for the ASB. but never published, one issued by the Sanskrit Press Depository in 1889, and an edition of the entire *Samkṣipta-sāra*, prepared by Śyāma-caraṇa Kaviratna in the Bengali year 1318 (A D 1910), and published by the Medical Hall

Library In the particular points under consideration, these three agree in their readings

Rāma-śarmā Tarkavāgīśa's (RT) *Prākṛta-kalpataru* (I O. MS No 1106) This is in the Bengali character, and, in that character, the scribe often writes the character শ *śa* imperfectly, so that only the context can tell us whether he means that letter or ন *na* In the cases referred to below, a comparison of the various passages leaves no doubt in my mind that, in these cases he meant to write ন্ট *nṭa*, and not শ্ট *śṭa*

Mārkaṇḍēya's (Mk) *Prākṛta-sarvasva* Of this, there is the edition of Bhatta-nātha Svāmī, published at Vizagapatam in 1912, in the *Grantha-pradarśanī* series This I indicate by "P," and I have collated it with five MSS, viz —

O An excellent and old MS in the Oriyā character

Hn and Hb Two copies (Hn in the Nāgarī, and Hb in the Bengali character) of the ASB MS No 1555, which is in the Oriyā character These were lent to me by the late Dr Hoernle

Io The India Office Mackenzie MS, No 70 In the Nāgarī character

Ox The Bodleian Wilson MS, No 158*b*

These five MSS are all descended from one original, which was written in the Oriyā character, and which differed in many details from P In all the MSS, as well as in P, there are scribal errors due to the difficulty of reading the Oriyā character For our present purpose, it is sufficient to state that the Oriyā letters ଶ *śa* and ନ *na* are specially liable to confusion.

With this preliminary, I quote from the above works All of them base their descriptions of Māgadhī on Śaurasēnī, and confine themselves to stating where it differs from that dialect.

Vr does not refer to any general change of Śr *tth*, but for Śr *citthadi* he gives (xi, 14) Mg *cisthadi*, with v 11 *ccistadi* (? *yciṣṭadi*) and *cistadi*

KI deals with Māgadhī in his Apabhraṁśa Pāda He says nothing general about Śr *tth*, but his sūtra 94 (or 95) runs ***ciṭṭaḥ sthah,*** i.e. $\sqrt{}$*sthā-* becomes $\sqrt{}$*ciṭṭa-*. Nevertheless, in

sūtra 96 (97) he gives *cıtthadı* (or ın one text *cıththadi*) for *tısthatı*

RT uses the word several tımes ın hıs Māgadhī sectıon, and ın the sectıons on the Śākārakī and Śābarī sub-dıalects of Māgadhī As ıs well known, the MS ıs very corrupt, but ıt happens that ın these partıcular places the text ıs quıte clear I gıve each passage ın full On Māgadhī proper Fol 38*b*, l 3 (II, ıı, 16) -

tta-tthasya tu *śta-śtham* anukramēṇa
kaham nu bhaśtālıa nıśthulē 'sı

Fol 39*b*, l 2 (II, ıı, 28) —

dvau sthā-vrsōr atra [ca] *cınta-vassau*

On Śākārakī Fol 40*b*, l 2 (II, ııı, 3) —

duppeśca candāla-salıśca cınta
*ntasyô*dıtō *nthah śur* apı kvacıt syāt
śıālaā cıntha ghalammı cēdā
alē tumam vā cıśu, yāmı hakkē

In thıs, the first lıne ıs an example of another rule that does not concern us The Sanskrıt equıvalent ıs *dusprêksa ' cāndāla-sadıksa ' tıstha '* The author then goes on to say that sometımes ın thıs sub-dıalect *ntha* or *śu* may be substıtuted for the Māgadhī *nta* of *cınta* The Sanskrıt equıvalents of the examples of thıs are *śyālaka ' tıstha gıhē cēta '* and *arē tvam vā tıstha, yāmı aham*

Fol 40*b*, l 3 (II, ııı, 4) *cınthāmı atthanāgade kkhu hakkē* [*tısthāmı āsthānâgatah* (or *arthânāgatah*) *khalu aham*]

On Śābarī Fol 41*a*, l 4 (II, ııı, 18) *sā ıścıā cıntadı pāsahım mē* [*sā strīkā tısthatı pārśvē mama*]

l 6 (II, ııı, 19) *tumam ghalādō śahı cıntha* (sıc) *dāva* [*tvam gṛhāt* (for *grhē*) *sakhı tıstha tāvat*]

Ib (II, ııı, 20) *cınthadı laśkē śēlē* [*tıṣthatı rakṣah śaılē*].

Mk xıı, 7, agrees wıth RT II, ıı, 16, ın statıng that Śaurasēnī *tth* becomes *śth* ın Māgadhī. But the prınted edıtıon dıffers from RT. ın regard to the treatment of Śr. *cıtthadı*,

The MSS here are all corrupt. The various readings of **xii, 32, are —**

P. *ciththasya tu ścintaḥ* With *ścinta lē vānalē ścinta* as example

O *ciththasya cittitā syāt* With *citta* as example
Hnb *cittasya cittitā syāt* With *citta* as example
Io. *citthasya citthītrā syāt* With *citta* as example
Ox *citthasya cittitā syāt* With *citta* as example

The meaning of P is that *ścinta-* is the Mg equivalent of Śr *cittha-* I can make nothing of the others But we get a little light by referring to another passage dealing with the Śākārī sub-dialect (xiii, 3) The readings are —

P *scintō ycisa ity ēkē* With example *ycisadi*
O *yciśthō yciśa ity ēkī* With example *yciśadi*
Hnb *ściścē yciśa ity ēkī* With example *yciśadi*
Io *ściścē piśa ity ēkē* With example *yciśadi*
Ox *ściścē viśa ity ēkē* With example *pyaśadi*

Here *yciśa-* agrees with the *ciśa-* of RT II, iii, 3 Both RT and Mk lay down a rule (RT II, ii, 8, Fol 38*b*, 5, Mk xii, 21) that in Māgadhī every *c* must have a *y* prefixed to it In the MS of RT the scribe is irregular in writing this *y* Sometimes he writes *yc* and sometimes he carelessly omits the *y* and merely writes *c*, so that we are quite safe in emending his RT *cintadi*, *cinthadi*, and *ciśadi* to *ycintadi*, *ycinthadi*, and *yciśadi* respectively The question then arises as to the puzzling form *scintadi* of Mārkaṇḍēya (according to P's text) I would suggest that this should be corrected to ***ycintadi***, which would then perfectly agree with RT, and which **is partly endorsed by the corrupt reading of O in xiii, 3,** ***yciśthō*** (for *ycinthō*) How easy this was to occur is plain when **we consider the** words in the shape they take in the Oriyā **character.** ୟିଣ୍ଠଢି *ycinthadi*, ୟିଶ୍ଠଢି *yciśthadi*, ଶିଣ୍ଟଢି ***ścintadi***, ଶିଣ୍ଠଢି ***ścinthadi*** In Oriyā MSS **the characters are very little larger than those given here in typography,**

so that such misreadings are very liable to occur. **In the** Bengali character, as used in RT, the corresponding **words** are যিচষ্ঠদি, যিচশ্ঠদি, শিচণ্টদি, and শিচষ্ঠদি respectively

When we consider Namisādhu's Western form *ciśtadi*, **and** Vararuci's Eastern form *ciṣthadi* (or *cistadi*), we are tempted to emend RT 's and Mk 's *ycintadi* to *yciśtadi*, but the evidence of RT is so strong that I am compelled to accept *nt*, and not *śt*, as correct, and to set down the correct Māgadhī form as *ycintadi*

To sum up, the following are the various forms given for the Māgadhī equivalent of *tiṣthati* by the Eastern grammarians —

Vr *cisthadi* (? *ccisthadi*, ? *ycisthadi*, *cistadi*)
KI *cittadi* (or ? *citthadi*)
RT *ycintadi* (with dialectic *ycinthadi*, *yciśadi*)
Mk *ścintadi* (read *ycintadi*) (with dialectic *yciśadi*)

The *ciṣtha-* or *cista-* of Vr, like Namisādhu's *ciśta-*, I put down to forms based on the general equation *tth* > *sth* or *śth* Vr does not give the general rule, and hence he had to provide for the special case of Śaurasēnī *cittha-* RT and Mk. both give the general rule, and hence to have given a form *yciśta-* or *yciśtha-*, as well as *ycinta-*, would have been surplusage But, although they do not say expressly that the latter form is optional, or additional, to a form made under the general rule, it is at least probable that they would not have excluded an additional form made under that rule as wrong. If that had been the case, they would have said so, specially cancelling the general rule for this particular case.

For the forms *citta-* and *cittha-* of KI and of some of my MSS of Mk, I can give no explanation The passages are all too corrupt. We cannot say whether KI. enjoins one form or the other He enjoins one, and uses the other in the only texts available As for Mk. the passages in the MSS. where these words occur are unintelligible.

The use of *nt* or (Śākārakī) *nth* for *tth* is not extraordinary

In *JRAS*, 1922, pp 381 ff, I have pointed out that it was a peculiarity of vulgar Prakrit to change a double consonant into a single consonant preceded by a nasal The change of *tth* to *nth* is therefore quite regular for a vulgar dialect like Māgadhī

Before leaving this subject, I may make a few remarks on the initial *c* of the Śaurasēnī *citthadi* There are only a few instances of a Skr *t* followed by a palatal vowel becoming Pr *c* (see Pischel § 216) Pischel gives no reason for the change occurring only in the words quoted by him, and I myself cannot see why *tisthati* should become *citthadi*, while, say, *tiryak-* should preserve the *t* in the Śr *tiriccha-* It may, however, be worth while to consider how this *c* was pronounced In *JRAS*, 1913, pp 391 ff, I endeavoured to show that in Prakrit times the western (Śaurasēnī-Mahārāstrī) pronunciation of the letter *c* was the affricative *ts*, while in the eastern Māgadhī it still remained a true palatal, and that this latter fact was indicated by the eastern conventional spelling *yc* The only modern Indo-Aryan language that indicates by separate characters the difference between *ts* and *c* is Kāshmīrī, and here the rule is well established, and has come down from early times, that a dental *t* followed by a palatal vowel or semi-vowel becomes *ts* In Prakrit, *ti* when initial usually remains unchanged, words such as *citthadi* being exceptional, but, in *citthadi*, the Kāshmīrī rule is followed as nearly as the Nāgarī alphabet will allow, and this confirms my argument that in the West the *c* was probably sounded like *ts* even before *i* (in this differing from Marāthī, but agreeing with Kāshmīrī), and that the word was probably pronounced something like *tsitthadi*

From the above considerations I therefore conclude that the true Māgadhī equivalent of *tiṣthati* was, according to the Eastern grammarians, *yciśthadi* or *ycintadi*, with, as dialectic variations, *ycinthadi* or *yciśadi*

2 *Matsara* > *macchara*

It is well known that many *Tatsamas* are found in Prakrit There are also many *semi-Tatsamas* A Prakrit *semi-Tatsama* is a Prakrit word which is not a *Tadbhava*, i e which has not descended from Primitive Indian through a regular course of phonetic development, but which has in Prakrit times been borrowed direct from Sanskrit, and has been then mis pronounced so as to suit the organs employed for Prakrit speech The Prakrit grammarians do not acknowledge the existence of semi-Tatsamas, but treat them as if they were Tadbhavas, and give many examples of them as such For instance, a number will be found in Hc ii, 99 ff Such are *sanēha-* for Skr *snēha-*, the Tadbhava (Tbh) form of which was *nēha-* , *sirī* for Skr *śrī*, the Tbh form of which would be **sī* , and *kiriā* for Skr *kriyā* the Tbh form of which is *kiā*.

The grammarians teach that Skr *ts* becomes *cch* in Prakrit, a common example of the rule being *macchara-* < *matsara-* Pischel (§ 327) gives a number of other examples, such as *kucchia-* < *kutsita-*, *vacchala-* < *vatsala-*, *sirivaccha-* < *śrīvatsa-* As the first member of the compound shows, the last quoted example, *sirivaccha-*, must certainly be a semi-Tatsama, not a Tadbhava, and thus we are led to the conclusion that all the others are also semi-Tatsamas The *cch* is simply the western Prakrit pronunciation of *ts* In the preceding note, I have referred to my opinion that in the West the letter *c* was pronounced by Prakrit speakers as an affricative *ts*, and I need not here repeat what I have there said, but this fully accounts for the semi-Tatsama form *macchara-* It is merely the way in which *matsara-*, if it were a Prakrit word, would be spelt The *s*-sound of the original accounts for the additional aspiration

Pischel (§§ 316, 327), looking upon this *cch* as a Tadbhav product, explains its development as *tsa* > *thsa* > *tsha* > *tcha* > *ccha* , but surely it is unnecessary to assume so complicated a process, when the words can all be explained as semi-Tatsamas. If we are asked what is the true Tadbhav

development of *ts*, we can refer to the Skr *tsaru-*, a sword-hilt, which has two forms in Prakrit (Pischel, § 327) One is the semi-Tatsama *charu-*, and the other the Tadbhava *tharu-*. Pischel derives the latter through a suppositītious **staru-*, but this is not necessary There is no phonetic reason why a Primitive Indian *ts* should not regularly develop into a Tadbhava *(t)th*

The conjunct *ts* is rare in Sanskrit, and appears chiefly in desiderative forms of which very few have, so far as our materials go, survived in Prakrit I may therefore add one more to Pischel's list of semi-Tatsamas It is *ducchā* < *ditsā*, which I find in the *Paia-sadda-mahannava*

3. *Intervocalic Consonants in the North-West*

In vol VIII, pt i, pp 6 and 235 of the *Linguistic Survey of India* I pointed out that, in the Sindhī, Lahndā, and Dardic languages, an original Sanskrit intervocalic *t* is sometimes preserved in past participles, instead of being elided, as in most Indo-Aryan forms of speech The following is a list of these verbs in Sindhī (*LSI* VIII, i, 52) —

(*a*) Verbs ending in a long vowel or in *l*

Root	Past Participle
lā-, apply	*lātō* or *lāyō*
pā-, get	*pātō*
pī-, drink	*pītō*
pū-, string (beads)	*pūtō*
al-, deny	*altō*
jhal-, seize	*jhaltō* or *jhalīō*
sal-, divulge	*saltō* or *salīō*

(*b*) Verbs which drop a final consonant before *tō*

bhuc-, be digested.	*bhutō*.
mac-, fatten.	*matō*
pahuc-, arrive	*pahutō*
parc-, be reconciled.	*partō* or *parcō*.

Root	Past Participle
pīc-, be repaid	*pītō.*
rac-, be immersed	*ratō.*
virc-, be wearied	*virtō.*
jumb-, be deeply engaged	*jutō* or *jumbiō.*
limb-, plaster	*litō* or *limbiō*
chup-, be touched, *chuh-*, touch	*chutō*
gap-, stick (in mud).	*gatō*
khap-, be weary	*khatō* or *khapiō*
khup-, be fixed	*khutō* or *khupiō.*
tap-, be warm.	*tatō*
ukar-, engrave	*ukatō* or *ukariō*
jan-, know	*jātō*
samujh-, understand.	*samutō* or *samujhō*
suñān-, recognize	*suñātō*
vẽhej-, bathe.	*vehetō*

(c) Roots otherwise irregular

kar-, do	*kītō, kiō,* or *kayō*
puj-, be finished	*pujitō* or *punō*
sumah-, go to sleep	*sutō* or *sumhiō*
wath-, take	*wathitō, wartō, watō,* or *wardō.*

Similar Lahndā verbs are —

dhā-, bathe	*dhātā*
jān-, know	*jātā*
jō-, yoke	*jutā*
kar-, do	*kītā*
khalō-, stand	*khalōtā*
nahā-, bathe	*nahātā* or *nātā.*
nikal-, come out	*nikhta.*
pī,- drink	*pītā.*
sī-, sew	*sītā.*
siñān-, recognize	*siñātā* or *sēātā.*
vañā-, be lost.	*vañātā.*

For Dardic, a few examples will suffice —

	Root	Past Participle
Wai	*vin-*, beat	*vin-as-ta*
Khōwār	*prē̆-*, give, beat	*pre-s-ta*
	gan-, take	*gan-is-ta*
Gawarbati	*t͟hla-*, give, beat	*t͟hlita*
Kāshmīrī	*di-*, give	*dit*^{u}
	hĕ-, take	*hĕt*^{u}
	hŏts-, decay	*hŏt*^{u}
	ḳ^a*ts-*, be moist	*ḳ*^{a}*t*^{u}
	ḳhas-, rise	*ḳhat*^{u}
	las-, live long	*lŭst*^{u}
	mŏts-, remain over and above	*mŏt*^{u}

Dr Tedesco (*JAOS* xli 387) and Professor Turner (*IA* lui 114) do not agree that the *t* in such words as the above is an instance of preservation of the original *t* of the Sanskrit past participle They maintain that it is a simplification of a Prakrit *tt*, i e that for example, *sutō* is derived from a Prakrit **suttaō*, formed from a Sanskrit **suptakah*, and that *chutō* is derived from a Prakrit **chuttaō*, formed from a Sanskrit **chuptakah* and so on, the forms in some of the other cases being the result of false analogy Conclusions arrived at by such undoubted authorities must be taken seriously I have therefore reconsidered the whole question in the light of their remarks, and I now consider that while, say, *sutō* must be referred to a Sanskrit **suptakah*, and, similarly, *chutō* to **chuptakah*, and so in cognate cases, there was never an intermediate form with a geminate *tt*, but that the progress of development was something like Skr **suptakah* > Pr. **sutaō*, > Sindhī *sutō* In other words, that in most of the above cases, in these languages, a single intervocalic Prakrit *t*, when derived from a Sanskrit conjunct, has been preserved.

Another objection has been raised to my suggestion by

Dr Tedesco, namely that this intervocalic *t* appears only in a small number of past participles, whereas in most past participles, the original intervocalic *t* has been elided. Thus, the past participle of the Sindhī √*chaḍ-* is *chaḍiō*, not **chaḍito* Even in the list of Sindhī verbs given above we have *lāyō* (i e **lāiō*) beside *lātō*, *jhaliō* beside *jhaltō*, *saliō* and *saltō*, *jumbiō* and *jutō*, *limbiō* and *litō*, *khapiō* and *khatō*, *khupiō* and *khutō*, *kiō* and *kītō*, *sutō* and *sumhiō* But, to my mind, this list shows that in the latest stage of phonetic development there has been a tendency (as in other modern Indo-Aryan languages) to drop the intervocalic *t*, and that this tendency has not yet exercised its full effect in Sindhī—in other words that Sindhī has lagged behind in the race of development—so that in some words the original intervocalic *t* has, so far, been preserved I shall refer to this again later on Here I will only add that it is well known that in all modern Indo-Aryan languages there are many ways of forming the past participle Most of these have been fully discussed by Dr Tedesco in the admirable article already referred to, and I need not here describe them Suffice it to say that some verbs form their past participles in one way, and others in another, and if in some cases a conservative instinct tends to the preservation of an intervocalic *t*, it need not surprise us [1]

[1] Preservation of an intervocalic *t* is more common in the North-West than is indicated in my *Piśāca Languages*, § 125 For instance, there is Sindhī *rut*^{i}, a season (**rtukī—rut*^{e}, as shown by the termination, not being a Tatsama), Ksh *kit*^{u}, for (*kṛtakah*), *sūt*^{i}, with (*sahitē*) In the pre Moslem Ksh of the *Mahârtha prakāśa* it is frequently met with To quote a few words selected at random, there are *nigghātu* (*nirghātah*), *ugghātu* (*udghātah*), *uditu* (*uditah*), and *patitu* (*patitam*) The termination, *u*, of all these shows that the words are *tadbhavas*, not *tatsamas*. To such may be added the numerous cases in which intervocalic *d* has (as in Paiśācī Pr) become *t*, such as Ksh *hāpat-*, a bear (*śvāpada-*), *bād*^{a}*rapĕt-*, N of a month (*bhādrapada-*), Bashgalī √*ātamsh-*, bite (*ā-daṁś-*), or, but the reverse process, Bsh *rādar*, night (*rātri-*) In the last two cases we have (1) an instance of conservation, and (2) of the natural, but retarded, phonetic development, to which I have alluded above. There are also several cases of the Eranian change of intervocalic *t* or *d* to *l*, to which I need not do more than allude. In all these cases, besides many others, an intervocalic *t* has been preserved in one shape or another.

Let me now give my reasons for this conclusion In the Prakrit of the Indian grammarians and in the literary Prakrit texts known to us, there are numerous cases of words containing a geminate consonant Let us take as our example the word *bhakta-*, boiled rice, Prakrit *bhatta-* The different modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are generally stated to treat this geminate *tt* (or other geminate consonant) in one of three different ways —

(1) In Panjābī the *tt* remains unchanged, and we have *bhatt* This rule is considered to be universal for Panjābī

(2) In most other languages, the geminate is simplified, the preceding vowel being lengthened in compensation, so that *bhatta-* becomes *bhāt* This is I believe, universal in Gujarātī, and nearly universal in the literary languages east and south of the Panjāb In peasant s speech, however, the Panjābī custom is here often retained as an option [1] Thus, in the mouth of a peasant of the Ganges Valley we hear both *mākhan* and *makkhan* (Skr *mrakṣana-* Pr *makkhana-*) for "butter", and *chōtā* or *chōttā* for "small"

(3) It is generally said that Sindhī and the Dardic languages, and (when not influenced by the neighbouring Panjābī) Lahndā, simplify the Prakrit geminate consonant, but avoid lengthening the preceding vowel in compensation Thus Pr *bhatta-* becomes S *bhat*ᵘ (not **bhāt*ᵘ), and Ksh *bata*

The first two results we may accept as established, but, while I admit that I have myself hitherto accepted the third, I now consider that it is an incorrect statement of the case. I now think that it is certain that in the third case no geminate consonant of any kind has been simplified, for the reason that in the Prakrit of the North-West no such geminate consonants existed

First, as to the possibility of any single intervocalic consonant (omitting, for the sake of simplicity, consideration of

[1] As peasants' speech is rarely recorded in writing, it is not easy to give proof of this for all languages But ample evidence for Bihārī will be found in the index to *Bihār Peasant Life*

exceptional cases, such as those of *t* or *d*) remaining unelided in any form of Prakrit The general rule is, of course, that they are elided, but the Prakrit Grammarians, by the use of the word *prāyah* (Vr ii, 2, Hc i, 177, Mk ii, 2), make the special reservation that, even in Mahārāstrī, the rule is not universal. In Śaurasēnī intervocalic *t* becomes *d* and is not elided. Paiśācī Prakrit, which is based on Śaurasēnī, elided no intervocalic consonants at all, and was therefore in the Pāli stage of development in this respect (Hc iv, 324, i, 177, 187, so also to be inferred from other writers, though not directly stated by them) The principal form of Paiśācī was that spoken in Kēkaya, or the North-West Panjāb (Mk xix, 1, RT III, xv, 2), and a more Sanskritized form of this was the Vrācada dialect spoken in Sindh (RT III, xv, 12, cf Mk xviii, 1, RT III, xiv, 1) We thus learn that in the North-West Panjāb and in Sindh there were, at least, some people who did not, in Prakrit times, elide intervocalic consonants

This, of course, does not mean that all Paiśācī peculiarities have continued in this locality to the present time It means only that, at least in some North-West dialects, phonetic development, as compared with that of other Prakrits, was delayed No doubt, in the course of time, the phonetic developments which we find in other parts of India went on also there, though more slowly, while, as elsewhere, there were survivals In this way, we get, in Sindhī, not only the survival *kūtō*, but also the more modern "regular" *kiō* According to Stack (*S Gr*, p 93), such "regular" alternative forms are mostly confined to Lower Sindh, close to the Rājasthānī and Gujarātī borders[1]

The above explanation accounts for the preservation of the *t* in such words as *kūtō* (*kṛtakah*), where the single intervocalic *t* was found in Sanskrit, but it does not fully account for the single intervocalic *t* in words like *sutō*, *chutō*, in which the

[1] So, for Panjābī, the "irregular" forms are the older, while the "regular", where they exist, are of more usual occurrence. Tisdall's *P. Gr*, p. 19.

Prakrit of the grammarians has a geminate *tt*, that is to say, it does not account for the Sindhī past participles given in list *b* on pp 222-3 Here we must assume that, in the North-West Prakrit, which was ignored by the grammarians, and of which we have very few literary remains, the consonants were not doubled as elsewhere, i e that the North-West Prakrit form of **suptakah* was *sutaō*, not *suttaō*, and of **chuptakah* was *chutaō*, not *chuttaō*

In laying down the rule for doubling these consonants, the grammarians, if I may use the expression, took two bites at the Prakrit cherry They first (Vr iii 1, Hc ii, 77, Mk iii, 1) laid down a rule that when certain letters form the first member of a Sanskrit conjunct, they were elided In this way **suptakah* became *sutaō*, and **chuptakah* became *chutaō* That is their first bite They then went on to deal with other matters, and after some time took their second bite by stating (Vr iii, 50, Hc ii, 89 Mk iii 69) that when any member of an intervocalic conjunct is elided the remaining member must be doubled, so that *sutaō* becomes *suttaō* and *chutaō* becomes *chuttaō* My contention is that the Prakrit of the North-West took the first bite, but abstained from taking the second, and my grounds for it are as follows —

It is well known that in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā Aśōka inscriptions of the North-West all consonants, which elsewhere are written as geminates, are written as single consonants [1] It has hitherto been customary to attribute this to defects of the alphabet, and, in European editions of the inscriptions, sometimes to "restore" the geminate letters But there is no reason for assuming that the Kharōsthī alphabet was deficient in this respect, for it was quite able to reproduce, and did reproduce, other conjuncts without any difficulty [2] I maintain, therefore, that when the scribes wrote

[1] I have frequently drawn attention to this See for instance *JRAS*, 1913, p 142, with Mr Pargiter's rejoinder in the same for 1914, p 126

[2] It is unnecessary to give proofs of facts that are well known It is sufficient to mention as a few Shb conjuncts, noted by me in a cursory survey, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *st*, *str*, and *sp*

single, instead of geminate, intervocalic consonants, these inscriptions of the North-West correctly represented the Prakrit of that part of India

If this modern intervocalic *t* were derived from a Prakrit *tt* it must necessarily be represented by *tt* in similar or corresponding words in Panjābī I know of only two past participles in that language which have this geminate *tt* They are *dittā* or *diā*, given, and *suttā* or *sōiā*, slept Of these, *dittā* is entirely exceptional, and has no parallel in Sindhī, which has *dinō.* It is fully dealt with by Dr Tedesco in the article dealt with, and need not detain us *Suttā* does, at first sight, appear to go against my argument , but it is quite what we should expect in Panjābī—a language, of course, mainly derived from Śaurasēnī, which has *suttō*, as against Sindhī *sutō*

As I have explained in the Panjābī volume of the *Linguistic Survey* (VIII, i, 614), that language, although in its present form mainly based on Śaurasēnī, is strongly infected by an old North-Western language, the parent of Lahndā This accounts for the following past participles containing a single *t* —

> *dhōtā*, washed (L *dhātā*)
> *jātā* or *jāiā*, known (S *jātō*)
> *khalōtā*, erect (so L)
> *kītā* or *kariā*, done (S *kītō, kiō*)
> *lītā*, *liā*, or *lahiā*, taken
> *nahātā* or *nahāiā*, bathed (so L)
> *pachātā* or *pachāiā*, recognized
> *pahutā*, arrived (S *pahutō*)
> *parōtā* or *parōiā*, strung (of beads) (S *pūtō*)
> *pītā*, drunk (S *pītō*)
> *pucātā* or *pucāiā*, conveyed (L *pucāiā*)
> *siātā*, recognized (S *suñātō*)
> *sītā*, sewn (L *sītā*)

Now, the intervocalic *t* in the above words cannot possibly represent a Prakrit geminate *tt*, for if such a Prakrit *tt* had existed, it would, as we have seen (p. 226), have been

preserved unchanged in Panjābī, and, in that case, we should **have had**, instead of the above, *dhŏttā*, *jattā*, *khalŏttā*, *kittā*, *littā*, and so on Moreover, the long vowel, which generally precedes the single *t* in these words cannot be due to compensatory lengthening, as such compensation does not occur in Panjābī We are thus driven to the conclusion that these Panjābī words are derived from Prakrit forms which had in each word a single *t*, and not a geminate *tt*

Another reason for this view is found in the parallel case of other geminate consonants in Sindhī We have seen that before any Sindhī consonant, which corresponds to a geminate consonant in the Prakrits of other parts of India, an original preceding short vowel is not lengthened We have *bhat*^{u}, not *bhāt*^{u} But, if the original Sanskrit vowel was long, that vowel would have had to be shortened in grammarians' Prakrit before the geminate consonant (Hc 1, 84 , Mk, iv, 2) Thus Skr *vyāghra-*, a tiger, would necessarily become *vaggha-* in standard Prakrit, in which *vāggha-* would have been an impossible form If the form *vaggha-* had been in use in the Prakrit of the North-West, it would, as shown above, have become, in Sindhī, **vagh*^{u}, with simplification of the geminate, and no compensatory lengthening But this is not the case The Sindhī word is *vāgh*^{u} Similarly, Skr *bāṣpa-*, steam, becomes S *b̤āph*^{a} , Skr *rātri-*, night, becomes S *rāt*^{e} , Skr *yātrā*, a pilgrimage, becomes *jātrā* , Skr *gōṣṭha-*, becomes S *gōṭh*^{u}, and so many others In all these, the original long vowel of the Sanskrit has been preserved, and the words cannot have passed through an intermediate stage represented by **vaggha-*, **bappha-*, **ratti-*, **jattā*, or **gŏttha-* The Prakrit forms must have been *vāgha-*, *bāpha-*, *rāti-* *jātrā-*, and *gōtha-* The upholders of the geminate theory will in such cases be driven to uphold it by suggesting imaginary Prakrit forms such as **vāggha-*, **bāppha-*, **rātti-*, **jātrā*, and **gōttha-*, which go dead against the rules of the very Prakrit on which they depend. On the other hand, my suggestion of a North-West Prakrit without these geminate consonants is supported by the

only literature we possess in that dialect—the Aśōka inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā

To sum up, I believe that I have shown in the above that (1) in the Prakrit of the North-West single intervocalic consonants were not necessarily elided (i e that they continued in the Pāli stage longer than the other Prakrits), and (2) that when a conjunct consonant was simplified in Prakrit, it was, in the North-West, represented by a single and not by a geminate consonant

In the above I have not touched upon the peculiar Sindhī recursive sounds, *g*, *j*, *ḏ*, and *ḇ*, although they are in some respects germane to the subject They have already been most effectively dealt with by Professor Turner[1] Their existence may possibly affect some of my preceding remarks, so far as regards sonants, but does not touch the question of the intervocalic *t*, which is the main subject of my discussion

4 *Prakrit* b *and* v

According to the Western Prakrit grammarians (cf Hc i, 237), original initial *b* remains unchanged in Prakrit, while original intervocalic *b* becomes *v*, initial *v* remains unchanged, while (ib i, 177) intervocalic *v* is generally elided, and initial *p* remains unchanged, while (ib i, 231) intervocalic *p* generally becomes *v*, or, in Apabhraṁśa, *b* (ib iv, 396) The Prakrit intervocalic *v* in all these cases is itself frequently elided Here we have a distinction made between *b* and *v*, and it may be noted that in the modern Indo-Aryan languages it is only in the West that this distinction holds at the present day

In the case of the Eastern grammarians, the matter is different In the modern Indo-Aryan languages of eastern India original *b* and *v* are not distinguished, both being pronounced as *b* In Bengali and Oriyā MSS the same character (ব, ବ) corresponds both to the Nāgarī ब and to the Nāgarī व Cowell, in his edition (p xiv) of Vararuci (an Easterner), was much exercised about this He says. "The

[1] *Bull S O S*, iii, 301 ff

rules of Vararuci evidently show that there was no distinction whatever between *b* and *v*" He adds 'It is not so easy to determine which of the two sounds absorbed the other, and whether in translation we should represent it by *b* or *v* universally, the analogy of the modern languages would incline us to the former, but a Sūtra in Hēmacandra [he then quotes Hc i, 237] seems to favour the latter, which I have therefore adopted throughout" He accordingly in his edition of Vararuci banishes *b* altogether and prints only *v*

So far as the Eastern grammarians are concerned, light is thrown on this question by Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa) (RT) in I, v, 16 of the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* The text in our one MS is not correct, but for our present point, its emendation is not difficult In order to avoid begging the question, I shall, till it is settled, use the non-committal Bengali character ব for both *b* and *v* As so emended, the text runs as follows —

na-mōs tu bindur hali nō 'pi ñasya
vargôtta[mā] vā yayi sambhavâdau
r, r̄, l l̄, aic ca, ñ[a-n]au, ya-ব়au ca,
śa-sau, visargaś ca na santy amuvyam

[The word *amuvyam* (অমুবyং) in the last line is unintelligible We should perhaps read *ayuktāh* (অযুক্তাঃ), but it does not affect our result The general meaning is perfectly clear] —

(1) Anusvāra is substituted for *n, m, ṇ,* and *ñ*, when any of them is followed by a consonant, but when it is followed by a class-consonant,[1] the corresponding class-nasal may optionally be substituted, as in [*sambhava* or] *sambhava*, etc.

(2) [The following Sanskrit letters] do not occur [in Prakrit]: *r, r̄, l, l̄, ai,* and *au*, *ñ* and *n*, *y* and ব, *ś* and *s*, and *visarga*

The commentary on the first two lines is corrupt, and need not detain us It consists only of examples of the use of nasals in conjunction with other consonants The commentary on the third and fourth lines is clear, and runs as follows :—

[1] The *pratyāhāra* "*yay*" means class-consonants plus semi-vowels; but the context here shows that only the former are alluded to.

ṛ-ṝ-ḷ-ḹ-aicām visargasya sarvatrâprayōgaḥ[1], *śēṣāṇām svātantryēna, samyōgâdau syād ēva*, i e "*r*, *ṝ*, *l*, *ḹ*, *ai*, *au*, and *visarga* are nowhere used The remainder (*ñ* and *n*, *y* and व, *ś* and *s*) are not used when standing alone They are used only in conjuncts and the like" It will be observed that the above consonants are all quoted in groups of two each We have two nasals (*ñ* and *n*) and two sibilants (*ś* and *s*) It is therefore reasonable to assume that, in the same way, *y* and व form a group of two semi-vowels, and that व therefore represents *v*, not *b* It accordingly follows that according to RT —the only Eastern grammarian who touches on the subject—the letter *v*, when standing alone, does not occur in Prakrit, and that therefore when the letter व occurs in a Prakrit word it can mean only *b* It further follows that—according to RT— when intervocalic Sanskrit *p* becomes Prakrit व (Vr ii, 15, Mk ii, 14, RT I, ii, 7), this व represents *b*, and not *v*, as contended by Pischel (§ 199)

This is corroborated by RT elsewhere When (I, ii = Vr ii, Mk ii) dealing with single intervocalic consonants, he reverses the usual order of explanation Vr and Mk take Sanskrit letters in the order of the Nāgarī alphabet, and, in this order, explain how each is changed in Prakrit RT, on the contrary, takes the letters found in Prakrit in the order of the Nāgarī alphabet, and explains, in that order, how each is derived from Sanskrit Thus verse 3 deals with Prakrit *j*, verse 4 with Pr *dh*, 5 and 6 with Pr *n* and *d*, 7 with Pr *b*, *bh*, and *m* [8 is missing], 9 with Pr *r*, 10 with Pr *l* and *s*, and 11 with Pr *h* The change of *p* to व, or, rather, the derivation of व from *p*, is dealt with in verse 7, so that it is evident that RT looked upon the व here as equivalent to *b* and not to *v*. Moreover, he does not refer to Prakrit intervocalic *v* at all, because, as I have shown, such a letter was to him non-existent.

It may be suggested that the Eastern grammarians allowed

[1] MS. *sarvatraprayōgaḥ*, a manifest slip of the scribe.

the existence of the conjunct *vv* in Prakrit (see the Comm to RT I, v, 16 above) A consideration of the system of exposition employed by them will show that this is not the case The conjunct *vv* (if it existed) would, to us, represent a Sanskrit *dv*, *vy*, or *rv*, but that is not the way the grammarians looked at it They looked upon the change from Sanskrit to Prakrit as occurring in two stages In the first stage, *dva*, *vya*, and *rva* all become व (Vr III, 1–3, Mk III, 1–3, RT I, III, 1) This व stands by itself, and therefore cannot be *v*, but must be *b* Then, long afterwards (Vr III, 51, Mk III, 69, RT I, IV, 1), they come to the second stage saying that when one member of a conjunct has been elided, what remains is doubled It is therefore this *b* (not *v*) which is doubled, and, according to the Easterners, but using our language, Sanskrit *dv*, *vy*, and *rv* become *bb*, and not *vv*, in Prakrit

To sum up While the Western Grammarians allow the existence of both *b* and *v* in Prakrit, the Easterners allow the existence of *b* only, and deny the existence of a Prakrit *v* This is entirely in accord with the respective states of affairs in the Western and Eastern modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars

5 *Prakrit paṃsū*

Pischel (§ 74, following Hc I, 26) equates this with *parśu-* But a variant reading of Hc gives *paśu-* The *Sadbhāṣā-candrikā* (to Trivikrama I, I, 42) gives only *paśu-* Both these authorities are Western Of the Easterners, both Vr IV, 15, and Mk IV, 20, omit the word, but RT I, v, 17 has *paśu-*, the form of which is guaranteed by the metre (Indravajrā)

bindv-āgamō [*'py*] *atra padâdi-madhyē*
vakram paśu-sparśana-darśanâdyâh

It appears, therefore, that we should correct the word in Pischel and Hēmacandra from *parśu-* to *paśu-*

6. *Kirāta-, Cilāda-*

Hc I, 183, makes *kirāta-* become *cilāa-* when the word means a Pulinda, which here appears to mean simply " a barbarian "

In the sense of *kāmarūpin-*, the word remains unchanged, as *kirāa-* Pischel, in his translation of Hc, rendered *kāmarūpin-* by "ape", but in his Prakrit Grammar, §§ 230, 257, he gives the correct meaning, "Śiva" The point is made particularly clear by Mk (ii, 32) He says that *cilāda-* is used in the sense of "Mlēccha", i e a non-Aryan, and as an example of the other meaning, he gives *Hara-kirāō Ajjunēna jujjhai*, Śiva, in the guise of a Kirāta, fights with Arjuna

The Pulindas were a non-Aryan tribe,[1] and just as the Piśācas called themselves "Pisāla" (Mk xix, 9) instead of "Piśāca", so a barbarous mountain tribe, which the Aryans called "Kirāta", called themselves "Cilāda" The interchange of *r* and *l* is typical of non-Indo-Aryan people Compare Māgadhī (reserved in the plays for Rākṣasas, beggars, and the meaner castes, as well as for Kirātas, Abhīras, and Mlēcchas—see Pischel, § 23) and Cūlikā Paiśācikā, also the *alayō*, for *arayō*, in the speech of the Asuras (Mahābhāṣya, i, 1) We meet the same change in the Dardic languages, as, for instance, in Ksh *sol*, for *sair*, a journey, and other words The Kāshmīrī Pandits look upon *r* and *l* as interchangeable (*ra-layōr aikyatā*)

The change of *k* to *c* occurs in Prakrit only in this word (Pischel, § 230) It is very common in modern Dardic Indeed, it is a general rule in Kāshmīrī that, save in certain cases, *k* followed by a palatal vowel or semi-vowel must become *c* Thus *thak*ᵘ, weary, has its feminine *thac*ᵘ (for **thakiā*) The same change is also a regular feature in some of the neighbouring Eranian Pāmīr dialects (*GIP* I, ii, 299) While, therefore, the change was, except in this solitary case, unknown to Prakrit, we find it in full vogue among the mountain tribes of the North-West How far, in Prakrit times, it extended eastwards along the Himâlaya we do not know, but, at any rate, the Khas, who were a Dard tribe, in early times got at least as

[1] See Professor Sylvain Lévi, in *JA.* ccııi (1923), 24 ff.

far east as Garhwāl and Kumaun, the very country which the Mahābhārata refers to as containing settlements of Kirātas [1]

[1] The Kirātas were a Himalayan tribe The scene of the Kirātârjunīya is in the Himâlaya In Mbh III, 8391, a settlement of the Kirātas is referred to as near the Gangādvāra, the modern Hardwār, in, or close to, British Garhwāl

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Sakara

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, PH D

MORE than thirty years ago Professor Sylvain Lévi, in his excellent book *Le Théatre Indien* (1890), p 361, suggested that the *śakāra*, the ridiculous, brawling scoundrel of a king's brother-in-law (*śyāla*) in the Hindu drama, is in reality a Śaka, a type of the Scythian princes ruling during nearly four centuries in Western India, as seen from the Indian point of view This very judicious suggestion was repeated by Professor Lévi some ten years later in a very interesting article in the *Journal Asiatique*, ix, 19 (1902), p 123, and might be looked upon as being fairly well established though its author has not given any detailed proofs to support his hypothesis No reasons whatsoever have been adduced by Professor Konow in his book *Das indische Drama*, p 15, for rejecting this theory, and so we need scarcely regard his rejection more seriously than several other less well-founded assertions in his work

I was, unfortunately, not aware of these passages in works by Professor Lévi when, in 1916, I wrote the note on *śakāra* which was printed in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lxxi, p 368, where essentially the same suggestion was put forward Support for this theory I tried to find chiefly in the linguistic description of the *śakāra's* dialect, which is, by the Hindu grammarians, looked upon as a subspecies of Māgadhī, but which, in fact, might just as well be regarded as an Iranian language

In an article in the *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1913, i, p 406 seq , Professor Luders has tried to establish the linguistic affinities of the language recently discovered in Chinese Turkestan, which Professor Leumann called—and apparently continues to call—

"Nordarisch", Professor Pelliot and the late lamented Dr Gauthiot "Iranien oriental",[1] and Professor Konow "Khotanese" Having recently occupied myself with the documents in this language which have been published up to the present time, I feel strongly convinced that the theory of Professor Luders, according to which this is in reality the language of the Śakas [2] is the only sound one, and I hope to be able soon to adduce some arguments that will corroborate this theory [3] There is scarcely any doubt that the main characteristics of the dialect of the *śakāra* are actually in conformity with certain facts which are already known concerning the "Śaka" language, in the passage just alluded to I pointed to the writings *ye* in words as *yestha*, etc, and I would now add that the participles in *-da*, as *kada*, *mada*, etc, tally very well with what we know about participles from roots ending in *-r* in the language of the Śakas where we find forms like *muda* (= *mita*), etc Also the final *-e* in the *śākārī* need not necessarily be a Māgadhism as it would be just as suitable a representative of the indefinite vowel which is transcribed by an *a* in the Śaka documents, and which is fairly usual at the end of nominal stems Even that Māgadhism which consists in all *s*-sounds being converted into an *ś* can be made to coincide with what we observe in the Śaka language where an original *s* has been turned into an *h* or has totally vanished while combinations like *śś* or *ss*, rendering original palatal *k'*, are fairly common

There is consequently no evidence derived from the language spoken by the *śakāra* which prevents us from supposing this *dramatis persona* to be of an un-Indian origin However, the formation of the name itself is not quite clear, as we find no passages outside the drama and the dramatic handbooks in

[1] Cf *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, xviii, p 90

[2] Cf also Professor von le Coq in the *JRAS* 1909, p 318

[3] A recent article by Mr. Divatian in the *JBBrAS*, xxvi (1923), p 159 seq, which tries to invalidate one of the chief arguments of Professor Lüders, is scarcely worthy of any great attention

which the word *śakāra* is ever used Max Muller, who was also inclined to connect our word with the name of the Scythians (*Śaka*), tried in his *India, what can it teach us?* p 295,[1] to solve its riddle by a reference to the *sūtra* iv, 1, 130, of Pāṇini which runs *ārag udīcām* This *sūtra*, taken together with the preceding one, implies that, while Pāṇini was otherwise acquainted with the words *gaudhera* and *gaudheya* (cf iv, 1, 123) as being derivations of *godhā*, he also knew that the Northern grammarians substituted, in this same sense, another derivation, viz *gaudhāra* The *sūtra* is contested by the *vārttikakāra* for the reason that, as the final *ā* in *godhā* is already a long one, there is only need for prescribing a formation with *rak* and not with *ārak* Patañjali,[2] however quite correctly points out that the reason why Pāṇini used *ārak* was that he knew other formations of the same sort, but derived from words that did not end in a long *a*-vowel, and he quotes as specimens *maundāra*, *jāndāra*, and *pāṇḍāra*, which should mean the offspring of a *munda*, a *janda*,[3] and a *panda* respectively

There are, of course, still other words in Sanskrit which seem to be formed with the help of a suffix °*āra*, as e g. *mandāra*, "coral-tree (*Erythrina indica*)," *mārjāra*, "a cat," [4] etc , which are generally late words and to some extent etymologically obscure Extremely doubtful are the Vedic words *karmāra*, "smith," and *śevāra*, "treasury," [5] though one might feel inclined to regard these also as formations with the suffix °*āra* But I strongly doubt whether either these words or those found in the *sūtra* of Pāṇini with its corresponding paragraph in the Mahābhāsya will in any way help us to understand the suggested correspondence between *śakāra* and *śaka* For all the words quoted by the Hindu

[1] Cf the German edition, p 259 seq

[2] Cf Kielhorn's edition, ii, p 259

[3] I am, unfortunately, not aware of what is meant by *jaṇḍa*, the Siddh. Kaumudī gives *jāḍāra*, meaning the offspring of a blockhead (*jaḍa*).

[4] Cf Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1188*d*.

[5] Cf Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p 142, n 1.

grammarians in this connexion are apparently some sort of *vṛddhi*-formations, and there is not the slightest possibility of treating the word *śakāra* in the same way

There is, however, the notice preserved by Pāṇini according to which the suffix °*āra* was especially used by the "Northern" grammarians If this means anything it must be that such word-formations were especially characteristic of peoples speaking "Northern" languages which may in this connexion include the dialects spoken in the old frontier territory between India proper and Iran And it seems that in the same north-western region on this side of the Indus there are to be found some names ending in °*āra*, which may legitimately be compared with *śakāra*

I have already formerly pointed to *Tukhāra* (*Τόχαροι*),[1] which may very well be an old Iranian word—something like * *Tuχāra*—though we do not, to my knowledge, possess any undoubted old Iranian forms of this identical word.[2] To the North-West belongs also the famous name of *Gandhāra*, Old Persian *Gaⁿdāra*, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this word is formed with the help of a suffix °*āra*, although we do not know anything definite concerning its etymological connexions [3] There is also in the North-West the name of a people which the Hindus have given as *Abhisāra* (cf Greek *'Αβισάρης*), and which looks as if it were a compound from *abhi*+*sāra* However, I would venture the suggestion that this is not quite certain, and that we may possibly find here

[1] Cf *Zeitschr d deutschen morgenl Ges*, lxxi, p 368, n 4

[2] The form *toχrī*, preserved in an Uigur manuscript and frequently discussed by Messrs F W K Muller, Sieg, Siegling, von Stael Holstein, Konow, etc, cannot be of any absolute value for ascertaining the oldest form of the word Far more reliable must be forms like *Tukhāra* and *Τόχαροι*

[3] One might suggest some sort of relationship with the word *gaⁿdutava-* (or possibly °*mava*), the name of a province in Arachosia, but the word is very uncertain, cf Justi, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, p 430, and Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Woerterbuch*, p 489 The still unsolved problem of the word *gandharva* (Avesta *gandarəwa*) may perhaps also present itself in this connexion

a noun formed by the suffix °*āra* from some unknown stem which has perhaps been somewhat changed in appearance by its transcription into other languages Such a suggestion would be fairly safe if we might assume the correctness of McCrindle's hypothesis,[1] according to which the representative of *Abhisāra* is found in the word *Hazāra*, the name of the district surrounding Abbotābād and situated on the western frontier of Kashmīr The name is undoubtedly Iranian, but the difficulty remains that it may really be nothing but a form of Prs *hazār* " 1000 "

Whether these names are wholly Iranian or belong to languages that form a sort of bridge between India and Iran I cannot venture to decide, as such languages—which, according to Sir George Grierson, do undoubtedly exist at the present moment—are not known to us in their older stages of development But I should like to draw attention to the fact that words ending in °*āra* do undoubtedly seem to exist in the older as well as in the more modern forms of Iranian, in the Avesta we find pronominal forms like *katāra* and *yatāra*[2] at the side of Skt *katara*, *yatara*, and a noun like *daχšāra*, " a mark, a sign, ' which no doubt presupposes a more simple form **daχša* And in modern Persian a suffix *-ār* seems to be tolerably frequent in words of different meanings[3] Amongst the " Śaka " names on the Mathurā Lion Pillar there is also one *Hayuāra*, which has been dealt with by Professor Rapson, *JRAS*, 1894, p 549, and Dr Thomas, ibid, 1906, p 212, I should venture to suggest that the name is connected with the word *hajva*, *haju(v)a*, " wise, knowing," which is met with in the Khotan documents that have been edited by Professors Leumann and Konow.[4]

[1] *Invasion of India*, p 69 This hypothesis is repeated by Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* ², p 431

[2] Also *atāra*, which has no direct Indian counterpart

[3] Cf *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i 2, pp 169, 177

[4] Cf *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur* (1912), p 139, and Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, i, p 338

Unfortunately, the further connexions of this word still escape me, but, if my suggestion should prove to be correct, there is no doubt that the name of the Śaka satrap *Hayuāra* is also formed with the help of the suffix °*āra*

There can, consequently, scarcely be any doubt that the word *śakāra* may be of Iranian origin and derived from *śaka* by the suffix °*āra*

Professor Lévi [1] also has referred to a sort of writing called the *śakārilipi* in the *Lalita Vistara* This word, were it sufficiently attested, would undoubtedly mean the "writing of the *śakāra* (i e the Śaka)", and it seems to me difficult to discard this meaning of the word even in the present imperfect state of our knowledge For in the edition of Lefmann, i, p 125, 20–21, we now find *sakārilipim* (instead of *śakāri*°), a doubtful word the sense of which is by no means clear, as the editor does not tell us whether it should be considered identical with *śakārilipi* or not, or whether he would prefer to consider such a word as simply non-existent Let us hope that other evidence may be forthcoming which will solve this interesting question

I have so far tried to adduce some proofs for the possibility that the word *śakāra* may be derived from and in its sense intimately connected with *śaka* The natural consequence of this suggestion would be that this character in the drama was meant to deride and pour contempt upon the Śaka princes who ruled over Mālwā, Gūjarāt, Kāthiāwār, etc, from the later half of the first century till about the year A D 400 In this I mainly concur with suggestions already proposed by Professor Lévi

The *śakāra* is the most contemptible and most absurdly ridiculous of all the types that we observe passing over the classical stage of the Hindus He is a most despicable poltroon, a liar and a tyrant, and one cannot resist the impression that a large portion of passionate hatred must have inspired the

[1] Cf. *Le théatre indien*, p 361

poet who first created this curious character Buddhism scarcely seems to be a religion that is treated with any great respect in a drama like the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, but the shocking way in which the *śakāra* is said to torture all the Buddhist monks whom he meets (act viii, beginning), boring their noses just as one treats bullocks or threatening to kill them straight out, is very far removed from the humanity and tolerance with which Hindu rulers seem generally to have regarded the partisans of any religious community I am afraid that we do not know much about the religious attitude of the Śaka satraps [1] towards the adorers of various Hindu gods and saints, but it seems probable that they were, in matters of faith, to a great extent latitudinarians, and certainly not hostile to the heterodox sects, above all to the Buddhists [2] But while heaping abuse on the contemptible *śakāra*, the dramatic author need not necessarily have limited himself to the exact truth

The *śakāra* is of low caste, being mentioned together with *mleccha's* and *abhīra's* in the *Daśarūpa*, ii, 45 (42), and in direct connexion with the *mlecchānām jātayaḥ* in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* xiii, 147 (Grosset) [3] This would, of course, tally very well with the fact that he belonged to the casteless invaders of the North, who had come into the land of Brahmins from parts of the world that have even in later centuries been looked upon with violent dislike by the Hindus [4]

The *śakāra* is also a very libidinous fellow He shares this quality with that unfortunate prince of the Śakas of whom Bāṇa, in his *Harṣacarita*, p 270, ed Fuhrer, tells the well-

[1] Cf the articles on these rulers by Bhagwanlāl Indrājī and Professor Rapson, *JRAS* 1890, p 639 seq , 1899, p 357 seq

[2] Cf Professor Lévi in the *JA* 1902, i, p 117 seq

[3] I am unable to find out to what passage the quotation xii, 130, in Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p 15, refers, there is no such verse in Grosset's edition

[4] Cf e g the paragraph in the treaty drawn up between Akbar and the Rājpūt chiefs of Bundī, according to which the latter were not to be forced to pass beyond Attock, v Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, iii (ed 1920), p 1482, Smith, *Akbar*, p 99

known scandalous story *aripure ca parakalatrakāmukam kāminīveṣaguptaś ca Candraguptah Śakapatim praśaśāsa* There is probably no distinct historical truth underlying the slander of Bāna,[1] nor do I believe in any sort of direct connexion between this anecdote and the formation of the dramatic type of the *śakāra* But I venture to think that they are both typical of the contempt and ridicule in which the Śaka princes were held by their Hindu subjects Both of them, the *śakāra* and the *parakalatrakāmukah Śakapatih*, may have originated in traditions that arose during the period of Scythian sovereignty in Western India

The *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, the play where the *śakāra* appears in all his abominable wickedness and poltroonery, is staged in Ujjayinī, one of the residences of the Śaka satraps and the reputed capital of Vikramāditya, who still, unfortunately, remains only a *magni nominis umbra* It was at Ujjayinī, and quite probably during the sway of the Śakas, that the classical literature and above all the drama, with its curious partition of different dialects, began to develop as has been convincingly set forth in the article by Professor Lévi,[2] to which I have more than once referred above At Ujjayinī, in the surroundings of Scythian princelings and mercenaries, a type like the *śakāra* may have originated, as an inventive poet must have been able to find there especially ample materials from which to draw his inspiration

But it is difficult to imagine that a Hindu poet would have ventured to produce a creation like the *śakāra* at a time when the Śakas were still holding sway over Ujjayinī. Professor Lévi, to whose opinions I must once more refer, has thought it probable that the *śakāra* did not make his appearance on the stage until " au lendemain même de la chute des Çakas ",[3] and I should most assuredly agree with

[1] Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p 151; but cf now *JA* 1923, ii, p 201 seq

[2] Cf *JA* 1902, i, pp 95–125

[3] Cf. loc. cit, p. 123

that suggestion The consequence of this view would be that literary works or passages of works where the *śakāra* appears should be regarded as being later than the downfall of the Śaka dynasties, i e posterior to about A D 400

The *śakāra* chiefly appears in the Trivandrum play called the *Cārudatta* and in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, which I would still venture to look upon as a later and extended version of the *Cārudatta* [1], he is also mentioned in several passages of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, this—as well as the two dramas just mentioned—being also a work of dubious and unsettled date [2] I have already pleaded some time ago for a somewhat late date of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*,[3] and it would only be an obvious consequence of what has been set forth above to conclude that the *Cārudatta* also belongs to a period somewhat posterior to A D 400 It seems also fairly safe to conclude that there can be no question of Bhāsa being the author of this particular drama, and, besides, the whole " Bhāsa " problem seems to me to have been placed on a different footing by the above-mentioned article of Messrs Pisharoti [4] as well as by the several articles by Dr Barnett

The passages in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* dealing with the *śakāra* may also belong to a relatively late date, but I am fully aware that this consideration does not materially help us in dating this work, which is very probably a vast collection of tracts written by different authors and patched together at

[1] Quite the opposite is the opinion of Messrs Pisharoti in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, p 108, but their reasons do not seem to be convincing as far as concerns this special question

[2] I refrain from considering in this connexion the appearance of the *syāla* in the *pravesaka* of the sixth act of the *Śakuntalā* For, even if we are still unable to settle the date of Kālidāsa with absolute precision, there can be little doubt that he belongs to the latter half of the fifth century A D

[3] Cf *JRAS* 1923, pp 593–607 Professor Keith's objections to this theory seem to me rather inconclusive

[4] The facts set forth by Messrs Pisharoti had been forestalled to a certain degree by Mr A K. Iyer in his *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, ii, pp. 130, 132.

different times But it seems scarcely advisable to try and fix the work as a whole at too early a date [1]

[1] In the *JRAS* 1923, p 608 I have pointed to a passage in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (xiii, 208–9) dealing with the different seats to be offered to persons of different rank To ministers (*amātya*) a *vetrāsana* is to be offered There is what seems to be a direct quotation from this passage in the *Jātakamālā*, p 138 12, where we find an *amātyamukhyādhyāsanayogyam vetrāsanam* (cf also *Kumārasambhava*, vi, 53) The lower date of the *Jātakamālā* is, of course, tolerably well fixed by the discovery by Professor Luders of quotations from it in the caves of Ajantā dating from the sixth century (cf *Goett Nachrichten*, 1902, p 758 seq = *IA* xxxii, p 326 seq)

10th June, 1924

Some F[illegible] Birds and Beasts in Chinese Books

By A C MOULE

(PLATES V–VII)

[illegible]ing pages bring together passages from Chinese [illegible]s, some of which have been translated before in a [illegible] context, illustrating them by reproductions of wood-[illegible]hich are unfamiliar and of great interest

[illegible] the creatures in question the ostrich has the longest [illegible]cord in China, beginning with the embassy of Chang Ch'ien in the second century before Christ The *Shih chi* gives Chang's own report of the countries of the west Of T'iao-chih (Chaldea ?) he says among other things "There are large birds with eggs like earthenware vessels" The commentary *Chêng i* (A D 726) quotes an account of the ostrich from the 廣 志 *Kuang chih* which ends "They stretch up their necks eight or nine feet and spread their wings more than ten feet They eat barley The eggs are large like earthenware vessels" Cf *Shih chi*, c 123, fol 3ro The *Hou han shu*, A D c 430, c 118, fol 4vo, under An-hsi (Parthia), says "In the first Chang-ho year (A D 87) they sent envoys to present lions and fu-pa The fu-pa is like a 麟 lin but with no horn In the thirteenth Yung-yuan year (A D 101) Man-ch'u prince of An-hsi, again presented lions and large birds from T'iao-chih which at the time men called An-hsi birds" The *Wei shu*, A D c 550, c 102, fol 6ro, says of Persia. "The land produces famous horses, large donkeys, and camels, among which there are frequently such as travel 700 *li* in a day The wealthy families have as many as several thousand head of camels It also produces white ivory (?, 白 象), lions and large birds' eggs There are birds shaped like a camel. They have two wings and fly, but cannot rise high They eat grass and meat, and can also swallow fire." And in the

T'ang shu (eleventh century), c 221*b*, fol 4vo, under T'u-huo-lo (Tokhara), we read "In the first Yung-hui year (650) they presented large birds seven feet high, black in colour, with feet like a camel's They travel with the help of their wings 300 *li* in a day They can swallow iron We commonly call them camel birds (駝鳥 t'o niao)"

The 嶺外代荅 *Ling wai tai ta* by 周去非 Chou Ch'u-fei, whose preface is dated 16 November, 1178, c **3**, fol 6ro, says of 崑崙層期 Kun-lun-ts'êng-ch'i (near Madagascar ?) that there are "駱駝鶴 lo-t o ho (camel cranes) whose bodies and necks are six or seven feet long. They have wings and can fly, but not high They eat various things and swallow fire Men even heat copper or iron red-hot and give it them to eat" A similar passage appears in the *Chu fan chih* and in the *I yu t'u chih* with reference to 弼琶羅 Pi-p a-lo (Berbera)[1] The former says "It also produces a creature named lo-t o ho (camel crane), the extreme length of whose body is 6 or 7 feet, with wings with which it can fly, but not very high The *I yu t'u chih* fol 32ro, says "The land produces lo-t'o ho six or seven tens of feet long[2] They have wings and can fly They eat various things, and men even heat copper or iron red-hot and give it them to eat They lay eggs like cocoa-nuts If you break them they are like earthenware vessels with a musical ring The men of

[1] 諸番志 *Chu fan chih* by 趙汝适 Chao Ju kua, October, 1225 This passage (continued below) is translated from the edition printed by Rockhill in Japan, 1914, c 1, fol 25vo The 異域圖志 *I yu t u chih* is a rare book of which a copy is preserved in the Wade Collection at Cambridge This copy, which is not quite complete, consists of 195 printed pages The text is of little value except as affording evidence of the date, but the pictures, 182 in number, are of very great interest The date may possibly be about 1400 or a few years earlier, but, for the appendix at least, about 1420 would seem to be a more likely date For leave to reproduce some of the illustrations I am obliged to the authorities of the University Library at Cambridge A copy of the *I yu t u chih* which was formerly in the T'ien i ko library at Ning-po is described in *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, c. 78, fol 13ro, but it is not quite certain that it was identical with the Cambridge book

[2] 丈 *chang*, "ten feet," is probably a misprint for 尺 *ch'ih*, "foot."

the country are fond of hunting and daily shoot and eat wild animals " These three passages seem to be based on some common source which I do not know The *I yu t'u chih*, fol 85ro, says of the kingdom of 滑 Hua (under the general heading of 大食 Ta-shih, Arabs) that it has " such things as yellow lions, white sable robes, two-footed camels (ostriches ?), and wild asses with horns " The *Sung shih*, c 490, fol 8vo, says briefly of the Arab lands " There are birds seven feet high "

The 瀛涯勝覽 *Ying yai shêng lan* by 馬歡 Ma Huan, *c* 1430, says in the account of Tsu-fa-êrh (Djufar) " In the mountains it also produces t'o chi They send up men to catch them and bring them for sale The body is flat, the neck long like a crane's, the legs 3 or 4 feet high , each foot has only two toes , the feathers are like camel's hair They eat green beans and such things They walk like a camel, and for this reason are named camel fowls (t'o chi) [The king] sends presents of and camel fowls " [1] and of Aden (fol 35vo) . " The land produces 青花白駝雞 ch'ing hua po t'o chi (white camel fowls with black markings) [which] are just like the 福鹿 fu-lu (zebra) " The 星槎勝覽 *Hsing ch'a sheng lan* by 費信 Fei Hsin, 1436, c 4, fol 5ro, 6vo, 8ro, mentions 駝蹄雞 t'o t i chi (camel hoof fowls) under Chu-pu, Aden, and Djufar [2]

[1] *Ying yai shêng lan*, fol 33vo For this book I have used the British Museum MS Or 6191 Rockhill in the *T'oung pao*, 1915, translated from a different, and as he thought the original, text, and regarded the British Museum text as edited and expanded by 張昇 Chang Shêng between 1436 and 1617 In that text, however, the first preface (fol 1vo) is dated impossibly 1416, and the postscript (fol 43vo) August, 1451, with the name of Ma Huan in both places, while Chang Shêng, who seems to have lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, is not mentioned The difference between the two texts is shown by Rockhill's version of the present passage " The Shan t'o chi (mountain camel fowl) has a slim neck and a fowl's body like a crane, but 3 or 4 feet long, feet with two toes, and hair like a camel's Hence it is called t'o chi (camel fowl) "

[2] The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* is quoted from the 古今說海 *Ku chin shuo hai*, ed 1821 , and the *Hsi yang ch'ao kung tien lu* from the 粵雅堂叢書 *Yueh ya t'ang ts'ung shu*, 1853, part III.

The 西洋朝貢典錄 *Hsi yang ch'ao kung tien lu* by 黃省曾 Huang Hsing-tsêng, 1520, c 3, fol 7vo, says of Djufar "There are birds there They have long bodies and crane's necks, legs four feet long and with two toes The shape is like a camel's, the name is called t'o chi (camel fowl) These feed on the five kinds of grain" The same book mentions ostriches again among the things found at Mecca (c 3, fol 15ro)

The *Ming shih* (1742, but based on earlier records), c 326, fol 4vo, says "There are t'o chi [at Djufar] Their necks are long like a crane's, their legs three or four feet in height, the colour of their feathers is like that of a camel, their walk is also like a camel's They are often used to offer as presents" Ostriches are also mentioned under Aden (fol 5ro) and Hormuz (fol 6ro)

The earliest mention of the zebra, and that rather open to doubt, seems to be in the 山海經 *Shan hai ching*, c 1, fol 3ro "The mountains of Chou-yang There is an animal shaped like a horse, with a white head, striped like a tiger, with a red tail The sound is like *yao* (or a chant), the name is called 鹿蜀 lu-shu If you wear it (? the skin) you are sure to have descendants"[1] The *Shan hai ching* is a geography professing to date from many centuries before Christ, and the text, more or less as we now have it, cannot well be later than its editor 郭璞 Kuo P'o, who died A D 324 And, as if to make sure that this passage is not a modern interpolation, Kuo P'o wrote a eulogy of the lu-shu, from which the dictionaries quote the line "The lu-shu is an animal with a horse's body and a tiger's stripes" cf *P'ei wên yun fu*, c 91, fol 141 It is fair to add that the lu-shu is described near the beginning of the *Shan hai ching*, in the first of the

[1] This is from Pi Yuan's edition Bazin, in *J A*, November, 1839, p 342, seems to have had a different text, translating the latter part On les appelle *lo-cho*, et l'on croit que la peau et la queue de ces quadrupèdes ont une vertu talismanique, celle de maintenir la paix et la bonne harmonie parmi les enfants et les petits enfants The *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, Ch'in shou (XIX), c. 123 *hui k'ao* 1, fol 2vo, has a poor view of a zebra, called lu-shu.



2. Giraffe or Ch'i-lin
from the *I yu ch'in shou t'u* fol 2vo



1. Zebra or Fu-lu
from the *I yu ch'in shou t'u*, fol 2ro

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sections devoted to China, and not in the part which professes to describe foreign lands The *Tz'ŭ yuan* wisely refrains from the identification of the lu-shu with the zebra.

Passing over nine or more centuries we come to the *Chu fan chih* The passage quoted above continues "[Berbera produces also] an animal named 徂 蠟 tsu-la (giraffe), shaped like a camel and as large as an ox The colour is yellow. The fore legs are tall, 5 feet, the hind legs short, 3 feet The head is high and looks upwards The skin is an inch thick. There is also a mule with three colours, red, white, and black, successively, in stripes like girdles These are all wild animals of the mountain wildernesses and are often [regarded as] varieties of the camel The men of the country are fond of the chase, and sometimes use poisoned arrows to take them" Here we have what is perhaps the first undoubted description of the giraffe and zebra to be found in Chinese books.

In the *Yuan shih*, c 15, fol 11ro, we read "This year (1289) the kingdom of Maabar presented two 花 驢 hua lu (variegated donkeys) ' That these were zebras is very probable, especially as Marco Polo tells us that Maabar was at that time importing hundreds of horses every year from Aden, Djufar, and Hormuz, the very places which were associated with the zebra by the Chinese in the fifteenth century Hua lu is given as the equivalent for zebra in Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, part iv, 1869

The next authority is the 異 域 禽 獸 圖 *I yu ch'in shou t'u*, "*Pictures of the birds and beasts of strange lands*", which forms the appendix to the *I yu t'u chih* which has been quoted above Of the thirteen beasts which survive in the Cambridge copy of this book the first is the zebra and the second the giraffe, which are here reproduced Near the tops of the pages are seen the names 福 鹿 fu-lu and 麒 麟 ch'i-lin respectively

We may put here a few extracts from the *Ming shih*, although it was compiled far later than the books which will be quoted afterwards Under Aden occur these passages:

"In the 19th Yung-lo year (1421) the chamberlain Chou went and purchased ch'i-lin (giraffes), shih-tzŭ (lions), hua mao lu (zebras ?), chin ch'ien pao (cheetahs ?), t'o chi (ostriches), and po chiu ('white pigeons' ?), that he might take home creatures which other countries have not attained to."[1]—*Ming shih*, c 326, fol 5ro "The fore legs of the ch'i-lin are nine feet high, the hind legs six feet the neck sixteen feet long It has two short horns, a cow's tail, and the body of a deer It eats millet, beans and buns The shih-tzŭ is shaped like a tiger, dark yellow coloured with no stripes The head is large, the mouth wide the tail pointed The sound is a roar like thunder All other animals lie flat on the ground when they see it"—*ibid*, fol 5vo Under Pu-la-wa (Brawa on the east coast of Africa) we read "The products include 馬哈獸 ma ha shou shaped like a chang (musk-deer ?), 花福鹿 hua fu-lu (zebra) shaped like a donkey, hsi (rhinoceros) hsiang (elephant) and lo-t'o (camel)"—*ibid*, fol 5ro And under Hu-lu mu-ssŭ (Hormuz) "Among the gifts presented are shih-tzŭ (lions) ch'i-lin (giraffes), t'o chi (ostriches) 福鹿 fu-lu (zebras) and 靈羊 ling-yang"—*ibid*, fol 6ro[2]

[1] 花貓鹿 hua mao lu (taken from the *Ying yai sheng lan*, fol 34vo He also obtained by purchase such creatures as ch'i lin shih tzŭ, hua mao lu chin ch'ien pao t'o chi po chiu) may possibly be a misprint for 花福鹿 hua fu lu which certainly means zebra, and in any case the zebra may be intended The 金錢豹 chin ch'ien pao (*felis Fontanieri*, Giles) is a familiar Chinese animal and its frequent inclusion in the lists of foreign animals is curious unless the cheetah (*chita* or *chircha* 'spotted") is meant The picture in *I yu ch'in shou t'u* where it is called 金線豹 chin hsien pao looks like a leopard or cheetah The ordinary name should probably be translated gold and coin leopard the coins being the black markings

[2] The ma ha shou is drawn in *I yu ch'in shou t'u* fol 6vo as an antelope with long straight horns with a spiral twist and slightly curved forward at the tips, and with a tufted tail, and may very probably be identified with the *oryx beisa* of East and North East Africa, which is said to have horns 44 or 48 inches long Mr W A Crabtree says that in Egypt an oryx is called maau hetch, the first part of which has a distant likeness to ma ha For ling yang Bretschneider suggests "broad tailed sheep" on the authority of *Pên ts'ao kang mu*, c 51, fol 27, and this is confirmed by the *I t'ung chih*.

The modern dictionary *Tz'ŭ yuan* says: "In Hsuan-tê (1426–1435) of the Ming the Pien-hsiu 許 彬 Hsu Lin presented to the Emperor a poem on the four beasts of good omen, ch'i-lin (giraffe), shih-tzŭ (lion), 福 祿 fu-lu (zebra), and 玄 虎 hsuan hu (black tiger)" [1]

The 一 統 志 *I t'ung chih*, dated 25 May, 1461, has the following passages in c 90 —

"忽 魯 謨 斯 國 Hu-lu-mu-ssŭ kuo (Hormuz) . . . Local products Large horses, calico (西 羊 布), lions, t'o chi (ostriches), they lift up their heads to a height of perhaps seven feet, 福 祿 fu-lu (zebras), like donkeys but with lovely variegated stripes, 麢 羊 ling yang, the larger tails weigh more than 20 catties, when they walk they use carts to carry their tails, 長 角 馬 哈 獸 long-horned ma-ha-shou, the horns are longer than the body "—fol 23vo

"祖 法 兒 國 Tsu-fa-êrh kuo (Djufar) Local products · Western horses, 鶴 頂 ho-ting (hornbill), t'o chi (ostrich), 福 祿 fu-lu (zebra) '—fol 25ro

Both these passages are reproduced in the 廣 輿 形 勝 *Kuang yu hsing shêng* (a MS geography of the seventeenth (?) century), but in the first the fu-lu is omitted and in the second it is written 福 鹿 fu-lu I have not found the giraffe in either of these books [2]

But *I yu ch'in shou t'u* fol 81o shows a pair of hornless broad tailed sheep (like the 大 尾 無 角 棉 羊 large tailed hornless sheep" of *Ying yai shêng lan*, fol 35vo) and calls them 阿 蓽 羊 A pi yang Ling variously written, comes several times in the accounts of foreign lands, and also in the ancient *Êrh ya* and *Shuo wên*, where it is defined as a large goat and it is drawn in the *Êrh ya t'u* with a pair of large slightly curved horns Cf also *Ling wai tai ta*, c 3, fol 4ro (胡 羊), and the parallel passage in *I yu t'u chih*, fol 36vo

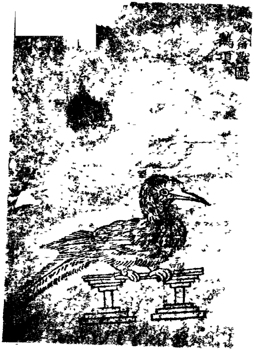
[1] There is no mention of Hsu's poem in his biography (*Ming shih*, c 168, fol 3) nor in any collection of Ming poetry available The *Tz'u yüan* says also, without quoting authority, that fu lu is sometimes written 福 俚 fu-li, and attributes the identification of ch'i lin with the giraffe to the Japanese. The 玄 豹 hsuan pao (black leopard) and 哈 剌 虎 剌 ha-la hu-la (*qara' qulaq*, "black ears," caracal) are shown in *I yü ch'in shou t'u*

[2] The description of the zebra (似 驢 而 花 文 可 愛) is quoted by Bretschneider (*Med Res*, 1910, ii, p 134) and by the *Tz'ŭ yüan*, the latter attributing it to the 清 *Ch'ing i t'ung chih*, in which I can find no mention of zebra or giraffe

The hornbill (*buceros galeatus*, or *calao rhinoceros*) was probably known in China long before it was known in Europe. It was called 鸏鷾 mêng-t'ung or, later, 鶴頂 ho-ting. From *K'ang-hsi* s v 鸏 and other sources the following notices have been collected The *Kuang yun* of the T'ang dynasty says "The mêng-t'ung is a bird The 交州志 *Chiao chou chih* by 劉欣期 Liu Hsin-ch'i says "The mêng-t'ung is a water bird from Chiu-chen and Chiao-chih, as large as a peacock, with a bill more than a foot long which the men of the south use to make drinking vessels " Rockhill (*T'oung pao*, 1915 p 139) writes "The 東西洋考 *Tung hsi yang k'ao* 1617 c 2 fol 11ro, says Crane's crests [ho-ting] are got from the *mêng-t'ung* an aquatic bird with a yellow bill over a foot long It is used by the people of the south to make wine cups According to the 華夷考 *Hua i k'ao* this product is obtained from a big sea crane The natives of the island kill it at night when nesting in the cliffs *K'ang hsi* quotes again the 竺眞羅浮山疏 *Chu chen lo fu shan shu* The meng-t'ung does not eat fish but only swallows leaves of trees The dung is like 薰陸香 hsun lu incense and is used as medicine for the treatment of various eruptions Another name is 鸏鵰 hsiang tiao referring to the great size so that it is vulgarly written *hsiang* instead of *meng* "] Another name is 鶴頂 ho-ting And the 丹鉛錄 *Tan yuan lu* 1554 "The mêng-t'ung is the ho-ting They commonly use [the bills] to make cups The *Ying yai sheng lan* fol 13vo under 舊港 Chiu hsiang says The local products are 隺頂烏 ho-ting wu (crane's head crows) The ho-ting wu is as large as a duck with black feathers long neck, and pointed bill The bone on the crown of the head (腦蓋骨) is more than an inch thick, red outside, and with the lustre of yellow wax inside, and is very much prized It (the bone or horn) is called 'crane's head', and can be made into clasps (?) for the sheaths of daggers and such things " The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*



3. Oryx or Ma-ha-shou
from the *I yu ch'in shou t'u*, fol. 6vo.



4. Hornbill or Ho-ting
(misprinted Ho-hsiang) from the *I yu ch'in shou t'u*,
fol. 1vo.

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mentions ho-ting under Chiu-hsiang (c 1, fol 12ro) and 阿魯 A-lu (c 2, fol 5ro) The *I t'ung chih*, c 90, mentions it under Borneo, Sumatra, and Djufar, and the *Ming shih* under Bengal (c 326, fol 4ro) and Malacca (c 325, fol 4vo), where it names both ho-ting and 金母 chin mu ho-ting. It is clear that ho-ting is used both for the bird and for its horn, and I do not know whether chin mu ho-ting is a variety of the bird or, perhaps, some gold-mounted ornament made of the horn The drawing here reproduced from *I yu ch'in shou t'u*, fol 1vo, shows the large bill and the horn, the conspicuous eye-lashes, longish neck and long tail, which are all characteristic of the hornbill

The passages about zebras and giraffes quoted above from the *Ming shih* and *I t'ung chih* are probably based on the following accounts from original works of the fifteenth century, or on some similar authority The *Ying yai shêng lan*, fol 35vo, 36ro, says of Aden "The local products are . 花福鹿 hua fu-lu (zebras), ch'ing hua po t'o chi (ostriches), and large-tailed hornless sheep (see note 7) The fu-lu is like a mule, with white body and white face Beginning on its forehead very fine black stripes decorate the whole body down to its four hoofs The fine stripes are like ruled lines as if they were painted The ch ing hua po t'o chi is just like the fu-lu. The two fore legs of the ch'i-lin (giraffe) are 9 feet high, the two hind legs about 6 feet high The head is raised, the neck is 16 feet long [The back] is high in front and low behind, men cannot ride it The head grows two short horns beside the ears [The ch i-lin has] a cow's tail and a deer's body The hoofs have three divisions, the mouth is wide and flat. It eats millet, beans, and buns The shih-tzŭ (lion) has a body shaped like a tiger, dark brown without stripes The head is large, the mouth broad, the tail pointed with much long black hair like a tassel The voice roars like thunder All the beasts when they see it (the lion) crouch down and dare not rise It is in fact king among the beasts" The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, c. 4, fol 6vo, says of the same place "The products

of the land are 黑色花驢 hei sê hua lu (donkeys variegated with black colour, zebras), t'o t'i chi (camel hoof fowls, ostriches), and chin ch'ien pao (cheetahs ?)" The *Hsi yang ch'ao kung tien lu*, c 3, fol 12vo, under Aden, says "There are twelve strange things among the articles of merchandise the 7th is called ch'i-lin (giraffe), the 8th is called shih-tzŭ (lion), the 9th is called 花福祿 hua fu-lu (zebra), the 10th is called chin ch'ien pao (cheetah ?), the 11th is called t'o chi (ostrich) There are animals there [Of one] the shape is like a mule, white body, white face, and black stripes The name is called hua fu-lu [Of another] the legs in front are nine feet high behind six feet high The hoofs have three divisions, flat mouth and long neck It stretches up its head to a height of 16 feet The fore part is raised, the back low there are two fleshy horns a cow's tail, and a deer's body The name is called ch'i-lin These feed on the five kinds of grain The *Ying yai shêng lan*, fol 43ro, says of Arabia or Mecca (天方 T'ien fang *Bait Allah*) "The local products are ch'i-lin (giraffes), shih-tzŭ (lions), t'o chi (ostriches) and the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, c 4, fol 10ro says "The products of the land are shih-tzŭ (lions), lo-t'o (camels), 祖刺法 tsu-la-fa (giraffes) Among their horses are some which are eight feet high and are named 天馬 t'ien ma (divine or supernatural, horses) their missions are frequently bringing presents of lions and ch'i-lin (giraffes)" The use of both tsu-la-fa and ch'i-lin for giraffe in this short passage is curious

The t'ien ma are, I suppose "Arab horses", or, more exactly, "flying" or "wild", rather than "divine", horses The *Shih chi*, c 123, fol 2ro says that in Ta-yuan (Fergana) there are "many good horses [These] horses sweat blood, their ancestors being descended from wild horses (天馬)" The *I t'ung chih*, c 90, fol 20ro, says that the products of T'ien-fang include "horses more than 8 feet high" In the *Ming shih*, c 7, fol 2ro, just after the mention of the second mission from Hormuz in 1415 we read that "the foreigners



5. Lion

from a drawing of the T'ang dynasty in the Stein Collection at the British Museum



6. Horse

illustrating the kingdom of Ku-li, from the *I yu t'u chih*, fol 15ro

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presented ch'i-lin (giraffes), 天馬 t'ien ma (Arab horses), and 神鹿 shên lu (tapirs)" In the *I t'ung chih*, c 90, fol 18vo, we find among the notable things at 西洋古里 Hsi yang ku-li (? Calicut) "Horses the kingdom has many fine (駿) horses which come from 西域 Hsi yu (Arabia)" The same remark is made of Ku-li in the *Tao i chih lueh*, 83 (*T'oung-pao*, 1915, p 455), and in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, c 3, fol 9ro, and the spirited drawing of a galloping horse which illustrates a more northern 骨利 Ku-li in the *I yu t'u chih*, fol 15ro, may fairly be taken as a portrait of a flying horse [1]

The *Hsi yang ch'ao kung tien lu*, c 3, fol 15ro, also mentions ch'i-lin, lions, ling yang, 多龍馬 to lung ma (? "many dragon horses"), ostriches, camels, mules, donkeys, etc, among the things to be found at Mecca The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, c 4, fol 8ro, says "The products [of Djufar] are tsu-la-fa (giraffes), chin ch'ien pao (cheetahs ?), t'o t'i chi (ostriches), " and earlier in the same chapter (fol 4vo) "The natural products [of Brawa] are ma-ha-shou (oryx), which is like the shê chang (? musk deer), hua fu-lu (zebra), which is like a 花驢 hua lu (variegated donkey), leopards, gazelles (?), and hsi niu (rhinoceros)"

The 實錄 *Shih lu*, or trustworthy records, of the Ming dynasty, very possibly contain many allusions to these foreign animals, but in limited time I have found only two mentions of giraffes and one or two of horses In the *T'ai Tsung shih lu*, c 93, fol 3ro, we read of what was apparently the first mission from Hormuz, that on 28 August, 1414, "they presented

[1] Cf Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, 1910, pp 265 sqq, "The Celestial Horse and others", *Ch'ien han shu*, c 6, fol 6ro, 8ro, c 61, fol 3ro, *Shan hai ching*, c 3, fol 10vo (where the t'ien ma actually flies), *Mission Segalen-de Voisins-Lartigue*, i, plate 41 (an early sculpture of a winged horse) Giles, loc cit., quotes without reference t vo lines of Li Po where the t'ien ma is said to have tiger stripes (虎文) on its back There was a temple of the t'ien ma (天馬祠) at Ning chou, *P'ei wên yün fu*, c 34*b*, fol. 23ro The great destrier which reached Khanbalig from Europe in 1342 was called t'ien ma, —Pelliot, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp 642, 643, 圭齋集 *Kuei chai chi*, c 1, fol 3 (天馬頌)

horses and local products (貢馬及方物)," and on fol. 8ro that on 20 September, 1414, "賽弗丁 Saifu-d-dīn king of Bengal sent envoys to present an address and to make offerings of ch'i-lin (giraffes) and famous horses.[1] On *mou-yin* (21 September) the Board of Ceremonies asked to be allowed to present an address of congratulation on the ch'i-lin." The request was not granted. In *Hsuan Tsung shih lu*, c. 105, fol. 1ro, it is noted under 14 September, 1433, that envoys came from Sumatra, Calicut, Cochin, Ceylon, Djufar, Aden, Cambay, Hormuz, Cail, and Mecca (the names of the king and of the envoy are given for each place) and "presented ch'i-lin (giraffes), elephants, and horses. The Emperor received them at the 奉天 Fêng-t'ien Gate.

胡濙 Hu Jung, President of the Board of Ceremonies for Nanking, considering that the ch'i-lin was a creature of good omen, collected all the ministers to offer congratulations. The Emperor said: 'It is not that I have any love for creatures from distant lands, but I think of the extreme sincerity with which these persons are come from far, and so my reception of them is no matter for congratulation.'" The imperfect copy of the *Shih lu* at Cambridge, written on thin paper, fills eighty-four large volumes, without index, table of contents, headings, or page numbers, so that search in it is laborious, but it is doubtful if it contains anywhere inventories or detailed descriptions of the articles of tribute.

The names which the Chinese gave to the giraffe and zebra in the fifteenth century or perhaps earlier are very interesting. They heard of and received the animals apparently through the Arabs, so that it is not surprising to find tsu-la (thirteenth century) or tsu-la fa, which is a transcription of the Arabic *zurāfa* (plural *zurāif*), giraffe. But the ch'i-lin, whatever animal it may have been originally, had been thought of for centuries as a half-fabulous beast of good omen which

[1] Professor Bevan kindly tells me that Saifu-d-dīn ruled Bengal, according to Indian chronology, 1409–11.

appeared supernaturally on such occasions as, for example, the birth of Confucius. Monsieur G. Ferrand has pointed out that the confident identification of the ch'i-lin with the giraffe in the fifteenth century is possibly due to the close resemblance between ch'i-lin (g'ji liĕn, *Karlgren*) and *gíri* or *géri*, the Somali name for the giraffe; the exact transcription being modified by the desire to use so familiar and propitious a name as ch'i-lin in place of some meaningless transliteration.[1]

In the same way the instinct for words of good omen seems to have given the zebra his name. Fu-lu, as it stands, means "deer of good fortune", or, in the more usual form, "good fortune and happiness," the first two of the well known set of four lucky words, 福 祿 壽 喜 fu lu shou hsi. But, as M. Ferrand has shown, fu-lu is also a good and yet, as in the case of ch'i-lin—gíri, not perfect transcription of *fár'o*, the Somali word for zebra. In the past fu-lu has been regarded as a transcription of the Arabic *fara'*, wild ass, and the addition of hua, "variegated" or "marked", seems to support the idea, as the Arabs having, it is said, no proper word for zebra would probably call it the "striped wild ass".[2] In the mean-

[1] G. Ferrand, *Journal Asiatique*, 1918, juillet-août, pp. 155–158. This is not the place to discuss the identification of the ancient ch'i-lin. But, on the one hand, it may be noticed that it had one soft pointed horn and a cow's tail, and the giraffe has a cow's tail and soft horns while "the northern races [those which would be known to the Chinese] are characterized by the large frontal horn of the bull" (*Enc. Brit.*, s.v. Giraffe); and on the other hand the combination ch'i-lin does not seem to be really ancient, coming once in the *Li chi* apparently, and not at all in the *Shuo wên*, A.D. 121, which defines ch'i and lin separately.

[2] G. Ferrand, *J.A.*, 1914, juillet-août, pp. 157–60. The Somali word is given in the forms *faro, farao far'o, faró, faru*. For fu-lu = *fara'* = wild ass, see Watters, *Essays on the Chinese Language*, 1889, p. 355, and Giles, *Dictionary*, 1892. M. Ferrand himself tells me that "striped *fara'*" is the Arabic for zebra given in the excellent French-Arabic dictionary of the Roman Catholic Fathers at Beyrouth, and that there is little or no authority for the use of the Arabic *zarad*, given by Badger and Dozy in their dictionaries, in the sense of zebra. It is obvious that the earlier Chinese name hua-lü, in its Cantonese form fa-lüu, serves both as a transliteration of *far'o* or *fara'* and as a descriptive name. Where the same term is used in the fifteenth century (pp. 256, 257 above) it is the descriptive sense that is predominant.

time fu-lu alone certainly meant zebra, and there is this word *fár'o*, the proper name of Burchell's zebra in its native land, which may well have been known to the Chinese, and it seems on the whole to be reasonable to suggest that fu-lu may represent both the Somali and the Arabic words (which the Chinese may have found it hard to distinguish), and that, as in the case of the giraffe, the Somali word (fu-lu alone) is used more often than the Arabic (hua fu lu) There was it seems, an important Somali colony on the coast of Arabia

To sum up, the ostrich was heard of in China in the second century before Christ and is often mentioned in later ages The zebra and giraffe may just possibly have been known in the early centuries of our era but do not seem to have been described clearly before the thirteenth century and even then the zebra has no name and an inaccurate description In the fifteenth century all three creatures are often mentioned and described The zebra in the *I wu ch'u shou t'u* is no doubt, not perfect, but it is recognizable as Grévy's or perhaps Burchell's zebra with no stripes on the tail but the giraffe shows no sign of the network of light-coloured lines on a dark ground which is so prominent a feature of the real giraffe,[1]

[1] The giraffe from Verbiest's *K'un yü t'u shuo* c A D 1673 in *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, ch'in shou (XIX) c 125 *hui k'ao* 3 fol 18vo 19ro is 25 feet high It is called 惡 那 西 約 O na hsi yüeh (*onager* ?) and is without spots But spots are conspicuous enough on this giraffe like lin from the inside of a bronze basin of the Han dynasty Cf *Senoku seisho* part 1 No 112 (麟鳳獸耳洗), 解說 p 63 in the reproductions of the collection of Baron Sumitomo, to whom I am much indebted I am obliged to Mr W P Yetts for very kind help in the preparation of this illustration



nor are these light lines and dark spots once mentioned in the various accounts of the animal which have been quoted. This may partly be explained by the fact that the giraffe of North-East Africa is said to be dark red and covered with an inconspicuous network of thin white lines

In the fifteenth century the giraffe is called by the Arabic name *zuráfa*, or, more often, by its native name, *girí*, in the Chinese dress of ch'i-lin, the ostrich is called "camel bird", which is said to be a translation of the usual Arabic or Persian name, and the zebra is called fu-lu, representing either the Arabic *fara'*, wild ass, or the Somali *fár'o*, zebra, exact transliteration sacrificed again for the sake of using Chinese words with a pleasant meaning [1]

[1] At the last moment I am indebted to Sir William Ridgeway and to his *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, 1905, pp 55-81, and his "The Differentiation of the three species of Zebras" in *Proceedings of the Zoological Soc of London* 1909 pp 547-63, for important notes on the zebra It seems that the zebra, though known to Herodotus and to the Romans, was unknown to modern Europe before the sixteenth century The *Chu fan chih* seems clearly to describe Burchell's zebra, the later books either Grevy's or Burchell's The first European description (in Pigafetta's *Report of the Kingdome of Congo* (1591), 1597, in Ridgeway, op cit, p 60) must be compared with the first Chinese account (p 251 above) "From the ridge of the chine downe towards the bellie, it is straked with rowes of three colours, blacke, white, and browne Bay, about the breadth of three fingers a peece, and so meet againe together in a circle, every rowe, with his owne colour "

The Authorship of the Nalodaya

By A S RAMANATHA AYYAR, B A, Trivandrum

NALŌDAYA, the short alliterative literary curio of four chapters, which is "confessedly a difficult work as much so as Persius is in Latin and Pindar in Greek", and which is a superb example of the ingenuity displayed "in the manipulation of varied forms of alliteration and elaborate tricks of style", was for a long time considered to be the work of that prince of Sanskrit poets, Kālidāsa, not because that there were any colophonian clues in the poem itself that could countenance such an attribution, but that the uncritical pandits of the orthodox set had opined that Kālidāsa alone could have been capable of the difficult feats of verbal gymnastics exhibited in every line of the *kāvya*, and had, as a salve to the literary conscience that perceived the incompatibility of such an artificial poem as the *Nalōdaya* emanating from the same hand as wrote the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Śākuntala*, invented the story that the poet was goaded on to its composition by the mischievous scepticism expressed by his friends as to his alliterative capacity But since the discovery by Professor Peterson of a manuscript of the *Nalōdaya* whose commentator, Rāmarsi (*c* A D 1600), had attributed the work to one Ravidēva,[1] scholars have been entertaining the view that this *kāvya* was the production of a certain Ravidēva, about whom no other biographical details were, however, available I shall here examine the question of the real authorship of the poem in the light of the information furnished by another commentary on the same work, which is available in manuscript in the Palace Library of H H the Maharaja of Travancore

[1] इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजमिश्ररामर्षिदाधीच्यविरचितायां रविदेवविरचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटीकायां यमकबोधिन्यां नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थ आश्वास. । (*JBAS*, Extra Number, 1887, p 337)

The *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya*, which has been published as No. 60 of the Bombay *Kāvyamālā*[1] Series, has the following prefatory verses —

अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गातशुगजरा जगती ।
भीषणमधिक कवय' सुवन्ति अन्य यदीयमधिकङ्कवय ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छाया. समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छाया: ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशोभाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य वसुधामवत काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवत: ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाद्यनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्य देवी च गिरा पुराणपरमाचार्यम ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्त परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तो दान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमयामेय निवसन्त विप्रसत्तमग्रामे यम ।
तिलक भूमावाकृर्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूमिभूमा वाङ्. ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवण शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रा तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

From this we learn that —

at the time when there reigned a king named Kulaśēkhara, of elephant gait in whose kingdom decrepitude and misery were unknown whose terrific battle-fields were glorified by poets as hovered over by wheeling flights of vultures, the fat soil of whose dominions yielded the most coveted harvests, while the trees provided the amplest shade (owing to their luxuriance) whose subjects were graceful-mannered, and whose land was a fitting receptacle of fame there lived a preceptor called Bhārata-guru[2] (who may also have had the

[1] The Editor of this work locates both the poet and his royal patron in Kashmir on the strength of the fact that manuscripts of the work are available in Northern India and that Rajānaka Ratnakantha, a northerner, has commented on it

[2] The *Keralolpatti* a legendary chronicle of Malabar (c seventeenth century A D) mentions that a Mahābhārata Bhattādiri and a Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭadiri were the contemporaries of Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ whose death (*svargārohanam*) it wrongly dates in the fourth century A D , as expressed by the chronogram *purudīsamasrayah*

other name of Paramēśvara ?), who was a *purāna-paramāchārya* or a professional expounder of the *Mahābhārata* stories, who was well-versed in the Vēdas, who was of a mild disposition, who was brimful of knowledge, who hailed from a brahman village (whose modern location is not determinable), who was considered as the forehead-mark of the world, who bestowed largesses and gifts of land to the needy, and who was always intent on perusing first-rate literary works To such an instructor with this string of attributes Vāsudēva apprenticed himself as a willing *śiṣya* and, with his mind steeped in the epic lore of the *Bhārata*, he composed this *Pārtha-kathā* or the *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* in the *yamaka* style, apprehensive the while of the world's ridicule

Again, the manuscript of another alliterative work called the *Tripura-dahana*, preserved in the same Palace Library, has the following introductory verses —

अस्ति स कविलोकनत. चितिभृदरिर्यस्य सैनिकविलोकनतः ।
बङ्गविपदि तुद्रवति च्माभृति कुर्वन् पदानि दिशु द्रवति ॥ ६ ॥
साधूना पाता य स्थिरव्रतो[1] यश्च पापिना पाताय ।
यस्मादुर्व्यापार प्रीति यस्यामल विदुर्व्यापारम् ॥ ७ ॥
स्वपदपयोजनते य सदैव सपादक श्रियो जनतेयम् ।
भूतिधर व्यालपति स्फुरत्कर राजशेखर व्यालपति ॥ ८ ।
रामसमत्वादेव स्रष्टा रामाख्यमकृत मत्वा देवः ।
य स च रचोऽपाय चक्रेऽस्य च कर्म जनितरचोपायम् ॥ ९ ॥
निजया तन्वा नेत्रप्रमोदन प्राणिना वितन्वानेऽत्र ।
मतिवलमासाद्य मित पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् ॥ १० ॥

These stanzas inform us that—

there ruled a king, who was bowed to by poets, the sight of whose army scattered his enemy kings, who was as steady in punishing the wicked as ready in succouring the

[1] Can *sthiravrata* have any implied reference to *Dṛḍhavrata*, the name of both the father and son of Kulaśēkhara-Ālvār, according to Vaishnava works ?

righteous, whose conduct was above calumny, who was extolled as the foremost of kings (*rāja-sekhara* Śiva [1]) in being wealthy (*bhūti-dhara* a smearer of ashes), in having proboscis like arms (*vyāla-pati-sphurat-karam* serpent-entwined arms) and in bestowing wealth upon the suppliants at his feet, who was considered as an incarnation of Rāma himself, in the sameness of his name with the hero of the *Rāmāyana* and in (the identity of purpose) *rakshōpāyam* (protection of his subjects danger to Rākshasas) In the reign of this king who was pleasing the eyes of his subjects, the *Tripura dahana* was composed by Ravibhū (son of Ravi) in the *yamaka* style

Nilakantha the Kēraliya commentator on this *yamaka-kāvya* has in the preamble of his gloss identified this Ravibhū (son of Ravi) [2] with Vāsudēva the author presumably, of the other work, the *Yudhisthira-vijaya* referred to above, and there seems to be nothing to militate against this identification, considering the special nature of the style of both the works which could only have sprung from the same author

The *Nalōdaya* which exhibits a maturer literary development in the fact that it has successfully tided over the more exacting restrictions of its quadruple alliterative scheme in each verse and which must therefore have been the work of an adept at this kind of composition from experience gained

[1] The use of the word *rāja sekhara* suggests some possible connexion with the king's name the nature of which cannot however be guessed If Rama was the son and successor of Kulasēkhara, who was himself the successor of Rajasekhara he may have naturally adopted his grand father's name

[2] (*a*) त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं
कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिधानः ।
निरुपमचरितेन स्वक्रमीशानसंज्ञं
नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥

(*b*) रविभुवा—रविर्नामास्य कवेः पिता ततो भवतीति रविभूः
तेन वासुदेवनाम्ना —Nilakantha's Commentary

in earlier attempts, also contains a similar colophonian prelude of five verses —

अस्ति स राजा नीते रामाख्यो यो गतीः परा जानीते ।
यस्य ररात्नानीते रत्नानि जन कुले धरा जानीते ॥ ५ ॥
यःसेनानावारिप्रकरनदीः शरमय धुनानावारि ।
अतरन्नानावारि व्यसनैर्यत्भुविवनस्य नानावारि ॥ ६ ॥
अपि यो दायादाय नयप्रदोर्हसि सता यदायादायः ।
करमादायादाय श्रियोब्धिरधिराजमसिगदायादायः ॥ ७ ॥
अविदूराजादित्या कृताल्पभेदैव भू मराजादित्या ।
येन मराजादित्या त्रिदिवात् सयुक्तशत्रुराजादित्या ॥ ८ ॥
खलसेनानावेद्य. स्वाहोर्ध्वौ भुवि च यस्य नानावेद्यः ।
स्निग्धजनानावेद्य प्रयतेऽस्य सुकाव्यविरचनानावेऽद्य ॥ ९ ॥

But the author, who has chosen to remain anonymous, has contented himself with the simple statement that, after informing his literary coterie of his projected undertaking, he has launched himself on the good ship of a literary composition to cross the sea of his own (worldly) sin He, however, mentions that –

the name of the king of his time was Rāma,[1] who was an adept in the science of polity, whose powerful army clove its way like a good ship, through the river-like armies of his enemies, whose kingdom produced precious stones, whose forests abounded in elephant herds, who as an overlord collected tribute from his vassals, who through being christened Rājāditya [2] (at the time of his coronation) resembled the heavens resplendent with the sun and moon, who had conquered all his enemies, etc

But in spite of the reticence of the poet, the style of the poem reveals the author's hand, and one is therefore justified

[1] अस्तीति—विरचितकाव्यस्थापनार्थं तदानीन्तननृपस्तुतिः क्रियते । स राजा रामाख्यः अस्ति । तत्कालापेक्षया वर्तमानव्यवहारः अथवा कालसामान्यवृत्तिरप्ययमेषोऽस्ति शब्दः

[2] राजादित्य इत्यमुष्याभिषेकप्रयुक्तनाम

in concluding that, as king Rāma who has been mentioned in the opening verses of the *Tripura-dahana* seems also to be the patron eulogized in the *Nalōdaya* and as the alliterative plan of this difficult, though comparatively short work could have been worked out only by a poet who had had special training in this species of composition the *Nalōdaya* must also be attributed to the poet who was responsible for the production of the other two *yamaka kāvyas* mentioned above Fortunately for the history of Literature this hypothesis receives confirmation from the final verse in a commentary on the *Nalodaya* where, in a style in significant imitation of that of the *kāvya* itself its author Visnu has stated that a poet named Ravitanubhū had composed the work —

रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्गतिशब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।
जनहासाय मितायाः धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥

Another copy of the same commentary adds a further sentence in which the author's name finds direct mention as Vāsudēva [1]

Thus it can be assumed that Vāsudēva was the real author of the *Nalōdaya*, and that neither a Kālidāsa nor a hypothetical Ravidēva [2] had anything to do with its composition A plausible explanation as to how the work came to be connected with the name of the latter may be that an ignorant scribe may have transcribed a Vāsudēva into a Ravidēva, or, as is more probable may have missed the medial two syllables of the full name of the author viz Ravi-[Vāsu]dēva, and combined the extremes together into a Ravidēva The *Yudhisthira vijaya* where the poet gives his own name and the name and fame of his preceptor in detail, before beginning his work with the diffidence of a maiden attempt as implied in the expression *jagad-upahāsāya* ', may perhaps

[1] इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थ परिच्छेद. ।

[2] The Triennial Report of the Madras Oriental Manus Library (1916–18) states that the author of No 115 *Raghūdaya* mentions a Ravidēva as a *yamaka* poet

indicate that it was his first work, and the ***Tripura-dahana*** and the *Nalōdaya* may have followed later, not only because they were composed in the reign of one king named Rāma, but also because the poet is less timorous about his achievements, "*matibalam-āsādya mitam*" of the former work being but a formal expression of humility, and that he begins his latest poem, the *Nalōdaya*, with an assurance to his friends that he intends accomplishing such and such a thing (*snigdhajanān āvedya prayate*)

I shall next consider the age when this poet Vāsudēva may have flourished, as a contemporary of kings named Kulaśēkhara and Rāma The last verse of the *Mukunda-mālā*,[1] a devotional poem by the Kērala king Kulaśēkhara, who has *universally* been identified with the Vaishnava saint of the same name in the South Indian hagiology, reads thus —

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

But the following alternative reading is found for the first half of this stanza in a Kērala manuscript[2] —

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम ।

and it has been explained by its Kēralīya commentator to

[1] (*a*) Printed in the *Kāvyamālā* Series, pt I

(*b*) Dr S Krishnasvami Ayyangar, M A, has adopted another reading, namely **मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपद्मशरावभूताम** । (p 35 of *Early History of Vaishnavism*), and has stated that the Kērala king had two friends "Dvijanmavara (best among brahmans) and Padmaśara (one whose arrow was the lotus, a name of the Indian god of Love, Kāma)"

(*c*) *The Brihat-stōtra-muktāhāra* (Poona Edition) has —

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ कविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपार्श्वचरावभूताम ।

[2] This manuscript was discovered by Mr S Paramesvara Ayyar, M A, B L, M R A S, of Trivandrum, *vide* his Malayalam article in the ***Bhāshā-pōshiṇī*** for 1917

the effect that a certain brahman named Ravi and a *vāriyan* [1] called, or having the title of, Lōkavīra were the intimates of the Kērala king This reading and its interpretation, found in the work of a local commentator, seem to be more reliable than the other known renderings of this verse, and we can postulate therefrom that the brahman Ravi, immortalized in these lines of Kulasēkhara was the father of the poet Vāsudēva, who has himself praised a king called Kulaśēkhara in his *Yudhisthira-vijaya* As the royal saint Kulaśēkhara [2] has been assigned to the first half of the ninth century A D, Vāsudēva must also belong to this time This period may, perhaps be considered too early for this artificial style of composition but it is just possible that an individual author had developed a special idiosyncrasy for alliteration even in that century

Vāsudēva's poetic attainments have in Malabar tradition, been attributed to divine intervention and the difficult style of alliteration which the poet has handled with such apparent ease and success has perhaps to account for the introduction of this supernatural element in his meagre biography It would appear [3] that Vāsudēva (Pattattu Vāsudēva Bhattādiri

[1] A *vāriyan* is an *anulomaja* the son of a Sūdra woman and a Nambudiri brahman

य ब्राह्मणस्तु शूद्राया कामादुत्पादयेत्सुतम ।
स पारयन्नेव शवस्तस्मात्पारशव स्मृत ॥

Manu smrti ix-178

[2] *Tamil Studies* p 310 and *History of Srivaishnavas* p 22 *Tamil-varalaru* also approximately fixes this date for Kulasēkhara

The following colophon is found in a commentary of the *Mēgha dūta* (Triv Pal Lib.)

कौमारिलाचार्यवरस्य नाम्ना वृत्तेन मूर्त्यापि च शङ्करस्य ।
शिष्येण सृष्टा परमेश्वरेण व्याख्येयमेना विमृशन्तु सन्तः ॥

and if this Paramēsvara was the same as the Bhārata guru, the preceptor of Vāsudeva (य परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्त.), the date of the latter may well have been the second half of the ninth century A D

[3] Govinda Pillai's *History of Malayalam Literature*, p 14, and *Trav State Manual*, iii, 427

of Perumanam in the Cochin State) was a dull-witted youth in his early days and was a butt of ridicule to the pupils of his master, a brahman-expounder of the Vēdas, under whom he had taken service as a menial One stormy evening the poor boy took shelter in the Śiva temple at Tiruvilakkāvu to escape not only the severity of the weather but the rain of blows and the storm of vituperation that awaited his home-coming that night In his troubled sleep he imagined that god Śiva took pity on him and gave him a bundle of faggots to warm himself with and a bunch of plantain fruit to feed on, and from that moment, it is said, the Muse's mantle fell on him, and the ugly raven of the previous night now stood metamorphosed into a full-fledged cuckoo The very first sentence that the new poet is reported to have uttered the next morning was couched in a pleasant pun, foreshadowing the future development of his alliterative genius! Two other works are attributed to a certain Kērala Vāsudēva, namely the *Bhramara-sandēśa*,[1] an erotic poem on the model of the *Megha-dūta* and the *Vāsudeva-vijaya*, a grammatical compilation on the story of Krishna's frolics, which was further on developed by Nārāyana-Bhattādiri of Mēlputtūr (A D 1600) in his *Dhātu-kāvya* [2] But there are no specific data to determine if these two Vāsudēvas were identical, although the grammatical *kāvya* may be considered to have been in the line of our author's genius

The question now arises as to whether the two royal names mentioned by the poet in his three works, namely Kulaśēkhara and Rāma, represent one and the same king or two different successive sovereigns As contended by some scholars,

[1] सन्देशोऽस्मिन् कथमपि गुरुश्रीपदाम्भोजयुगम-
ध्यानध्वस्तप्रबलतमसा वासुदेवेन बद्धा ।

Bhramara sandēśa

The following from *Gajēndra mōksha* may also be noted —

यस्य च भाजकरूपप्रसादतो विश्वविततविमलयशाः यमयामार
सुमेधाः कथासुधां वासुदेवकविः ।

[2] Published in pt x of the *Kāvyamālā*

Rāma may have been the personal name of the king who **received the** title of Kulaśēkhara at the time of his coronation, **but** in that case, Viṣṇu's comment that king Rāma was **crowned** with the name of Rājāditya cannot be accounted **for**. It cannot also be definitely asserted whether any implied significance has to be attached to the words "*sthira-vrata*" and "*rāja śēkhara*" in the description of the king's attributes in the prelude of the *Tripura dahana*. Kulaśēkhara and Rāma being quite common royal names in the West Coast, one has to build any theories on them with some caution, lest one should fall into the same error as Oppert who was hastily misled into assigning the *Tapatī samvarana*,[1] the work of an early Kērala king Kulaśēkhara to the "present Maharaja of Travancore."

In the following provisional list of Kērala kings of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., which can be accepted as a working hypothesis, namely: —

Names of kings	Approximate dates	Latest regnal year known
Rājaśēkhara [2]	800–825	12
Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār [3]	825–843	18 (tradition)
Sthāṇu Ravi [4]	870–900	17
Vijayarāgadēva [5]	900–935	
Indiśvaran Kodai [6]	955–971	16
Bhāskara Ravivarman [7]	978–1036	58

[1] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. i, p. 567 (Oppert, No. 1609).

[2] Was a contemporary of Śankara (A.D. 788–820), *Trav. Archl. Series*, vol. ii, p. 12. Can he not be identified with Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the contemporary of Sundaramūrtti Nāyanār?

[3] This *ālvār* has been generally assigned to the first half of the ninth century. The *Kēralolpatti* gives him a reign of eighteen years (*Trav. State Manual*, vol. i, p. 223).

[4] Sthāṇu Ravi was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Āditya I (A.D. 880–907), *SII*, vol. iii, p. 221.

[5] Vijayarāgadēva's daughter Princess Nīli figures in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A.D. 935, and he was himself the *Koyiladhikāri* or heir apparent in the time of the Kōttayam plates of his predecessor Sthāṇu Ravi in about A.D. 870–80.

[6] *Trav. Archl. Series*, vol. iii, p. 162.

[7] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 32.

we see one or two apparent gaps, but, in the present state of our knowlege of the Kērala history of those centuries, we cannot definitely assert whether any hitherto unknown kings will have to be located therein or whether the above-noted list is complete in itself If Kulaśēkhara had only a reign of eighteen years assigned to him in the *Guru-paramparās*, he cannot bridge over the gap of nearly half a century between Rājaśēkhara and Sthānu-Ravi, and then arises the necessity of considering Kulaśēkhara and Rāma as different kings and of locating them both in this interval In the famous Christian copper-plate charter of the time of Sthānu-Ravi a crown-prince of the Vēnādu dynasty named Rāman-Tiruvadi [1] is mentioned and a Vatteluttu inscription of the reign of a Ravi-Rāma [2] and another of a Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartin [3] dated in A D 1102 have been found, but it is rather hazardous to connect them with the patron of Vāsudēva

From the above we can only say that a Kērala poet called Vāsudēva, who lived in the first half of the ninth century A D as a contemporary of a king named Kulaśēkhara and his successor Rāma, was the author of the *yamaka-kāvyas*, the *Yudhisthira-vijaya*, the *Tripura-dahana* and the *Nalōdaya*—these three works constituting an achievement of which, in spite of its highly artificial workmanship, any literature may well be proud

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POSTSCRIPT

The manuscript of another *yamaka-kāvya* of six chapters called the *Sauri-kathōdaya*, describing the incidents of Krsna's life from his birth down to the conquest of Bānāsura, is available in the Palace Library at Trivandrum It contains

[1] Ibid, vol ii, p 80

[2] Tirukkadittānam record of Ravi-Rāma

[3] Quilon record of Kulaśēkhara-Chakravarti (*TAS*, vol v, p 44) and Tiruvālūr inscription of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāl (*TAS*, vol iv, p 144)

the following seven prefatory verses, which enable us to attribute its authorship to the same Vāsudēva as composed the *Yudhisthira-vijaya*, the *Tripura-dahana*, and the *Nalōdaya* —

> भवनतदेव देह पुस परमस्य सम्पदे वन्देऽहम ।
> य पदममुध्यन्ते यतयो यत्तत्वमुत्तम बुध्यन्ते ॥ १ ॥
> गोपततिं पूतनया यतो यत प्राप्यत चति पूतनया ।
> योधितदूर्वा भोग वपुश्च गोप्यो दृशा यदूर्वाभोगम् ॥ २ ॥
> यत्तगुरश्नलीला यज्जनने सम्पदार जननीला ।
> क्षतरथमाचिव्यस्तान यश्च कुरून व्यधित सव्यसाचिव्यस्तान् ॥ ३ ॥
> सगुणमाल व्यामन्नौमि च विद्यास्थिता यमालव्यासन् ।
> यो भृशमस्तव्यस्ता वेदगिरो विभजदागमव्यस्ता ॥ ४ ॥
> योऽजनि सत्यवतीत कलुषाश्लोक कलौ च सत्यवतीतः ।
> कथया भारत्यागामकृत च सप्राप्तभारत्यागाम ॥ ५ ॥
> जयति सुधामा राम क्षितिपाल काव्यवीरुधामाराम. ।
> दर्धाद्भमस्तकलीलामसेन बिभर्ति योयमस्तकलीलाम ॥ ६ ॥
> यस्यां मे यमितायां शौरिकथायां शुभप्रमेयमितायाम ।
> कहणालेश सन्त. कुर्वन्तु कवेर्बलाबले शसन्त. ॥ ७ ॥

The grounds on which this identity can be established are given below

1 Its alliterative structure is similar to that employed in the first two of the three works mentioned above

2 Its Kēraliya commentator Nīlakantha, to whom we are indebted for the useful tip in regard to the *Tripura-dahana* has equated the authorial pronoun *aham* in stanza (1) of the *Sauri-kathōdaya* with Vāsudēva —

> अहमिति कविरात्मान निर्दिशति, वासुदेवनामाऽहमित्यर्थ ।

3 Its author has, in verse (6) extracted above, eulogized a king named Rāma, who appears to be identical with the king of the same name panegyrized by poet Vāsudēva in the *Tripura-dahana* and the *Nalōdaya*, and whom the commentator Nilakantha has considered to have been the poet's contemporary and royal patron —

सम्प्रति स्वकृतकाव्यं गुणवदपि मत्सरग्रस्ततया केचिन्न गृह्णन्ति इति राजवल्लभतयापि स्वकृतकाव्यप्रचयसिद्ध्यर्थं तत्का ‍ ।
राजानं स्तौति राम' समाख्य. क्षितिपालो राजा जयति वीर्यशौर्यादिगुणशक्तितया सकलभूपालानतिशय्य वर्तत इत्यर्थ. ॥

4 The story proper begins, in this as in all the other three *kāvyas*, with the word *atha*, apparently to mark off the introductory portion from the main theme of the works in question —

अथ मृगराजद्विपिन प्रविश्य पाण्डुर्गिरि विराजद्विपिनम् ।
—*Yudhisthira-vijaya*,

अथ विजहारामेय तारकमुत्साद्य गिरिमहारामे यम ।
—*Tripura-dahana*,

अथ षट्सु कुमारेषु भ्रात्रा व्यापादितेषु सुकुमारेषु ।
— *Śauri-kathōdaya*,

अथ निजराज्यन्तेन प्राशास्ति नलेन शत्रुराज्यन्तेन । —*Nalōdaya*

The fact that the author has condensed the biographical details in the laconic pronoun *aham* in the *Sauri-kathōdaya* seems to suggest that, by the time of its composition, he had attained sufficient fame, or rather notoriety, as an alliterative poet and that this poem must have followed the *Tripura-dahana*

Thus all the above-mentioned four *yamaka-kāvyas* may be considered to have been composed, in this order of mention, by the Kēralīya poet Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, who lived in the courts of the Chēra king Kulaśēkhara and his successor Rāma, in the first half of the ninth century A D

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Notes on Harrian

By E BURROWS

HARRIAN is one of "the eight languages of Boghazkoi", that spoken in the eastern part of the Hittite Empire. The principal facts concerning Ḫarrian may be found in two articles by Dr Forrer in *Mitteilungen d deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 61, Dec, 1921, and in *Zeitschr d deutschen Morgenland-Gesellschaft*, 76, 1922, 171 ff The articles will be referred to as MDOG and ZDMG

I The Ḫarrian Goddess in Greek

1 An identification by W Leonhardt (*Hethiter u Amazonen*, Leipzig, 1911, p 239) of the "Hittite" goddess Ḫipa with Hippa of the Orphic Hymns 48 and 49 seems to have found no acceptance In fact it was difficult in 1911 Ḫipa was known only through a number of theophorous personal names, the forms being Ḫiba, Ḫeba Ḫipa, Ḫepa, and Ḫēpa[1] on the other hand Hippa of the Greek hymns seemed, as Leonhardt recognized, to appear in an inscription as Hipta For the rest, little was known of Hippa/Hipta, and less of Ḫipa But light has since been thrown on both terms of the proposed equation For Hipta see now the material in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll (1913), s v the Hippa of the Orphics is certainly the Hipta of *two* inscriptions from West Asia Minor, and of Proclus *in Tim*, ii 124 C, iii 171 F, var, who apparently read Hipta, not Hippa, in the hymns, and she is certainly a form of the great goddess As to "Ḫipa", it is now known from the Boghazkoi texts that Ḫe-PAT[2] was the regular name of the same great goddess in Ḫarrian (MDOG 39, ZDMG 195, No 43 f), and probably a recognized

[1] References in A Clay *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*

[2] This form had already been found in fragments published by Scheil in Chantre *Mission en Cappadoce* (1898), p 61, ii, 7, and by Sayce, *PSBA*. (1912), p 1037 ii 3 and 1 7, but the correct transcription was not yet known.

name also in purely Hittite circles (cf ZDMG 194, No 32). *PAT*, which in Assyrian has a value *be* has in the orthography of Boghazkoi always the value *b pad t*[1] Ḫe/ipat may well be the origin of *Ἴπτα* e g Ḫe ipat ~ Hipata > Hipta[2]

2 There are reasons for identifying Boghazkoi with the Pteria of Herodotus During the Empire the native name of Boghazkoi had been *Ḫattusas* How can *Pteria* be explained? It has been suggested that *ἡ Πτερία* is adjectival, and that the substantive was Ptara (cf Lycian Ptara Xanthos stele *a* 43), and Professor Ramsay conjectured (*Luke the Physician*, 215 etc) that Ptara contains the name of a goddess *Pta = the Greek Ipta (*sic*) which would occur also in the Pisidian place name Ptagia (The *-ra* in Ptara would presumably be the *ra* found in so many place-names in Asia Minor cf Kretschmer *Einleitung* 328 f) If there really was a goddess Pta important enough to give her name to Boghazkoi, was she not one with Ḫepat whom we now know as a form of the principal goddess in this very Boghazkoi and who appears probably in Greek as Hipta? Would Pta be a Lycianizing form or other local variant of the original Ḫepat? Perhaps rather Ḫepat lost initial *he* ~ *e* in the three place-names through composition with a suffix[3] Anyway the hypothesis of an *original* Pta agrees neither with the aspirate in the Greek tradition of Hipta nor with the new evidence for an original Ḫepat An original *Ḫepatara* < (goddess) Ḫepat would be exactly analogous to Tarkondara [Kretschmer, 328] < (god) Tarkhundas and from Ḫepatara it is possible to reach Hiptara > Iptara Ptara *ἡ Πτερία*

This derivation of Pteria would be satisfactory from an historical point of view After the fall of the Hittite dynasty and empire the capital would have lost its distinctively

[1] Forrer *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, I p 16 (vocalization with *i/e* also possible)

[2] *Ἴππα* seems according to Kern's art in Pauly to be corruption of *Ἴπτα*, but per se it could be a genuine variant since the cuneiform texts have both Ḫepat and Ḫepa

[3] Greek *he Pteria* could also be explained as false analysis of *Heptara*

Hittite name, Ḫattusas, and acquired one from the principal cult Probably the government fell to the priests of Ḫepat. Indeed, there is almost a proof that this happened The emperors at Ḫattusas were entitled T/Labarnas (*t/l* probably about = Welsh *ll*), which corresponds, as Professor Sayce pointed out in this *Journal*, 1924, p 254, to *καβαρνοι*, priests of Demeter in Hesychius It is, of course, with Demeter that Ḫepat would naturally be identified (Hipta is so identified, implicitly, in Orphic Hymn 49) I suggest, then, that successors to the Labarnas of Boghazkoi continued to rule after the fall of the empire as priests of Ḫepat in the old capital, which thus acquired her name That the great goddess of the Hittite empire survived under her distinctively *Ḫarrian* name is not at all improbable Soon after 1200 the peoples from Thrace largely supplanted the Hittite and "Kanisian" culture in the western and middle parts of the empire the peoples further east would be less affected. These were Ḫarrian Ḫarrians also would be the principal bearers of the Hittite tradition in the neo-Hittite empire of the people of the "hieroglyphs", which centred in the old Ḫarrian lands and their neighbourhood At this time, perhaps, when the Ḫarrian culture was prevailing over the strictly Hittite and the Kanisian, Ḫattusas acquired its new name, and the prestige of the Ḫarrian goddess extended westward with the new empire

3 The supreme goddess whose Ḫarrian name was Ḫepat has at Boghazkoi the regular title "Sun-goddess [^{D}UD] of Arinna" As such she is Lady of the Lands, Queen of Heaven, Lady of the Kings and Queens of Hatti, Light of the Land of Hatti, she who appoints the kings and queens etc (MDOG 39) The supreme goddess, then, was solar This is interesting and surprising In the classical theory the Anatolian goddess is primarily the Earth-Mother Perhaps the following conclusions are probable

(*a*) *The traditional view may be right in the main*, for the consort of the Great Goddess is Tesup, written with the

ideogram of the storm-god, ᴰ*IM*, and the Storm fertilizes the Earth, not the Sun

(*b*) *Yet* ᴰ*UD really proves that the goddess was solar in certain circles* It is not a title equivalent to "her majesty". The similar title used for the kings (also for Ištar, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeol* iii pl xxvi, ii, 13) is probably about equivalent to *his* (*her*) *majesty*, but in these cases the writing is different ᴰ*UD-SI*(= *ŠAMŠI*) Probably a word meaning "sun" was used for this, but the personal name of the goddess for ᴰ*UD*, just as Tesup was read for ᴰ*IM* Consequently ᴰ*UD* can only be an indication of the *nature* of the goddess, just as ᴰ*IM* represents the nature of the god [1]

(*c*) *The cult responsible for the solarizing of the goddess was probably the Hittite* The sun-goddess of Arinna is Kanisian according to Forrer in MDOG 39 on the other hand, she is hymned by this name in Hittite ZDMG 192, 1 to 4, the Hittite kings reign by her grace (*ut sup*), and the god-name and king name Telibinus may perhaps mean, in Hittite, son of the Sun-goddess] [2]

(*d*) *Hepat was not solar so far as we know* and the generally

[1] *Arinna* well (Schroeder *OLZ* 1917 228) or perhaps *lake* (cf *aruna* = *sea* Somer *OLZ* 1921 197) Pools are commonly connected with the Sun Cf the various ayūn-sems and the reference in the inscription of Pianḫi (I 102) to the present ain sems of Heliopolis where "Rʿ washes his face", which explains all ayūn sems, the Sun's face is seen in pools which thus, more than other places on earth seem to contain a presence of the Sun Arinna might be sought at Limnai Goljik, not far from Garsaura the old capital (Phreata in the same region- named from deep wells there according to a conjecture of Ramsay *Hist Geog*, 284—seems less suitable) The Arini of Eg Pd I may be elsewhere The name is likely to have been common Aranis on the road (Ptol, Ant) between Euphrates and Comana Capp might be considered

[2] Cf the third observation about the god, MDOG 39¹, it suits the references in the Yuzgat tablet Hitt *binu* = son It is therefore tempting to conjecture that *tel* = Sun Now ταλως = ὁ ἥλιος according to Hesychius, cf also Paus iii 20 4, ἄκρα τοῦ ταυγέτου, ταλετόν, sacred to the Sun (A Fick, *Vorgriech Ortsnamen* pp 90, 114) The Aegean language would thus be akin to Hittite "Son of the Sun" would be an entirely suitable name for the Hitt king named Telibinus

non-solar aspect of the Anatolian goddess in late times[1] would be partly explicable by the suggested supplanting, in the neo-Hittite period, of her peculiarly Hittite and Hittite-Kanisian cult by the Ḫarrian

II A Ḫarrian Source for Genesis

At Boghazkoi gods of Sumero-Babylonian origin were invoked by preference in the Ḫarrian language (Forrer, *Sitz d preuss Akad*, 1919, p 1036), it is therefore likely that Babylonian influences passed to Asia Minor largely by way of the Ḫarrian people, situated as they were between Babylonia and Asia Minor Similarly some Babylonian traditions may well have been conveyed to Palestine through Ḫarrian literature or tradition, for Ḫarrian culture certainly extended into Syria and probably into Palestine[2]

I suggest that the hypothesis explains the non-Babylonian elements in the Hebrew story of Noh, and especially the name Noh A Ḫarrian fragment of the Gilgames-epic (K Bo vi, 33) contains part of a dialogue between " Galgamišul " and a hero named, apparently, ᵈNa-aḫ-mu-ú(?)-li-el (iv, 6) In this dialogue Gilgames speaks of Siduri (i, 4) therefore probably it belongs to what we call the tenth tablet of the epic, and should be a dialogue between Gilgames and Utanapištim, therefore Naḫmolel will be the Ḫarrian name of the latter (probably a *translation* of one of his many names), and will be the long-sought original of Heb נח The final *-el* (cf Galgamišul, and *infra*) does not belong to the root, nor perhaps does the internal *-l-* (cf in Mitannic [= Ḫarrian, nearly], Bork, *MVAG* 14, pp 27 ff, 45) There remains

[1] Not excluding, however, traces of her solar character, cf Garstang, *Liverpool Annals*, vi 114 ff

[2] Cf e g the Eg name of the land Ḫꜣrw, the חרים, the ethnological evidence of the Jewish type, the evidence of the O T as to " Hittites " in Palestine, etc See A Ungnad, *Kulturfragen*, Hft 1, 7, Albright, *Journ Soc. Orient Research*, 1923, 5, etc

Nahmo, whence it is easy to derive *nahu* > *noh*[1] Or נח is simply the first syllable of Nahmolel the Hebrews were inclined to abbreviate -with the aid of popular etymology[2]— the long foreign names of the early patriarchs (cf some examples suggested in *Orientalia*, 7, 50 ff)

The principal feature of the Hebrew narrative concerning Noh that has no counterpart in Babylonia is the account of the origin of viticulture This would be unquestionably appropriate to a Ḫarrian source The annexed Blessing of Japhet refers, probably, to the neo-Hittite empire (cf Sayce, *JRAS* 1922 570) in which the Ḫarrians were a principal element Thus Ḫarrian authorship of the whole passage is as appropriate as possible

Another non Babylonian and probably Ḫarrian, element in the Hebrew Genesis is the account of the origin of metallurgy, specially of work in bronze and iron characteristic industries of the Ḫarrian neighbourhood

Another is the fascinating text of the Four Rivers As the obvious implication is that the four rivers are the four great rivers of the writer s world (Paradise being central) the two first should be the great rivers of the north-west and the north east comparable to the Tigris and the Euphrates, and rising near them, that is, the Halys and the Araxes[3] The old difficulty that Ḫawilah and Kus are not in the north — no longer exists if the researches of Professor Sayce into the onomastics of the neo-Hittites may be accepted in the main Ḫawilah might well be < Ḫalwi l adjective from the ethnic of the neo Hittites For the loss of the first *l* cf *JRAS* 1923,

[1] I omit qualifications of the *h* there is some uncertainty, I suppose, as to both the Ḫarrian *h* and the ח of נח (Νωε but Νωχος in Jos and the etymology in Gen v 29 suggests ح)

[2] Gen v 29 M T נח is explained by √ נחם *Possibly* this goes back to a time when the name was e g Nohem < Nahmo

[3] So already Chesney *Expedition to the Euphrates* i, 267 On our hypothesis Pišon and Gihon would be Hebraized forms of the unknown Ḫarrian names of these rivers (e g Pison a Hebraized Ḫarrian word for *red*, translating the contemporary Kanisian name, which is synonymous with the modern Kizil Irmak)

568, as neo-Hitt *Ḫalwi-wis* > Ḫarrian *Ḫuwa-wa*, so perhaps *Ḫalwi-lis* > *Ḫuwila* > חוילה [1] The land of כוש would be the homeland of the Kasian or Kusian people—towards the Caucasus (Koh-kas ?) and Caspian (Kas-pi)—who played such a prominent part in the neo-Hittite period (*JRAS* 1922, 549, etc)

A later narrative in Genesis which is probably partly of Ḫarrian origin is ch xiv It is exactly the kind of history that was cultivated at Boghazkoi (cf BoUT ii, 1, Nos 1–5, note the lists of kings), and the matter in this case would be specially interesting to the "Hittites" of Palestine and Jerusalem, i e the Ḫarrians The hypothesis will account in a general way for the corruption of the proper names, which would have passed through a non-Semitic medium, and in particular it at last accounts for the *l* in Amraphel *l* is undoubtedly a termination in Ḫarrian proper names Besides Galgamišul, Nahmolel (above), there are the well-known Mitrassil and Arunassil or Uruvanassel, Mitannic (Ḫarrian) forms of Indic gods [2] (perhaps also Gutian Šeḫel, *RA* xv, 1918, p 73, cf perhaps the Gutian king Sium) Doubtless אמרפל = Ḫarrian Am-mu-ra-pi-el or the like

A Ḫarrian source will explain the rite with bread and wine mentioned in this same chapter Such a *coena* has no obvious explanation from Canaanite religion, but it is absolutely characteristic of the "Syro-Hittite" cult See the material collected by Professor Sayce and by Mrs Grenfell in *PSBA* (1902, p 21, 1906, p 95, 1910, pp 177 ff, 253 ff, 268 ff, 1911, 259) Monuments and seals show that a characteristic rite in the Ḫarrian part of the old Hittite empire (introduced also into Egypt—obviously by way of Palestine—in *c* 18th

[1] The same word appears perhaps in κυβέλη (< Ḫub/wil- < Ḫalwil-) = the Halwian goddess, and in Halys, the river of the Halwian land, which land may be 'Αλύβη (< Halb/wi), Il ii, 857

[2] *KBo* i, 1, Rev 24 f, 55 f Cf also ᵈMitra-šu-ul = ᵈUD (*CT*, xxv, 25, 10). It is not necessary to discuss the significance of these terminations, the fact that they exist suffices.

dynasty) was a sacred meal in which two persons are seated on either side of a table, partaking of loaves and a chalice[1] One of the figures is sometimes a divinity—presumably represented by his priest, the other is the communicant (once or twice he seems to be going to or returning from war) The rite in which Melkisedek and Abraham figure is surely of identical type

A few generations later than that with which Gen xiv is concerned, the ruler of Jerusalem bore a distinctively Ḫarrian name, Pudu (?) Ḫepa (Amarna letters) Melkisedek may or may not have had a Semitic name, for the name may have been written e g LUGAL-ZID in the Ḫarrian document, if we suppose a *written* source

Oral tradition would suffice for the names Noh and Amraphel, but Gen iii, 11 ff, x 27, besides much of ch xiv, do seem to require written documents Probable indications of provenance and date the river-land of the Halys (if it so be), and this alone, is eulogized, therefore presumably the author belonged either to the old or to the new Hittite empire, his interest in Kaš—and in "Japhet"—suggest that he was north-Syrian of the new empire

[1] Apparently the cup is blessed in one representation It is worth noticing that the ritual at Boghazkoi included something like a blessing of bread and wine (ZDMG 190 etc) though the formula in these cases was Balaic not Harrian

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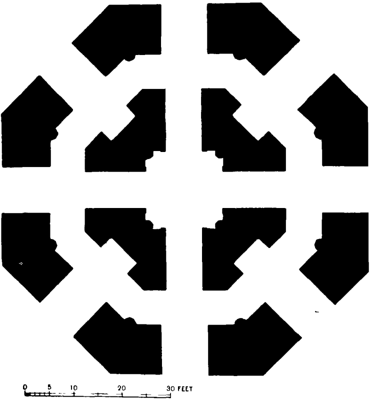
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE 雷峯塔 LEI FENG T'A

On opposite shores of the West Lake at Hang-chou there stood for nearly a thousand years two pagodas at whose ruins one might look with unwearied curiosity and delight, "the Pao shih like a girl, the Lei fêng like an aged monk" Li Liu-fang (*c* 1600) said less politely of the latter, "This is an old drunkard of ancient days" A note in *Hsi hu po yung*, c 2, fol 21, complains that the plan of the pagoda covers a wide area, while its body is short and stout, so that artists who wish to draw it cannot but be vexed And yet "the pagoda that from a distance seems made of huge water-jars, one upon the other" (*Alone in China*, p 276) would impress one by a certain beauty of outline and proportion as well as by the sheer grandeur of its size, by the colour of its blue-grey bricks burnt accidentally red outside, by the ingenious intricacy of its construction, the mystery of its interior, and by the memory of the pilgrims who have worshipped in it or worshipped it for a thousand years And any fault in the proportions is mended by the reflexion in the lake "My song need not soar high to light upon the topmost point Pray see, that is come down and shines in the heart of the lake"

"The Lei fêng t'a is on the southern hill A native named Lei lived on the site A princess of the Ch'ien family (the feudal lords of Wu and Yueh) built the pagoda here, so it is also named 黃妃 Huang fei (Princess Huang) Vulgarly it is also called 黃皮 Huang p'i t'a, by confusion of the sounds of the words, because they once planted huang p'i trees here"—*Lin an chih* (*c* 1274), c 82, fol 14v° Mao Ch'i-ling in his *Hsi ho shih hua* (in *Ching tz'ŭ ssŭ chih*, c 13, fol 12) laughs at both these derivations, saying that the hill was called 回 *hui* fêng, and that it was corrupted to *lei* fêng owing to the similarity of sound between hui (*yuâi*) and lei (*luâi*), and that huang *p'i* is a simple corruption of huang fei. Others say

that 雷 *lei* may have been a misprint for 靁 *hui*. The inscription by prince 錢 俶 Ch'ien Shu, which is preserved in books, says that the idea was to build it of thirteen stories, 1000 feet high. Money failing the design was reduced to



The *Lei Feng T'a* near Hang chou (horizontal section near the ground level)

seven stories, and before the work was finished the sooth-sayers had it stopped at five. The height by modern measurement was about 175 feet, the smaller diameter of the octagonal base 75 feet. One would like to meet the lady and the architect who designed this grand reliquary for a lock of Buddha's

hair The same inscription tells us that the pagoda was first named after its founder Huang fei, and that on the day when it was finished the *Hua yen* sūtra was engraved on slabs of stone round its eight sides Fragments of these slabs were found about twenty years ago and are kept in a temple near by (Maspero) From the *Hu shan pien lan*, c 7, fol 30v°, we learn that colossal statues of the sixteen Lohan in bronze gilt stood on the ground floor until they were moved to the Ching tz'ŭ monastery The outside galleries and stairs of timber were burnt (some say by Japanese raiders), and for centuries the pagoda has been a ruin, overgrown but not hidden by creepers, bushes, and trees (including famous peach trees), the home of kites, magpies, kestrels, and pigeons The date of the fire is not known, but Hsia Shih, whose memory must have gone back to 1420, says " long ago it was burnt to ashes " (久為劫灰 *Ch'ien t'ang hu shan shêng kai chi*, 1463, ed *Hsi hu chi lan*, fol 2v°) For the story of the White Snake, which is said to show that galleries and stairs existed in the sixteenth century, Julian Ralph's *Alone in China*, pp 245–77, should be consulted

At about half-past two o'clock on the still afternoon of 25 September, 1924, the pagoda sank into a shapeless mound of bricks Among the ruins all sorts of treasures are said to have been found My brother, George Moule, of Hang-chou, has sent me rubbings of two little drawings of Buddha, both dated *kuei-hai* (975), and so perhaps giving us the exact year when the building was finished One of these is soon to be reproduced in the *T'oung-pao* Many little Buddhist invocations were found rolled up in holes bored in the bricks I treasure, too, a piece of wood from the pagoda picked up long ago by my Father and made by him into a paper-knife

Authorities—臨安志 *Lin an chih*, 1274 (ed 1830), c 82, fol 14, 15, 湖山勝槩 *Hu shan shêng kai*, 1463 (ed. *Hsi hu chi lan*), 西湖遊覽志 *Hsi hu yu lan chih*, 1547 (ed. *Hsi hu chi lan*), c 3, fol. 11, 12, 湖山

便覽 *Hu shan pien lan*, 1765, ed. 1875, c 7, fol. 30, 31, 淨慈寺志 *Ching tz'ŭ ssŭ chih*, 1805 (ed *Wu lin chang ku ts'ung pien*), c. 13, fol. 15–19, etc, G E Moule, *Notes on Hangchow past and present*, 1907, pp 21, 48, Ed Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1916, p 140, H Maspero *BEFEO*, 1914, No 8, p. 22, Stan Julien, *Blanche et Bleue, ou les deux Couleuvres-Fées*, 1834, Julian Ralph, *Alone in China*, 1897, pp 245–77, S. I. Woodbridge, *The Mystery of the White Snake* 1896, etc *The China Journal*, 1924, has a good view of the pagoda facing p 540

A C MOULE

MISCELLANEOUS IRANIAN NOTES

There is an interesting passage in the Pazend text of the Mainyo-i-Khard in which the treatment of the wicked man by Âharman (Angra Mainyu) and the demons is described The Pazend text (chapter vii, verses 27 30) as transliterated by West runs as follows

"U hast dânâ ku pa sardi edum chuñ â i garmtum yah u vafra, u hast dânâ ku pa garmi edum chuñ â i garmtum u sôzhâtum âtash u hast dânâ kushā kharvastar êdum kharânmeñd chuñ sag astukhan u hast dânâ ku pa gañdaî êdum be rēzheñd u bē ofteñd This passage is translated by West as follows "And he is experienced in cold that is such as that of the coldest ice and snow and he is experienced in heat that is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire, and he is experienced that they cause the kharvastar to gnaw them, just as a dog does a skeleton, and he is experienced in stench that is such that they will scatter and will fall" If this passage be compared with the facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Mainyo-i-Khard edited by Andreas, based on the Copenhagen manuscript, it will be seen that in the Pahlavi each of these four verses begins with the words "U aitō zîvâk aigh", meaning "And there is a place such that", and that in the fourth verse the Pahlavi has "barā larzhend" (they stumble) instead of "bē rēzhend"

Both these mistakes seem to have originated from erroneous readings of the Pahlavi, the word "zîvâk" (place) having been wrongly read as "dânâk" (knowing)

The word translated "ice" by West, viz yah, is in his vocabulary connected with the modern Persian یخ and a Zend word isi The latter word is found in the Avestan text of the Vendidad (Fargard ix, verses 6, 7, and 9), but there does not seem to be any etymological connexion between it and the Pazend yah and the modern Persian یخ The prototype of both of these words is clearly the Avestan word aēikha, which occurs in the Avestan text of one of the Yashts (xxii, verse 25), and is translated by "snow" in the version made by Darmesteter (*S B E*, vol xxiii)

In chapter xxxvi of the Mainyo-i-Khard, in a graded list of heinous sins, the fifth is said to be "ke star râmîdârî shkaned", which West renders by "defeats the star influence", and a similar phrase (chapter xxxvii, verse 13), "starî râmed," is translated "advances astrology"

The facsimile of the Pahlavi text gives for the first of these two verses "mûn sator râmîdârîh tebaruned", and for the second "satorîh râmed" It is clear from the Sanskrit commentary that they mean respectively "He who breaks off the progress of an adoption" and "facilitates an adoption"

In the same list of sins (verse 27) the twenty-fourth is said to be "ke ô zan i kasâ shahôd", which West renders "who goes to the wife of others" The Pahlavi text here reads "mun zano-i kârân vazlûned", in which I venture to suggest that the word "zano" is not of Iranian origin, but borrowed from the Semitic compare the Arabic زنا meaning adultery The whole phrase will thus mean "Who frequents those who commit adultery", zano-i karan being a corruption of zinâkârân (modern Persian زناکاران)

In two consecutive verses of the Pazend text (chapter xxxix, verses 30–1) the curious phrase "ô cha ôi padîred" occurs The full text of the first of these verses is "u pa kâma i qesh ashahî ô cha ôi padîred", which is rendered by West as follows "And through his own desire for it also accepts piety" The Pahlavi text, according to the manuscript already cited, reads "U pavan nafshman kâm aharâyîh val chavarman makdarûned" which may be translated "And at his own wish accepts righteousness on his neck (i e as a yoke)" It seems plain that the scribe of the Pazend text failed to understand the rare Huzvaresh word "chavarman", or, as West in his later period would have read it, "chavarâ," which is derived from the Chaldee tsavvar (Hebrew צַוָּאר), and read the Pahlavi "val chavarman" as "val cha valman"

There are some curious cases of what is termed dittography in the Pahlavi manuscript of the Mainyo-i-Khard In chapter ii, verse 170, we find "pavan pavansukh" for "pavan pâsukh", i e in reply In chapter viii, verse 20, the word "râmâk", i e impeller, is written twice In chapter xiii, verse 14 the scribe wrote "Vishtâst" by error for the proper name, but at once detected his mistake and wrote "Vishtâspô" correctly The worst instance of dittography is in chapter xxxvii where the 27th verse is repeated in full Again at the beginning of the 28th verse of chapter xxxix the words "u râmeshnô" are repeated The only other instances which I have detected are in chapter lvii, verse 11, where the word "tishnakih" is unnecessarily duplicated, and chapter lviii, verse 7 in which the words "u tûbânkâr" have been written twice

In the fourth column of the Persian inscription at Behistun the phrase "hamahyâyâ tharda" occurs five times, and in the fragment surviving of the fifth column the word "thardam" is also to be found Tolman translates the phrase "in the same year", but King and Thompson render it by "always", taking "tharda" in the sense of "manner" Similarly in the fragment of the fifth column the word "thardam", which

stands alone as the only completely legible word in the third line, is translated by "manner" by King and Thompson, while Tolman boldly supplies "thritiyam" by conjecture as the preceding word and renders the two words "in the third year"

It seems to me that the literal sense of the phrase is "in the same way", and that Tolman's rendering leads to historical difficulties, as it is far from easy to believe that in each case where the phrase is used by Darius in column 4 he was referring to an incident which took place in the very same year as the incident which he had first mentioned Etymologically both interpretations are possible, as tharda may be either the Avestan saredha (Sanskrit शरद्), meaning a year, originally an autumn, a word of very common occurrence in the text of the Avesta, or it may be the similar Avestan word saredha (Sanskrit शर्ध), meaning sort or kind, the genitive case plural of which (saredhanãm) occurs in the second Fargard of the Vendidad (verses 27, 35, and 41) and the Farvardin Yasht (xiii, verse 12) The latter word is to be found in its Pazend and Pahlavi forms in the Mainyo-i-Khard, for in chapter xlii, verse 2, the question is asked "Mardum chand sarda hend" (How many kinds of men are there?), and the answer is given in verse 4, "Mardum se sarda hend" (Men are of three kinds), the corresponding Pahlavi verses being "Anshūtā chand sardakō homand" and "Martum taltā sardakō homand" respectively

In the inscription of Artaxerxes found at Hamadan, which is now in the British Museum, the name of a deity is twice mentioned along with the names of Auramazda and Mitra, the actual letters of which in the cuneiform script are A, N, H, and T This has been conjecturally supplied with vowels and read Anāhita If this be correct, the word may be connected with the modern Persian ناهيد, a synonym for the star Venus, and with the Avestan anāhita (undefiled) in the Avesta The positive form āhita (impure, filthy) has an

abstract noun corresponding with it, viz āhiti, which occurs twice in the sense of "defilement" in the Vendidad (Fargard xi, verses 9 and 12) It is connected with the modern Persian آهو in the sense of "fault defect" In connexion with the word آهو it may be mentioned that the Italian scholar Pizzi in his Antologia Firdusiana has twice made the strange mistake of confusing it with the other word آهو, meaning a gazelle For example he renders the hemistich

از آهو همین کش سپیدست موی (line 167 on page 97)

as follows ' E quantunque egli abbia i capelli bianchi delle gazzelle ' The real sense is simply, " His only fault is that he has white hair

In a short inscription of Darius at Persepolis the words "ardastāna atha(n)gaina occur, which are rendered by Tolman "stone window cornice , and in two inscriptions of Artaxerxes the words "atha(n)gainam" and "atha(n)ganam" also are to be found The word "athangaina" certainly seems to mean made of stone in all three passages, and it is tempting to connect the word with the modern Persian سنگ Tolman in his Ancient Persian Lexicon, supplies the link between the forms by quoting an Avestan word asenga, but I have been unable to trace any such form in the Avesta. An accusative form 'asānem occurs in the Bahram Yasht (verse 59), and this seems to be akin to the Vedic Sanskrit अश्मन The aphaeresis of short ' a " at the beginning of words is a very common phenomenon, an instance being furnished by the identity of ناهید with anāhita, mentioned above, and another common instance is the proper name Nūshīrvān, the king famous for his justice, whose name means " of immortal soul ", the first syllable corresponding

with the Avestan word "anaosha" (undying), which occu in the Mihir Yasht (verse 125).

There is a passage in the fourth column of the Behistu inscription, the full sense of which seems to have escap King and Thompson, and Tolman's rendering, though neare the original, is not quite accurate The text runs thus "Tuvam kā hya hya aparam imām dipi(m) patiparsahy ty manā kartam varnavatām thuvam mātya (duruj)iyāhy This is rendered by King and Thompson, "Whosoever sha read this inscription hereafter, let that which I have done b believed, thou shalt not hold it to be lies" A more correc version would be "O thou, whosoever shalt read th inscription hereafter, let that which has been done by m convince thee, beware of holding it to be lies" This brin out the exact sense of "varnavatām" and of "mātya"

R P DEWHURST, I C S (ret)

THE CONQUESTS OF NABONIDUS IN ARABIA

An entirely new episode in Babylonian history has bee discovered by Dougherty (*JAOS* xlii, 305–16) and Smit (*Babylonian Historical Texts*, esp pp 76 ff), namely, th conquest of Arabia by Nabonidus, last king of Babylon Th episode is the more interesting because it conflicts sharpl with the current view of Nabonidus's character, since th latter has generally been considered a peaceful and rathe pedantic monarch, quite without military tastes and immerse in archæological researches The basic sources are th Nabonidus Chronicle, col i, lines 16 ff, and the Ne Babylonian panegyric of Cyrus, published by Smith unde the title, *A Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus* In th Nabonidus Chronicle, col i, line 17, the land of Adummu mentioned, as correctly seen by Smith This Adummu not, however, Edom (Udumu), but the North Arabian pla of the name, long since identified with the Dumeth (Δουμεθα, Δουμαιθα) of Ptolemy (v, 18) and Arabic Dûme

el-Djendel, formerly the capital of the Djôf (Djôf es-Sirhân, cf. Juynboll, *Lex geog*, vol 1, p 416, *Enc of Islam*, p 1027a, etc) In the Old Testament the name appears as *Dûmah* (Gen xxv, 14, and perhaps Isa xx, 11, unless we are to read *Edôm* instead) Sennacherib mentions the place under the name *Adummatu* ("which is situated in the midst of the desert"), cf *Vord Schriftdenk*, vol 1, No 77, rev 25 ff Esarhaddon (Prism A-C ii, 55 ff Prism S iv, 2 ff) describes a campaign against Adumu the capital of Aribi (*âl dannûti mât Aribi*), and states explicitly that it had been conquered by his father Sennacherib The certain identity of Adummatu and Adumu makes it obvious that the Adummu of the West-land (*mât Amurri*) belongs with them and not with Edom, as thought by Smith The mention of the town of *SIN-di-ni* in this connexion is intriguing but the reading is not certain, and *Ruqdini* perhaps even *Naqdini*, are possibilities

The identification of Adummu with Adumu-Adummatu is the clinching proof of the identity of Têmâ and Teimâ in Arabia also stated in the Cyrus Panegyric col ii line 23, to be in the West-land (*quth Amurri*), since the two places are only about four days journey apart according to Idrîsî, the former being on the road to the latter The conquest of Adummu was therefore the necessary prerequisite to a campaign against Têmâ

Why did Nabonidus conquer Têmâ and make it his residence? While we cannot answer this question directly, a suggestion may be made As is recognized by all supporters of the "short" Arabian chronology, it is precisely in the sixth century that the great expansion of the Minaean commercial "empire" took place This expansion naturally brought great wealth to Arabia and the northern caravan centres, like Adummu and Têmâ participated fully in the ensuing prosperity The great building operations of Nabonidus, which seem to have been carried on simultaneously in most of the older Babylonian cities, brought with them a constant demand for funds, which must have been a heavy drain on the

weakened empire We may very reasonably ascribe the Arabian campaign of Nabonidus to his desire to control the lucrative trade routes from Southern Arabia His prolonged residence in Têmâ afterwards may have been due to the attractions of the climate, which was much more equable than that of Babylonia

The *Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus* is a very important addition to our Babylonian literary stock, but it can hardly be used to prove that the traditional madness of Nebuchadrezzar originally belonged to Nabonidus, as thought by Smith (cf p 46) Col i, 17 [ ] *ittekiršu šêdu* means "the protecting genius was hostile to him", hardly "an evil demon altered him A few additional observations on this text may be given in this connexion In line 28 of the same column *abûbu* means "dragon", just as in the Eighth Campaign of Sargon, lines 373, 9, the base of the statue of Sin erected by Nabonidus was adorned with reliefs of dragons and wild bulls Col ii, 2–3, should be corrected to *lâ iptiqû Ea-mummu, ul idî zikirsu-ma* (!) *šût Anim-adapa(d)*, "They have not fashioned Ea-mummu (= Ea-šarru, Ea rubû, cf *JBL* xxxix, 145), the name of Anu the *adapa(d)* is not known" Line 6 may be translated, "I shall make (it) like *E-KUR*-(?) and E-kur In line 14, *agurru* should be *iddû*, but the translation is correct Col v, 16, should be rendered, 'The (divine) plans of Esagila, the plans which Ea-mummu made"

W F ALBRIGHT

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES

ESARHADDON CHRONICLE, Obv 5

It has been stated that "the finding of a reference to an eclipse in the signs read *U-šu KU-KU-ur-ru* will appear as hazardous"[1] In no case can the reference be to an eclipse, for no eclipse was visible in Babylonia in Teshri of the year 680–679 B C, and no such reference has been

[1] *JRAS*, January, 1925, p 166

found.[1] *KU-KU-ur-ru*, if more than a typographical slip, is an error. *ur-ru* is certainly not a phonetic complement of the ideogram, as is clearly proved by text No 6 in Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of Pierpont Morgan*, vol iv. That text is a ritual to be used in case of an eclipse of the moon Lines 31 foll read "On the next (lit second) day, before the sun rises open the gates which you sealed, bring in[2] an *urigallu*,[3] a *kusurru* wrap a white and a black stole, throw [them] into the river Perform the anointing of all the gods' houses, and of E TUR NI NNA Sin's house *dSin KU KU (karpatu)a qub-ba uk-tan-nu*" This passage further proves that KU. KU is the ideogram of a verb which can be predicated of the moon, it is therefore justifiable in Esarhaddon Chronicle to assume that *U-šu* is to be read *šamšu(šu)* We then have *samsu KU KU ur-ru* "the sun the light" Only two Akkadian verbs are given in the syllabaries as equivalents of KU KU which can fit this passage, namely *sakapu sa salali*, "to overcast in the sense to darken," and *salālu* "to darken"[4] "The sun darkened the light" must refer to an astronomical phenomenon not an eclipse, as has been seen Similarly the ritual mentioned states that "[If][5] the moon be darkened holy-water pots are to be set forth", that is if the moon be not visible before daybreak on the morning after an eclipse of the moon, certain rites are to be undertaken and certain incantations recited To consider this interpretation 'hazardous' seems an excess of doubt

Esarhaddon and the Babylonians

In the third year of this king's reign (678–677) a very thorough restoration of Babylon was undertaken, necessitated

[1] See my *Babylonian Historical Texts* p 16

[2] *tušerab(rab) ma*

[3] Reading *(ganu) urigallu*

[4] *CT* xxxv, 4, 38 Not as is erroneously given in the same number of this *Journal* p 168 *sulalu*, darkness, nor can I see any proof that *uddatu* 'calamity' must be read there KU KU is frequently used in the Medical Texts in the same way as SE BAR *uttatu*

[5] For the omission of the conjunction cf *KAR*, No 58, 19, and similar passages.

by the sack of that city in the time of his father, Sennacherib. The restoration was pushed on with considerable energy, and was completed in the year 668 Throughout Esarhaddon's reign Babylonia enjoyed peace, though three individuals (two, be it noted, Chaldaean tribesmen, not Babylonians, while the third was an official not likely to be loved by the people) suffered capital punishment, presumably for offences against the administration. No rebellion against the Assyrians occurred , gods carried into captivity in Elam from Agade in 694 were restored to their own city in 672–671, and other gods returned to Dēr and Sippar-Aruru in 680–679 To describe Esarhaddon as " an arch-enemy of Babylonians " [1] is therefore incorrect, and contrary to the statements to be found in any modern history Nor would the Babylonian chroniclers consider the foreign wars noted in the Babylonian and Esarhaddon Chronicles " disasters " [2]

Sarīnu [3]

The argument which interprets *sarīnu* as an object of a horn or crescent shape is said to be " based on a perilous footing . the Sumerian *za-rin* (shining stone ?) which is rendered by *sarinu*, *sarinnu*, *gur*(?)-*nu* seems to indicate that *sarinu* is a loan-word " [4] The argument in question was based on the examination of several instances in which the word occurs The most vital instance in examining the possibility that it is derived from a (hypothetical) Sumerian *ZA RIN* in which the element *ZA* would necessarily mean " stone ", is quoted. It is to be found in V R , plate xxvii, No 1, *a*, *b*, a list of objects and substances of clay, copper, etc Lines 18, 19 read .

URUDU ZA RI[5] IN	ŠU-nu, i e sarīnu(nu)
URUDU ZA RI[5] IN	k(g)ur-nu.

[1] As is done in the same number of this *Journal*, p 166

[2] Ibid

[3] The vowel quantities are settled by Thureau Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 75, 8

[4] The same number of this *Journal*, p 167

[5] Read  for 

The determinative URUDU, *eru*, leaves no doubt that the *sarinu*, which might also be called *k(g)urnu*, was made, or could be made of copper. How the word then can be associated with ZA, 'stone' is not easy to see. Even the phrase 5 *šappi hurasi sa sarīnu abni raksu*,[1] "five gold vases inlaid with *sarīnu* of stone" should warn us that a *sarīnu* need not necessarily be made of stone and certainly does not of itself mean some kind of stone. A *sarinu* might be made of copper or of stone; a particular kind of brick was described as *sarinu*,[2] but the Akkadian *libittu* can only mean a clay brick, whether baked or sun-dried, from its derivation,[3] and not a stone block. No instance of a clay brick inlaid with stone is known, and the only natural interpretation is that the *sarinu* was a distinctive mark on the brick. *sarinu* is also used of certain cloth stuffs,[4] where, again, it must designate some mark or pattern. The only marks found on bricks which at all resemble inlaid stone work or patterns on cloth known to us are crescents. Turning to the synonym *k(q)urnu*, the object was certainly of copper, and can have nothing to do with any word meaning 'shining stone'; the confusion of short *a* and short *u* is a commonplace in cuneiform writing, and was probably as characteristic of ancient speech in Babylonia and Assyria as it is of modern local dialect in Iraq and Syria. To assume that *(eru) kurnu* = *(eru) karnu* "a copper horn," accords with the investigation of *sarīnu* and gives an excellent sense without the supposition of an unknown root גרן. As to the derivation of *sarinu* no argument can be drawn from the fact that ZA RI IN appears in the 'Sumerian' column of the syllabaries or lists, since Semitic words, more especially in the status indeterminatus, frequently appear in the form of pseudo-ideograms. The form ZA RIN is merely a variant of ZA RI IN, and supports the belief that it is a pseudo-ideogram, not a Sumerian word. Nor can the fact that a

[1] *Rituels Accadiens*, loc. cit.
[2] *RA* xvii, 208.
[3] *labanu* "Ziegel streichen."
[4] *RA* xvii, 208.

proposed [1] derivation from the Arabic صبر is impossible be held to disprove the possibility, or rather the probability, of a Semitic derivation, in view of the Semitic noun-form. Whether there is any counterpart in Akkadian of the Greek ἀρσενικόν [2] or not is a question which cannot affect the consideration of the ornament called *sarinu* in the head-dress of the statue of Shamash, or are we to believe that arsenic was considered decorative?

If the above argument is to be described as "perilous", the proposed Sumerian derivation of an object which might be made of stone or copper, and is used to describe certain kinds of brick and cloth, is certainly more so

NABONIDUS CHRONICLE, III, 26

ina šutibbu ušbinimma, lit "they sat in good living", is said to "defy interpretation" [3] I regret that a slight deviation from the baldness of literal translation has misled at least one reader *ušbinimma* is, of course, from *ašabu*, not *šebū* But why does *šutibbu* for *šutubu* offer "insurmountable difficulties"? The scribes often write *i* for *u* [4], and to pretend that variations of this kind from a normal form require justification in cuneiform writing would be as sensible as to find rules for the vagaries of spelling to be found in the printed works of even some of the learned at the present time

SIDNEY SMITH

BYZANTINE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE NINTH CENTURY

The Arab historian Al-Mas'ûdî (d c 956) has an interesting passage on Byzantine musical instruments in his *Murûj al-Dhahab* that seems worthy of attention The passage is

[1] *VAB* IV, 264

[2] A word of pure Greek root, it is highly unlikely that it was introduced into Babylonia or any neighbouring country until after Alexander's conquest

[3] The same number of this *Journal*, p 168

[4] e g the word *kuruppu* discussed in the same number of this *Journal*, p 167, is also written *kirupu*

actually a citation from Ibn Khurdâdhbih, who gave an oration on music before Khalif Al-Mu'tamid (870–93) Ibn Khurdâdhbih was one of the "boon companions" of this ruler, and had some reputation as an authority on music He had been instructed in music and *belles lettres* by the famous Ishâq al-Mausili, and was the author of two books on music—a *Kitâb adab al samâ'* ("Book of Liberal Education in Music") and a *Kitâb al-lahw wa l-malâhî* ("Book of Diversion and Musical Instruments") [1] What competency he possessed to speak of the music of the Byzantines we know not His travels may have taken him into the lands of the *Rûm*, although he depends on the authority of a certain Muslim al-Harâmi for his information concerning these lands in his *Kitâb al-masâlik wa l-mamâlik* [2] At the same time he had personal information from Muhammad ibn Mûsâ ibn Shâkir, and the Banû Mûsâ were well versed in the Greek arts and sciences, including music [3]

He certainly begins his reference to the Byzantines in Al-Mas'ûdî by quoting a certain Fandurûs al-Rûmî on the affinity between the strings (of the lute) and the "temperaments" but whether this is the same authority as for the succeeding paragraph on instruments, or whether it is based on independent observation, we have no guide

The Ibn Khurdâdhbih quotation is admittedly corrupt in several places [4] and in view of this, I take the liberty to suggest two alterations (1) the changing of the word *salbân* (سلبان) to *salbâq* (سلباق), and (2) the transposing of the words "And it (the word) is interpreted as meaning—'a thousand voices'' (وتفسيره الف صوت), from their

[1] *Al Fihrist*, 149 The last named work has survived, but unfortunately in a private collection that of Habib Afandi al Zavvât of Alexandria, Egypt (*Al-Hilâl*, xxviii, 214), and despite inquiries, I have been unable to obtain the slightest information concerning its contents

[2] *Jour Asiat*, Mai Juin, 1865, p 474

[3] *Al-Mashriq*, xvi, 444 *Al Fihrist*, 27, Ibn Khallikan, ii, 315

[4] De Meynard in *Prairies d'or*, viii, 417–19

present position referring to the *salbân* (? *salbâq*), to their seemingly proper location in reference to the *arghanun* (ارغن) The passage would then read as follows — ,

وللروم من الملاهى الارغن و عليه ستـه عشر وتراً
وله صوت بـعـيـد المذهب وهو من صنعة اليونانيين
والسلباق وله اربعة وعشرون وتراً ولهم اللورا وهى الرباب
وهى من خشب ولها خمسة اوتار ولهم القيثـاره ولها اثنى
عشر وتراً ولهم الصلنج وهو من جلود العجاجيل وكل
هذه معازف مختلفة الصنعة ولهم الارغن وهو ذو
منافخ من الجلود والحديد وتفسيره الف صوت

"Among the musical instruments of the Byzantines are the *arghan* which has sixteen strings, with a wide compass, and it is of ancient Greek origin, the *salbâq*, which has twenty-four strings, the *lûrâ* which is the *rabâb*, and it is made of wood and has five strings, the *qîthâra*, which has twelve strings, and the *salinj*, which is made of calves' skins All these are stringed instruments of diverse structure And to them (the Byzantines) also, is the *arghanun*, which is possessed of bellows made of skins and iron, and it (the word) is interpreted as meaning—'a thousand voices'" [1]

De Meynard's word *salbân*, which he equates with *kilio-phone* (and he even hazards *sîlbân* = ξυλοφώνη), is certainly an error The Ikhwân al-Safâ (*Cairo Edition*, 127) have شلباق, (*Bombay Edition*, i, 97) سلباب, and Dieterici (*Propaedeutik der Araber*, 117) has *shilbaq* Ibn Sînâ in *Al-*

[1] *Prairies d'or*, viii, 91-2.

Shifâ (*India Office*, No 1811, fol 173) has شلتاق and a marginal سلباق, (*Bodleian*, No ccclxxvi, fol 192) شلباق, (*Bodleian*, No ccccxxxvi, fol 92 v) سلباق Ibn Rusta (*Bibl Geog Arab*, vii, 123) has حلباق Al-Khwârizmî (*Mafâtîh al-'Ulûm*, 236) has شلياق and سلياق The Syrian Îshoʻ bar Bahlûl (Payne, *Thesaur Syr*) has شلباق[1] It would seem therefore, that we ought to accept the final ق in the place of the ن, but whether we can be sure of a ب or ي is rather doubtful Since the word equates with the Greek σαμβύκη, I have favoured the ب, but, on the other hand, the word which stood for the constellation *lyra* in Arabian astronomy appeared in Mediaeval Latin as *sollaca* (= *salyâq*)[2]

As for the transposition, the words can scarcely refer to an instrument of the portable harp family like the *salbâq* What has emboldened me to make the change is a passage in the *Burhân-i-Qâti*, furnished me by Dr T H Weir, where under ارغنون we read –

"Others say that when a *thousand* men, old and young, all together, with different sounds, sing to one another something, that state of things they call *arghanûm*"

The tremendous sound of the *organ*, more especially the

[1] Dozy, Freytag, Vullers, and Lane use a ش

[2] *Libros del saber de Astronomia del Rey D Alfonso X de Castille* (Madrid, 1863 seq.), 13, *suluaca*, 31.

hydraulis type, had evidently led to the term "*thousand voices*" being attached to it [1] It was a frightsome thing to hear, so the Ikhwân al-Safâ assure us,[2] and for that reason the Byzantines used it in time of war to disconcert the enemy, for its "voice" could be heard sixty miles, as the *Fihrist* tells us [3] No wonder that an Arabic author in a twelfth century MS nicknamed it "The capacious mouth with the striking voice" [4]

Ibn Khurdâdhbih is dealing apparently with contemporary musical instruments of Byzantium, and we can recognize the following *Arghan* = ὄργανον πολύχορδον, *salbâq* = σαμβύκη, *lûrâ* = λύρα (= *rabâb*), *qîthâra* = κιθάρα; *salinj* = ψάλτιγζ or ψάλτινζ, and *arghanun* = ὄργανον πνευματικόν. In the following century we know from Al-Khwârizmî (Abû 'Abdallah) how to recognize these instruments even closer still The *urghânûn* is the mechanical wind-fed instrument, the *salbâq* (*shalyâq*) resembles the *junk* (جنك), the *lûr* is the *sanj* (صنج), and the *qîtâra* resembles the *tunbûr* (طنبور) [5]

From the Ibn Khurdâdhbih passage it would appear that the Arabs made a phonetic distinction between the word *arghan* which stood for "an instrument of many strings", and the word *arghanun* which meant "a mechanical wind-fed instrument", although, generally speaking, the words *arghan*,

[1] It occurs to me that the two millennium old controversy concerning the organ called *magrepha* in the *Talmud* ('*Arakin*, II, *Sukka*, V) might be settled by the recognition of this nickname for the organ

[2] Ikhwan al Safa (Bombay Ed), I, 92

[3] *Al Fihrist*, I, 270

[4] *Al Mashriq*, IX, 21

[5] Al Khwarizmi, *Mafâtîh al 'Ulûm*, 236 Professor E Wiedemann (*Beitraege zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, LXVI, *Sitzungsberichte der physikalisch-medizinischen Societaet in Erlangen*, LIV) writes *qîtâra* instead of *qîtâra* The form does not occur in Van Vloten's edition of the *Mafâtîh al-'Ulûm*, but see Villoteau, *Description historique . . . des instruments de musique des orientaux*, 919

urghan, *warghan*, *arghanun*, *arghanûn*, *urghânûn*, *arghanîn*, *urqanâ*, *ar'an* (?), were applied to the latter instrument[1]

The passage certainly bears out this point, that the Byzantines still followed the "ancients" (Plato, *Repub* 399c) in using the term ὄργανον for "an instrument of many strings" as well as for "a mechanical wind fed instrument"[2]

HENRY GEORGE FARMER

ONCE AGAIN ON SINA "CEREBRALS"

The debt I owe to Dr Grahame Bailey for many instances of kindness is too heavy to allow me to find pleasure in controversy with him, but regard for scientific accuracy compels me to reply to his note on the above subject on pp 86 ff of the *Journal* for the present year It is evident that in my previous note I did not make my meaning sufficiently clear, for what I considered the most important point of all—the meaning of the word "cerebral" he looks upon as a minor matter[3] On this point alone depends the solution of our mutual difficulty There are certain sounds existing in the Sinā language I say that they are alveolar or post-alveolar He says that they are cerebral The foundation of his argument is (*Journal*, 1924 p 136) that the proper point of articulation of a cerebral sound is *anywhere* on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge I maintain (ib p 658) that the point of articula-

[1] No Arabic form of the word *organ* is given by Dozy, but the above forms may be found in Ikhwan al Safa loc cit, Al Khwarizmi, op cit, 226, Ibn Sina loc cit, Fakhr al Din al Razi Brit Mus, Or 2972, fol 154 v, *Kitab al Aghani* ix 95 *Burhan i Qati* sub voce, *Bibl Geog Arab*, loc cit, *Al Mashriq* ix 18 Ibn Ghaibi *Bodl Lib*, No 1842 fol 77, *Notices et Extraits* xxxviii, 30, 38, *Glos Lat Arab*, 357, 563, Walton's *Poly Bibl* Psalm cl

[2] In the eleventh century *Glossarium Latino Arabicum*, edited by Seybold, the term *organica* equates with "possessed of many strings" (ذو اوتار كثيرة), which reminds us of Plato's phrase For a corresponding usage in Western Europe see Boethius, *De musica*, i, 34, and the *Mon Germ Hist*, ii, 101

[3] On p. 90, he says ' the inquiries as to the meaning of 'cerebral' and the exact place of articulation are so subordinate as to be almost irrelevant ".

tion of such a sound is on or about the highest part of the mouth cavity, the producing organ being the tip of the tongue rolled back Two more mutually inconsistent definitions can hardly be imagined Half the heresies, whether in religion or science, have been caused by the loose employment of words, and for this reason I urge that the dispute be finally settled one way or the other, and that the meaning of the word "cerebral" be accurately and definitely put on record

In my former note, to save space, I confined myself to one particular Ṣinā sound, which Dr Bailey indicates by writing *ṭ*, and which he maintains to be cerebral Other so-called "cerebrals" can be dealt with on the same lines—but each must be considered separately and on its own merits On this occasion, too, for the same reason, I shall confine myself to this same sound

Let me say, in the first place, that our disagreement is caused by the fact that he does not seem to appreciate the difference between two very distinct things These are (1) cerebral sounds, and (2) the sounds indicated in modern Indian languages by cerebral letters A cerebral sound is a cerebral sound, and only a cerebral sound On the other hand, the sound indicated at the present day by a cerebral letter may be cerebral, or may be anything else The former, within certain narrow limits, is a fixed, unchangeable form of sound-utterance The latter may vary from language to language, or from dialect to dialect I must repeat, and insist upon it, that as Ṣinā is not a written language the question of cerebral letters cannot arise in regard to it, and we can only be concerned with cerebral sounds I emphasize this because any ignoring of the distinction will produce the very confusion which has resulted in this difference of opinion

My definition of a cerebral sound is in full agreement with that given by Mr Noel Armstrong On this Dr Bailey himself admits (*Journal*, 1924, p 436) that, in the sense of that definition, the Ṣiṇā sounds referred to are not cerebrals If, therefore, my definition is correct, Dr. Bailey agrees with me

that the sounds are not cerebral We accordingly again come to the question of the correct meaning of this one word cerebral, as applied to a sound In order to ascertain this meaning, let us first take the history of the word itself As referring to sounds, it was invented by Halhed [1] in the latter part of the eighteenth century, as the English equivalent of the Sanskrit word *mūrdhanya* What is not *mūrdhanya* is not cerebral, and what is not cerebral is not *mūrdhanya* Since then other words, such as "lingual "cacuminal", or "inverted", have been used by Oriental scholars, but they are all merely substitutes for "cerebral, and mean exactly the same thing.

Dr Bailey speaks (*Journal*, 1925 p 88) of the "enormous advance made by the science of speech sounds in the last few years" While fully admitting this, I would suggest that to use a word in a wrong sense can hardly be called an advance. Moreover *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, and it is not good to forget the authors of the Prātiśākhyas, although they lived twenty-five centuries ago It was they, not modern phoneticians, who identified cerebral sounds, it was they who first described their formation and it was they who gave them their name I fear they have had no *vates sacer* amongst phoneticians though their phonetic investigations are still the admiration of every Sanskrit scholar whose studies have led them in their direction Modern phoneticians are seriously indebted to their work [2] One of their technical terms defining a certain class of sounds formed by the contact of the tip of the tongue rolled back, with the highest part of the roof-cavity was the adjective *mūrdhanya*, and that word with that particular meaning has persisted in India to the present day,[3] and has its English equivalent in "cerebral", "lingual", and so on

[1] See Wackernagel, *Altind Gr*, p 164

[2] Cf Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 38 They contain a number of minute observations, such as have only been made over again by the phoneticians of the present day in Europe'

[3] Cf Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 45 'The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate"

It may be urged that Halhed lived a century and a half ago, that, as applied to a sound, the word "cerebral" has since then changed its meaning, and that therefore I have no more right to select this definition as indicating its present meaning than Dr Bailey has the right to propose his I fully admit that I have no such right, if the meaning *has* changed "Cerebral" is an English word, and if we want to know its exact meaning at the present day we must go to an English dictionary possessing authority and of modern date [1] The Oxford dictionary gives no help It merely says that a cerebral letter is "developed from the dentals by retracting the tongue and applying its tip to the palate" It does not specify the place of contact.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed, vol xxiv, p 157) says that "the linguals" are "uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up to the dome of the palate"

The *Century Dictionary* says that cerebral consonants are "formed by bringing the tip of the tongue backward and placing the under-surface against the roof of the mouth"

[1] I could easily produce numerous passages from modern Hindī grammars, written by men whose native language it is, in corroboration of my assertion, but I should be met by the statement that the descriptions of speech sounds in standard grammars are out of date and cannot be appealed to This method of disposing of inconvenient evidence has I admit, the advantage of simplicity On the other hand, the description of the position of the tongue in uttering a sound of one's native language does not seem to me to be 'an extraordinarily difficult matter" (*Journal*, 1925, p 88) for a serious scholar who has been thoroughly trained in an indigenous system of phonetics of great age I therefore here give—as an example taken at random from the first Hindī grammar that comes to my hand—the *Bhāsātattva bōdhinī*, p 4—"ṛ, ṝ, *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *ṇa*, *ra*, and *ṣa* are called *mūrdhanya* because they are sounded by applying the tongue to the *mūrdhan*, that is to say to a place higher even than the hard palate' (मूर्धा अर्थात् तालु से भी ऊपर जीभ लगाने से बोले जाते हैं) To anyone who knows who Pandit Rām Jasan, the author of this book, was, and what a master he was of his own language, the suggestion that he was unable to state correctly what he did with his tongue in uttering such a sound as that indicated by *ṭ* savours of absurdity. The word *tālu*, though translated in the dictionaries by "palate", means "the hard palate", as opposed to the *tundikā*, or soft palate including the uvula

I cannot see how either of these two last definitions differs in essentials from that given by me for a cerebral sound

I have one other modern authority to give, and that, curiously enough, is Dr Bailey himself, but, before doing so it is necessary once more to quote Mr Noel Armstrong's definition, to which he objects It states that a cerebral sound "is produced with the tip of the tongue somewhat curled back, so as to come in contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth It then adds, by way of explanation, "that is somewhere about the junction of the hard and soft palates It is hardly necessary to repeat that I entirely agree with this, but Dr Bailey says (*Journal*, 1924, p 436), "if this is correct probably no cerebral sound is ever heard between Cape Comorin and the Pamirs" Again (*Journal*, 1925, p 89) he says (italicizing the words), "no Indian language possesses a 'cerebral sound which has a point of articulation further back than the middle of the hard palate" This is pretty positive and pretty universal, but surely Dr Bailey has forgotten, at least the Panjābī language (which is one of those lying between Cape Comorin and the Pāmīrs) In his admirable *Panjabi Manual* written in conjunction with Mr Cummings (p xiii), the authors tell us that *d* and *t* are (? indicate) "the sounds we should make if we tried to say the English *d* and *t* with the tip of the tongue against the soft palate" Here Dr Bailey goes farther even than Mr Armstrong who places the point of contact as somewhere about the junction of the hard and soft palates, while Dr Bailey places it directly on the soft palate Again, in his *Panjabi Phonetic Reader* (p xi) Dr Bailey says "in forming the cerebrals the tip of the tongue touches or strikes the hard palate far back, almost at the beginning of the soft palate ' Here he is in complete agreement with Mr Armstrong, and we therefore find that sounds produced according to that gentleman's definition, and much "further back than the middle of the hard palate", are, according to

Dr Bailey himself, in regular use in at least one Indian language [1]

It is hardly necessary to contrast with this Dr Bailey's statement (*Journal*, 1924, p 436) that "the proper point for articulation" of cerebral sounds "is *anywhere* on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge" This last statement, however, agrees with the definition given by him for a "retroflex consonant", a term which he says phoneticians prefer to "cerebral" The phoneticians are quite right, for if they used "cerebral" in the sense of this "retroflex" they would be misusing the English language The two words indicate two very different things

I therefore still maintain that the Sinā sound which Dr Bailey indicates by the letter *ṭ* is in no way a cerebral sound Accepting the definition of "retroflex" as given by him, it may very possibly be a retroflex sound On that I am not competent to give an opinion Dr Bailey himself describes it as "post-alveolar" (*Journal*, 1924, p 437). That also is, I believe, correct What name is the correct one *for the sound,* I leave phoneticians to decide, so long as they do not adopt for it any name previously allotted to a different sound

So much for cerebral sounds Let us now turn to the sounds indicated in modern Indian languages by cerebral letters No one, I imagine, will contend that because a written or printed letter is called cerebral that therefore it necessarily indicates a cerebral sound We have seen that it does do this in Panjābī, but in the case of some other languages the state-

[1] It will be observed that Dr Bailey gives three different, and apparently mutually inconsistent, definitions of a cerebral sound In one place he says that the point of articulation is *anywhere* (his italics) on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge Again he says that it is never "further back than the middle of the hard palate" Again he says that the tip of the tongue is put against the soft palate These can hardly all be right, and are the more difficult to reconcile as Dr Bailey has used cerebrals all his life and cannot now confuse them with other sounds (*Journal*, 1925, p 93)

ment cannot be asserted to be true If it were true, by parity of reasoning we should have to describe, for instance, the sound of the *c* in the Marāthī word *cāl*, as palatal, because *c* is a palatal letter, and the sound of the two *g*s in "George" as guttural, because *g* is a guttural letter

The cerebral letters were originally invented to indicate the cerebral sounds During the two and a half millenniums that have passed since then, the letters have remained unchanged as to name and class, and are still cerebral letters, but the sounds they indicated have in certain languages (but not as we have seen, in Panjābī) changed very considerably

Dr Bailey cites the case of Bengali Surely it has long been a commonplace to all serious students of that language that, here the sounds indicated by the cerebral letters are not truly cerebral I was taught that by the Pandit with whom I read Sanskrit in Jessore in 1873 Twenty-five years later it was urged upon me by Mahāmahôpâdhyāya Mahêśa Candra Nyāyaratna, then the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, who objected, on that score, to my attempts at a phonetic rendering of Bengali passages when I was busy on the section of the Linguistic Survey dealing with that language Professor Sunīti K Chatterji in his paper on Bengali Phonetics[1] says that *t* and *d* are slightly higher than the S English alveolar *t* and *d*, the point of articulation being put behind the teeth-ridge They are therefore not the true retroflex[2] sounds which are heard in Tamil Telugu and perhaps Panjābī they might be called 'supra-alveolar' or 'forward or pre retroflex Finally, we have Mr Page's account, as given by Dr Bailey, which is much to the same effect None of these descriptions authorize us to describe the sounds indicated by the Bengali cerebral letters as cerebral sounds It is the same with certain other Indian languages If they are languages with alphabets it is quite possible that

[1] *Bull SOS*, vol ii, p 5

[2] This word accordingly is not used here in the meaning given by Dr Bailey It is evidently intended as the equivalent of "cerebral".

cerebral letters may connote a non-cerebral sound, and if Dr Bailey has not come across a cerebral sound (*Journal*, 1925, p 89) in any of the sixty odd languages between Darjeeling and Kashmīr, I can readily believe that there are none there, but that does not prove that non-cerebral sounds are cerebral sounds

It must nevertheless, be noted that the word "cerebral" is an adjective Of late years it has become customary to use it as a substantive and to speak of "cerebrals" In dealing with a language which possesses an alphabet this is often convenient In his note Dr Bailey does this and on occasions I have done so myself, but, unless the context makes the meaning clear, the meaning of this substantive is indefinite. As a substantive the word may mean "a cerebral sound", or it may mean "a cerebral letter", or it may mean "the sound indicated nowadays and locally by a cerebral letter" Here are three different and distinct meanings given to the same word For instance, when Dr Bailey says that he was born among cerebrals, and has used them all his life (*Journal*, 1924 p 439), to which of the three does he allude? He also mentions Professor Turner and Professor Bloch [1] in connexion apparently with this substantive only Each is dealing with a language possessing an alphabet, and follow this convention, calling sounds "cerebrals" if they are indicated in Sindhī or Marāthī by cerebral consonants But this does not show that they would say that the Sinā sound that Dr Bailey indicates by the sign *t* is a cerebral sound, for that language has no letters to represent any sound, cerebral or other

Space will not permit me to discuss the statistics brought forward by Dr Bailey in order to show his agreement with Khān Sāhib 'Abdu'l-Ḥakīm Khān It is not relevant to the

[1] Besides two statements of Professor Bloch, Dr Bailey quotes from writings of Professor Daniel Jones, Mr Lloyd James, Mr Sutton Page, and Professor S K Chatterji, but as he gives no references, I am unable to examine any of the passages cited by him or to test them by their contexts.

main question, and I content myself with saying that my **calculations** do not agree with his

Dr Bailey states that I ask how he can be so positive about "cerebral" *r* I do not for a moment doubt his familiarity with one or more of the sounds indicated by this letter in India What I stated (*Journal*, 1924, pp 661–2) was that Indian scholars class the sound generally indicated in English characters by *r*, not as cerebral (*mūrdhanya*), but as hyper-cerebral (*mūrdhanyatara*) On the other hand, they class the sound generally indicated in the English character by *r* (without the dot) as cerebral (*mūrdhanya*) I doubted if Colonel Lorimer's "English *r*", which he is "inclined to think may be *ṛ*", could be described as really a hyper-cerebral After all, there are some learned Indians, who, although not skilled phoneticians in the English sense of the word, have paid considerable attention to the sounds of their own several languages To them there appears to be a difference of quality between cerebral sounds and the sound of *ṛ*, and surely the considered opinion of such men regarding the impression conveyed to their own ears by the sounds of their own language deserves consideration [1]

[1] As examples of the opinions of learned Indians who have paid special attention to the point in question I may refer to two modern books coming from widely distant parts of India both of which are obtainable in this country One is *Bhāṣā vijñān*, p 168, by Mr Śyām sundar Dās, who is a Fellow of the Benares University, where he occupies the chair of Hindi, and honorary secretary of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā The other is *Gujarati Language and Literature*, pp 93 and 116, by Mr N B Divatia This book is published by the Bombay University as a portion of the Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1915–16 Mr Divatia's remarks on p 94 on the European pronunciation of *ṛ* and *ṛh* are also interesting I may also quote the following from Rāma karma's *Hindi Vyakaran* p 10 ड़ ढ़ का उच्चारण ड ढ की अपेक्षा अत्यन्त विलक्षण है ॥ and again (p 13) मूर्धन्य अक्षरों का उच्चारण मूर्धा अर्थात् तालू से कुछेक ऊपर छत से जिह्वा लगाने से होता है। परन्तु ड़ ढ़ ऋ का उच्चारण करने में इतनी विशेषता है कि मूर्धा से भी कुछ ऊपर जिह्वाग्र को उलटा कर मूर्धा से किया जाता है ॥ The author of this lives in Rājputānā, but almost the

To sum up,—1 Because some Indian languages indicate non-cerebral sounds by cerebral letters, it does not follow that non-cerebral sounds are cerebral sounds

2 While I have from the first agreed (*Journal*, 1924, *p* 662) that there may well be two *ṭ*-sounds in Siṇā, I am unable to admit that either of them is a cerebral sound

3 As for the other sounds of that language, which Dr Bailey describes severally as dental and cerebral, I offer here no opinion, and cannot do so till each of them has been tested on its own merits on such criteria as those stated above

As I have previously said, it has been no pleasure to me to continue this controversy on a point which Dr Bailey considers to be of minor detail, but which I look upon as of crucial importance, not only for scholars of the present day, but for those of future generations In the case of languages that have alphabets, it may be convenient to describe the sounds indicated by cerebral letters as " cerebrals " (not as " cerebral sounds "), even if the description is not accurate On the other hand, in the case of a language that has no alphabet, but has only sounds, it is a most serious thing that an eminent scholar, whose authority on such questions is widely accepted, should apply to certain sounds a name that has been used by Sanskrit scholars for more than a century to indicate an altogether different sound When such wrong names are once put on record, unless objection is at once taken, they will go down to future generations of scholars as correct descriptions, and

same words will be found in Śrī lāl's *Bhāṣā candrôday*, which is a Hindī grammar published by the Government in Allahabad

For the classification of *r* as cerebral, see, for instance, Dāmodara Śāstrī, *Bhāṣādarsa bālaiyākaran*, p 9, Mahādeva prasāda, *Bhāṣā vyākaran-sār*, p 8, Sudhākara Dvivedī, *Hindī Bhāṣā-kā Vyākaran*, p 5

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the work done by Indian phoneticians, I may add that they made a further distinction between cerebral sounds and the sound indicated by *r* The latter, they say, is *dvispṛṣṭa*, i e having two points of contact (cf e g Sudhākara Dvivēdī, loc cit) The two points are, of course, one far back on the palate, and the other behind the lower teeth, occurring at the end of the " flop " of the tongue

may quite possibly throw false light on the history of the development of an important and interesting group of languages. If in what I have written, I appear to have criticized too freely, I offer in advance my apologies and regrets to one who has honoured me by calling me an old friend. Anyhow, I have entered my protest, and shall not further carry on the controversy.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

CAMBERLEY
1st February, 1925

AURUNGZEB AND THE TREASURE HOARD OF AKBAR

The following seems to merit quotation. It is taken from a letter written to the East India Company by the President (Gerald Aungier) and Council at Surat, dated 22nd January, 1677 (India Office Records O.C. 4258).

Your gold, which used to yeild you some small proffitt formerly, hath the last yeare and this turned to your great loss. In the memory of man gold was never knowne to be at soe low a price as now. It will be noe impertinent divertisment to heare the reason as wee have understood it from credible hands. The last yeare King Orungzeeb having by his ill government by chargable and unsuccessfull warrs against the Patans and Sevagee, by discharging all Mahometans (through an overheated zeale to his religion) from paying any customes, rhadarees [way-dues *rāhdārī*], etc. dutys and by sufferring the notorious abuses and embezzlement of his officers, consumed all his grandfathers, fathers, and his owne treasure and weakened the publique revenue of the kingdome being reduced to great necessity to pay his army, who were ready to mutiny against him, tooke at length a resolution to open the famous treasure of King Eckbarr, and went thither himselfe in person. When he came to the inward doore, he found, on a copper plate affixt thereunto, a writing engraven, which denounced a malediction and ruine to the person who should presume to open said treasure or convey it away. The King, amazed at first at the terrour of the curse, considered awhile, but at length, presst by necessity, resolved to open

the treasure But, hoping to evade the danger of the writing, he would not open the doore on which the copper plate was fixed, but caused a hole in the side of the wall to be made, from whence the treasure was taken out, consisting all in gold rupees, to a most incredible summe With these he pay's his army, the officers and souldiers whereof, to supply their wants, being forced to putt them off for what they could gett (the sherroffs and money-changers taking their advantages in such cases), gold immediately fell much in price, the gold rupee called the Suny, formerly worth 15 rupees, passing currantly for 12 and 11 rupees, which being the standard come, in proportion to which all gold is valued, hath bin the only cause of the fall and low esteeme of gold all India over It is in publique discourse that the fatall writing beginns to take effect already in the royall family, Sultan Mahmud, heire to the crowne (formerly confined a prisoner, but of late yeares admitted to the Kings favour) dying suddainly,[1] whether of a naturall or violent death not knowne, and the other three surviving brothers prosecuting their severall designes and factions gives men argument to presage an alteration and disturbance in this state These circumstances doe naturally produce a decay of commerce in the country, the rich moneyed men, who are the only support thereof chooseing rather to secure their estates then expose them in trade

These statements, of course, prove nothing more than that there was at this period an unusual quantity of gold in circulation (with the result that its value in terms of silver had fallen considerably), and that the current explanation was that the Emperor had opened and made use of the treasure stored up by Akbar How far this was true cannot now be ascertained Professor Jadunath Sarkar has kindly searched the contemporary Persian documents, so far as these are available but was unable to find any confirmation of the story, and in his opinion Aurungzeb did not draw upon the hoards left by his forerunners until some twenty years later. This view derives some support from Manucci, who states (*Storia do Mogor*, vol ii, p 255) that when the Emperor left

[1] Sultān Muhammad died in December, 1676

Ajmer for the Deccan in September, 1681, " he had with him much treasure, which came to an end so thoroughly during this war that he was compelled to open the treasure-houses of Akbar, Nur Jahān, Jahāngīr, and Shāhjahān "

The story of the curse inscribed upon the treasure-vault, and of the means adopted to evade it, sounds like an adaptation of some old folk-tale

W FOSTER

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Orientalia

1 A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times (A D 1500–1924) By Edward G Browne, M A, M B, F B A, F R C P, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge 9 × 5½, xvi + 530 pp, 16 plates Cambridge University Press, 1924.

The publication of this volume must possess both on sentimental and practical grounds an importance of the very highest degree in the eyes of those who are keenly interested in what may be called without exaggeration one of the most fascinating fields in the literary history of the world It brings to a final and eminently satisfactory conclusion a work of the first magnitude, nobly conceived and on the whole brilliantly executed It constitutes essentially the fourth and last volume of a complete Literary History of Persia, and it may be safely said that few if any literatures in the East have received such exhaustive and sympathetic treatment The first volume, dealing with the period from the earliest times down to Firdausi (or Firdawsi, as the author prefers to transliterate the name), appeared as far back as 1902 The second volume, treating the period down to the Mughal invasion in the middle of the thirteenth century, was published in 1906 That volume, which is in the present writer's opinion from many points of view the most valuable and interesting of the series, raised high hopes and anticipations which were not completely realized Professor Browne had just arrived at the threshold of the most enthralling period of Persian literature, the age of Ḥāfiẓ, and it was hoped that the third volume would appear soon and far surpass in interest its two predecessors These hopes were not to be fulfilled Fourteen years elapsed before the volume entitled *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (A D 1265–1500) appeared under a title and in a form differing

from the two previous volumes, and speaking for myself I found, from the standpoint of an enthusiastic admirer of Ḥāfiz, the contents disappointing and lacking in the freshness of style and keenness of interest which were the salient characteristics of the two earlier volumes

After making these remarks, I am all the more anxious to express my unqualified delight at the appearance after a reasonably short interval of the fourth and final instalment of this *magnum opus* Professor Browne quite justifiably claims that this volume contains more new matter and represents more original research than the other three volumes, and it seems to me that his enthusiasm and freshness of outlook, which may have become temporarily dulled by the tragic years of the war, have been revivified

Of Professor Browne's qualifications for this great self-imposed task it is almost a superfluous impertinence to speak He started the study of Persian forty-five years ago, and he has pursued it ever since without any intermission with a degree of special aptitude, industry zeal, and sympathy which it would be difficult to parallel in students of any language The present writer began Persian twelve years later, and much of an enthusiasm, which the passing of years has not dimmed was kindled by reading Professor Browne's *A Year among the Persians* one of the most fascinating books of travel ever written, which has been re-read so often and lent to so many friends that my copy nearly fell to pieces before I left India By his numerous and illuminating books relating to the Bābī religion his translation of the *Chahār Maqala*, his contributions to this journal, especially his article on that neglected but most admirable poet Nāsir Khusrau, and, above all, his editions of Daulatshah and ʿAufi and other valuable Persian texts, he has rendered services to students of Persian which are not only unequalled, so far as Persian is concerned, but which have rarely, if ever, been paralleled in the case of any other comparatively unexplored language and literature If one compares the very meagre

help available to the student of Persian thirty years ago with the abundant materials now accessible, the difference is astonishing, and the change is almost entirely due to Professor Browne's personal efforts and in a minor degree to the work of pupils inspired by him. One ought not to leave out of consideration, too, his book on *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (published in 1914), which furnishes an admirably clear and luminous introduction to the present literary and journalistic condition of Persia.

Professor Browne alludes in his preface to the opinions commonly prevalent in Europe and in India that poetry is the only department of Persian literature which merits attention, and that very little poetry worth reading has been produced since the days of Jāmī, but the present volume shows that both these views are mistaken and that in particular Persia has in the nineteenth century produced poets like Qāānī, Furūghī, and Yaghmā, who are entitled to rank among the galaxy of poets of the first magnitude, while others such as Shaibānī and Andalīb would come high in the second class.

This fourth volume is divided into three parts of almost equal length, the first being devoted to an outline of Persian general history during the last four centuries, while the other parts deal with the verse and the prose literature of that period. Professor Browne expresses the opinion that nearly all those western writers, who have written on Persian literature, have paid an excessive and disproportionate attention to poetry and belles-lettres. This criticism is no doubt true, but there is some justification for the attitude adopted by them. It is no doubt true that in order to obtain a comprehensive view of the intellectual qualities and activities of the Persian mind the prose literature of Persia cannot be left out of account, but it is equally incumbent on us to admit that the claim of Persian literature to rank among the really great literatures of the world rests solely and exclusively on the fine quality of Persian poetry, and that to the ordinary reader of the west the vast bulk of Persian prose

is strangely repelling in style and contains few elements of attractiveness or interest in its subject-matter Very few Western readers would care to read through even an English translation of a book on Shi'a theology, while the number of scholars both able and willing to read through such a book in the original might be counted on the fingers, possibly of one hand

The second part, dealing with verse, is divided into three parts, the first of which is concerned in a general way with the later and especially the religious poetry of the Persians In the course of this chapter Professor Browne quotes and translates three out of the twelve strophes of the famous Haft-band of Muhtasham of Kāshān (died 1588), an elegy by Qāānī (died 1853), which is written in a singularly original form, an anonymous satire on hypocrisy, a fairly long and typical extract from the libretto of a Muharram ta'ziya of recent date, and a long Bahāī qasida written by Mirza Na'īm, which with its translation occupies more than twenty pages The translator apologises for quoting *in extenso* and translating in full so long a poem by an author so modern and so little known outside the circle of his co-religionists, but no apology is really needed, as the poem is one of quite extraordinary interest as a revelation of the ardent enthusiasm underlying the Bābī and Bahāī movements while in technique of versification and in melody that special charm of Persian verse, it reaches a standard which renders it an impertinence for a non-Persian to attempt any critical comparison Apropos of the impossibility of a foreigner being capable of posing as a competent critic of poetry in any language, a very apposite and forcible quotation is given by Professor Browne from Hamerton's "Intellectual Life", the passage cited being applied to show the valuelessness of most Turkish and Indian appreciations of Persian poetry but it seems to me that they also can be applied à fortiori to attempts by European critics to represent themselves as qualified to decide between the relative merits of Persian poets

The next chapter treats the poets of the pre-Qājār period (1500–1800) In discussing the first of these three centuries an account is given of Hātifī, a nephew of Jāmī, Fighānī of Shīrāz, Umīdī of Tihrān (a fairly long sample of whose verse is quoted and translated), the two Ahlīs of Turshīz and Shīrāz, Lisānī of Shīrāz, Fuzūlī of Baghdād, Wahshī of Bāfq (a longish murabba' of this poet being cited and rendered into English), and the most famous and popular poet of this century 'Urfī of Shīrāz, who has been even more appreciated in Turkey and in India than in his own country The brilliant talents of this poet were marred by an arrogant conceit, which caused him to vaunt his superiority over such great poets as Anwarī and Khāqānī, while even of Sa'dī he was able to write .

نازش سعدی بمشت خاک شیراز از چه بود
گر نمی دانست باشد مولد و ماوای من

Wherefore did Sa'dī glory in a handful of the earth of Shiraz,
If he did not know that it would be my birthplace and abode ?

Of the seventeenth century poets, Professor Browne singles out thirteen for special mention, but only three of these are considered important enough to justify quotation from their works at any length, viz Tālib of Āmul (died 1626–7), who emigrated to India and became poet-laureate of Jahāngīr, Abu Tālib Kalīm of Hamadān, who also visited India twice, became poet-laureate of Shah Jahan and died in Kashmir, and last and greatest of all, Sāib of Tabrīz (died 1677–8), who is regarded by the great Indian critic, Shibli Nu'mānī, as the last great Persian poet, superior in originality to Qāānī, the greatest and most famous of the moderns. Professor Browne confesses that he finds Sāib specially attractive, and he quotes a large number of isolated lines of Sāib which he collected nearly forty years ago from the trilingual anthology entitled *Kharābat*, compiled by Ziyā

Pasha, and published at Constantinople in 1874–5 One of these verses long ago attracted me greatly, when I first read it as a heading of one of the chapters of *A Year among the Persians* It runs —

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر بیکجا میکشد

خواب یك خوابست امّا مختلف تعبیرها

All this talk of religion and infidelity finally leads to one place,

The dream is the same dream only the interpretations differ

The eighteenth century is, from a literary point of view, singularly barren, and the only poem composed during it which is considered to merit citation is the celebrated Tarjí'-band of Hātif of Isfahān, the text and translation of which cover thirteen pages On the other hand, a full account is given of two writers of memoirs Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn and Lutf 'Alī Beg Adhar, the authors of the Tadhkiratu'l-Ahwāl and the Ātashkada, whose works contain references to numerous contemporary poets, most of whom would otherwise have passed into oblivion

The last chapter of this section is concerned with the poets of the Qajar period notably Sahāb of Isfahān, Mijmar of Ardistān Sabā of Kāshān, poet-laureate of Fath 'Alī Shāh (an extract from a very melodious qasīda of his being cited, but not translated) Nashāt of Isfahān the two poets father and son, who bore the nom-de-plume of Qaim-Maqām, the latter being famous for his prose style (a sample of which, an apology to the Tsar of Russia written on behalf of Fath 'Alī Shāh, is quoted in full) Wisāl and his numerous sons and grandsons (fairly long poems by Wisāl himself and his sons, Dāwarī and Farhang, being reproduced), Qāānī the most notable of all, Furūghī, and Yaghmā of Jandaq, who in a far greater degree even than Qāānī combined with great poetical powers a degree of coarseness and foulness which renders

much that he wrote unfit for reproduction, let alone translation into English Several fairly long poems of Qāānī are quoted besides the remarkable qasīda already mentioned, which enable an estimate to be formed of his brilliant gifts and his facil command over an extensive vocabulary

The remaining portion of the book, treating Persian prose is also subdivided into three chapters, dealing with the orthodox Shī'a faith and its exponents, prose writers down to 1850, and modern developments from that year onwards Space does not permit of a detailed account of the contents which, though essential to a complete survey of Persian literature, are not likely to prove interesting, except to a few specialists, apart from the last chapter, which contains an account of the progress made by the drama and the novel and by journalistic activities generally in recent years In particular, two very fine examples of modern Persian prose contributed by Dakhaw to the newspaper *Sūr-i-Isrāfīl* are reprinted and translated

The translations in this volume both from Persian verse and prose are made throughout with extreme skill, preserving both the phraseology and the spirit of the original with striking success The attractiveness of the book is enhanced by a number of illustrations, the most interesting of which are photographs of autograph verses or letters written by such great literary men as the poets Sāib, Wisāl, and Yaghmā and the philosopher Mullā Sadrā

The list of errata seems to be almost complete, but A H 1492 given on page 162 as the date of the death of Jāmī should obviously be A D 1492

Both thanks and congratulations are due from every lover of Persian to the author of this great work, and these must be coupled with a hope that he may long be spared to advance the cause which he has always had at heart, the preservation and interpretation of the spirit of all that is best in Persian life and the literature, which is the expression of that life.

2. **The Haft Paikar** By Nizāmī of Ganja Translated from the Persian, with a commentary by C E Wilson, B.A.Lond Vol i, Translation, vol ii, Commentary. 7½ × 5, xix + 288 and 112 pp London Probsthain, 1924

Mr Wilson, who has been for fourteen years Professor of Persian in University College London, has previously published a translation, accompanied by a commentary, of the second book of the Masnavi of Jalāl-uddīn Rūmī The present work, which has already received a full and on the whole favourable review at the hands of Dr Nicholson in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, follows the previous work very closely indeed in style, method, and general get-up

The *Haft Paikar* i e the Seven Beauties is one of the great quintet of romantic Masnavis, technically called a Khamsa, each being written throughout in a different metre, written by the poet Nizāmī The other four Masnavis, viz the Makhzan-ul-Asrār, the Khusrau and Shīrīn the Lailī and Majnūn, and the best-known of all the Sikandar-nāma, were all written before the *Haft Paikar*, which is probably much the least attractive of the five Nizāmī was born about 1141 at Ganja (now Elizabethpol in Russian Transcaucasia), and he appears to have died about 1202 not more than five years after the composition of the *Haft Paikar* A very bald and inaccurate rendering into English of the Sikandar-nāma was made many years ago by Colonel Wilberforce, who made similar translations of Hafiz and the Bustan of Sa'di but this is the first attempt to reproduce in English the whole of any of the other long Masnavis of Nizāmī

Mr Wilson has on the whole performed a far from easy task with care and success His English version which occupies 288 pages is literal without being slavishly literal, though it fails to suggest even faintly the existence of any poetic or literary quality in the original In dealing with a number of lines in the latter part of the poem, which contain coarse innuendoes, he has followed the method adopted by

Platts in translating the obscene lines in the Gulistan of Sa'di and has rendered the Persian literally into Latin. The commentary in the second volume comprises 212 pages and explains all the allusions and metaphors (historical, geographical, and astronomical) and the linguistic difficulties with great minuteness, indeed the only adverse criticism which could be passed upon it is that too much has been explained and nothing is left to the intelligence of the reader, who is assumed to be unfamiliar with the most common Oriental metaphors and turns of phrase

It cannot be said that this version of the *Haft Paikar* is likely to impress the general reader with any admiration for the poetic quality of Nizāmī His numerous incidental stories are dull and prolix and devoid of any suggestion of a sense of humour His style is highly artificial and often obscure He has, as Mr Wilson admits in his introduction, little or no skill in delineating character or in inspiring a sense of the spirit of nature His characters are cast in a highly conventional mould, while his images in depicting nature are merely fantastic and neither poetic nor scientific The metre (Khafif) is the least attractive of all those employed in Masnavis, consisting of two short and rather jerky hemistichs, and does not lend itself to melodious rhythm, so the verses of this poem have none of the melody and charm and lucidity which characterize for instance the Yūsuf and Zulaikhā of Jāmī It may be said that among all the poets reckoned as great by the Persians themselves there is none, with the possible exception of Anvari, so little adapted to impress favourably Western readers as Nizāmī and that among his works nothing would achieve less success in this respect than the *Haft Paikar*

3 (1) THE ZĀD-UL-MUSĀFIRĪN By ḤAKĪM NĀṢIR KHUSRAU (2) THE SAFAR-NĀMA of ḤAKĪM NĀṢIR KHUSRAU $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 238 and 538 pp Berlin: Kāwayanī Press A H 1341 (1921–2)

These two books are both productions of the Kāwayani Press in Berlin, a full account of the activities of which will be found at the very end of Professor Browne's recent volume dealing with modern Persian literature. They are both first printed editions of prose writings of the gifted and neglected (because heterodox) poet Nāsir Khusrau whose great merits were first brought to the notice of western readers by Professor Browne in the pages of this *Journal* and the first volume contains a graceful tribute in the form of a dedication to that eminent scholar. The first volume contains only the prose "Travellers' Provision" but the second besides the prose Safar-nāma presents in print for the first time 48 pages of verse. The typography and general get-up of these two Persian books is so excellent that one is filled with regret that they are not the product of an English press and it is a further source of disappointment that such a large number of Persians of culture should for political or economic or other unknown reasons elect to make their home in Berlin in post-war days. Neither the excellence nor the utility to the world of scholarship of the out-turn of this press can be gainsaid.

4. THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED. Vol I Text and Critical Apparatus. Vol II Introduction and Translation. By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania. 9¼ × 6, xiv + 408 and 405 pp. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1924.

These two volumes constitute the second and third volumes of what is termed the American Oriental Series. They represent the completion of a very ambitious task, an attempt to reconstruct, by conjecture based on a comparison of the existing versions and translations the original Sanskrit text of the Panchatantra, a project which as Professor Edgerton himself admits, will be regarded by many scholars as impossible. He has undoubtedly devoted a vast amount of time and energy to the task, but I think that the general

verdict of Sanskrit scholars will be that he has attempted the impossible and that even the limited and qualified amount of success which he claims on p 8 of his second volume cannot be conceded without many reservations Whether the expenditure of so much time and labour on a task so supremely difficult was justifiable is a point about which an acute difference of opinion is possible I am afraid that the methods of spelling adopted by the writer, e g "enuf", "thru", "profest", and many tricks of style employed by him are not likely to create a prejudice in his favour in the minds of most English scholars

5 DESIGNATION OF HUMAN TYPES (PUGGALA-PAÑÑATTI) Translated into English for the first time by BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M A, B L $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xiii + 111 pp. London Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press H Milford, 1924

This little volume constitutes No 12 of the Translation Series of the Pali Text Society The Puggala-Paññatti has been previously translated into German, but the present translator is not acquainted with that language and has made no use of that rendering This Pali book is of a very dull and stereotyped nature, comprising only a mechanical and artificial division of human types according to fictitious numerical classes No attempt has been made by the translator to explain his rendering, and the unintelligibility of the product may be illustrated by a quotation from the last chapter

"By which five is consummation reached here? The stream-attainer destined not to undergo more than seven births, the stream-attainer transmigrating through a few families (less than seven), the single-seeded stream-attainer, the once-returner, and one attaining Arahantship in this very existence: of these five consummation is reached here" Or may we take an earlier passage from p 17. "What sort of person is one of perturbable nature? Here a person obtains the attain-

ments (of ecstatic trance) whether accompanied by an idea of form, or by an idea of formlessness, and he does not surely obtain them as he desires, nor without difficulty, nor without toil, neither does he get into nor get up from them where he desires, when he desires, and as long as he desires, there is this possibility that indolence coming over him should perturb these attainments Such a person is said to be of perturbable nature " It will be clear from these samples that this book must make a very limited appeal and can be of little practical use even to students of the ethics of Buddhism

6 A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS BY CLEMENT DOWNING Edited with an introduction and notes by WILLIAM FOSTER, C I E $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, xxxii + 206 pp, 3 plates, 2 maps Oxford University Press, 1924

This is an interesting reprint of a rare little book published in 1737 a year after the death of the writer, who died at sea and is described on the original title-page as having been a midshipman on board the *Salisbury* and afterwards lieutenant of the *Victory* frigate, *Fame* gally, and *Revenge* grab, part of the squadron employed by the East India Company to attack the pirate *Angria*, and also for some time an engineer in the service of the Great Mogul Nothing is known of the birth-place or early history of the writer, who narrates his adventures in the East Indies between the years 1715 and 1723 During that period besides returning once to England, he played many parts He was a sailor on board three East Indiamen in succession, mate on a coasting vessel, officer in the Company's naval force at Bombay seaman and petty officer in a Royal Navy ship, and captain of artillery in a Mughal army operating in Gujarat Though he served chiefly on the western coast of India, he also visited Maskat Aden, Madras Calcutta, Mauritius, and Madagascar He took part in several fights with the Marathas, both on sea and land besides joining in unsuccessful attacks made on the stronghold of the Maratha admiral, Kanhoji Angria

Downing's book, which is divided into three sections, has been reprinted with explanatory notes and an admirable introduction by Mr Foster, in which he carefully analyses Downing's claim to have written "the plain truth in all respects" It must be admitted that Downing, whose narrative is very lively and interesting, does not emerge with triumphant success from this scrutiny, so far as his personal share in the events narrated is concerned, but the general trustworthiness of his account of events is not impaired and it must remain a first-hand record which no student of the history of the period can afford to neglect An interesting point of a minor kind is that Downing's memoirs contain the earliest mention of cricket being played in India, viz on the west coast in 1721

7 THE THIRD TRIENNIAL REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR HINDI MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE YEARS 1912–13–14 By SHYĀM BIHĀRI MISRA, M A, M R A S, and SHUKDEO MISRA, B A Published by the Nāgari Pracharini Sabhā, Benares, under the authority and patronage of the Government of the United Provinces Allahabad Government Press, 1924

This very belated publication is a little, though not really much, less behind the time than it appears at first sight to be The preface, which is dated February, 1917, explains that the report really represents the sum-total of the work done up to the end of 1916, but it appears that, owing to the travelling agent of the Sabha having resigned and relinquished his duties, practically no work was done in the years 1915–16 The two brothers, who are responsible for the report, are members of the group of three brothers who co-edited the well-known and excellent history of Hindi literature entitled *Misra Bandhu Vinoda*, and this is in itself a guarantee of the genuineness of the work done and of the zeal which lies behind it The search for Hindi manuscripts has been going on since 1900 under the patronage and financial help of the

Local Government, and an account of the work done has been given in two previous reports The present report is a very meagre one, so far as description of the methods adopted in searching for manuscripts and the extent of the country searched are concerned The bulk of the volume is devoted to giving details with considerable minuteness of the manuscripts found, and the introductory remarks are very brief and unilluminating except in so far as they contain an account of the chief important finds of the triennium under report This shows that one manuscript of the highest importance, the Sūra Sāgara of Sūra Dāsa, containing over 25,000 new verses, has been discovered, and that hitherto unknown works by such first-rank poets as Gang and Kulapati were also found, in addition to a treatise by Bhaddālī, whose agricultural prognostications are so familiar, and a fine monograph on prosody, the Chanda Chappani of Mani Rāma, which was written in 1772

It would be interesting to know what districts of the United Provinces and what Rājpūtānā States have yet been thoroughly combed out in the search for Hindi manuscripts, but no information on this point is vouchsafed It is quite possible that finds of the very first magnitude have yet to be made

8 CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE Section G Archæology, Ethnology etc Edited by A M HOCART, Archæological Commissioner Ceylon $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, 42 pp, 8 plates Ceylon The Archæological Commissioner, July, 1924.

This little brochure merely contains three short articles all contributed by the Commissioner himself, viz a short summary of recent archæological work in Ceylon (which seems to have yielded very meagre results), an article on the origin of the stūpa, and an article on the coronation ceremony, mainly based on Fijian rites, which seems to have very little to do with India and still less connexion with Ceylon If the other six sections of the new *Ceylon Journal of Science*,

which are to produce separate publications periodically under the ægis of the Ceylon Government, yield a similar output, the collective result of their activities will not be of much practical value

9 MEMORIAL PAPERS By SHAMS-UL-'ULAMĀ JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, Ph D, C I E $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, xv + 165 pp. Bombay Fort Printing Press, 1922

This volume, the binding and typography of which are of indifferent quality, contains a collection of twelve papers, which have been contributed on various occasions to Memorial Volumes published in Bombay and Poona since the year 1907. They deal with such varying subjects as the Tibetan method of disposing of the dead the use of rosaries among Zoroastrians, certain principles of ancient Persian justice mentioned by Herodotus, the use of pebbles in the Zoroastrian ritual, Tibetan forms of salutation, the Gah Sarna recital as described by Anquetil du Perron, the volcanic mountain Arezūra mentioned in the Avesta and the location of its site, Mazdak the Iranian socialist, references to the Huns in Avestic and Pahlavi literature, idol-worship, old Iranian invocations of God, and the references to the Arabs found in the *Nirang-i-Sarosh Yasht* This bare recital will suffice to indicate the extent of the ground covered in these papers They are all well worth reproducing and it is a matter of satisfaction that the venerable author has been able to select them out of a still larger number of papers and to see them collectively through the press In view of what was said by me very recently in reviewing his important book on Zoroastrianism, there is no need for me to comment on the quality of the scholarship and research displayed in these papers, which consistently maintains a high level

10 DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS. Bearing on Zoroastrianism and pertaining to the different collections in the Mulla Firoz Library Prepared by ERVAD B N. DHABHAR, M A Published by the Trustees of the Parsi

Panchayat Funds 9½ × 6½, vi + 120 pp Bombay. Fort Printing Press, 1923

This pamphlet contains a full and useful account of the manuscripts which are to be found in the best Zoroastrian library in the East, and has been carefully prepared by a competent scholar The most important manuscripts, which deserve notice, are No 81, which contains the Avestan text of the Yasna followed by Pahlavi and Persian translations, and Nos 30 and 33 containing the text of the Pahlavi Khud Patet, which is found in these manuscripts only It is announced that this text is shortly to be published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat, and it may be hoped that this publication will not be long deferred

11 SOME KSHATRIYA TRIBES OF ANCIENT INDIA By BIMALA CHARAN LAW M A, B L 10 × 6½ xii + 311 pp Calcutta Thacker Spink & Co, 1923

The fact that an introduction has been contributed to this book by Dr Keith, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Edinburgh, is in itself an adequate guarantee that the writer has claims to be regarded as a sound scholar and that the work has been written in a spirit of scientific research The writer previously published a book on Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India which gained a favourable reception, and the present work is an amplification of the earlier one, with four chapters of entirely new matter, the object of the whole being to present a narrative of the history, manners, and customs of the chief Kshatriya tribes in ancient times It contains nine chapters dealing with the Lichchhavis Jñārikas, Videhas, Mallas, Śākyas, Bulis, Madras, Kambojas, and Gandhāras The author's conclusions are mainly based on literary tradition as embodied in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit works, but he has also made use of coins and inscriptions The general result of the inquiry is to discourage any over-estimation of the primitive Aryas and to indicate that they brought with them

to India, as it is clear they also brought into Iran, practices and habits similar and in no way superior to those of other nomadic tribes

12 WIT, HUMOUR, AND FANCY OF PERSIA By MEHRJIBHAI NOSHERWANJI KUKA, M A $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 332 pp. Bombay British India Press, 1923

The first edition of this book was published as far back as 1894 under the title of *The Wit and Humour of the Persians* The present writer has a recollection of coming across that book in the library of the Indian Institute in Oxford in 1904 The author now claims that the second edition, which is dedicated to Professor Browne, contains most of the old matter, together with much new addition, the latter forming about forty per cent of the book, and this claim is fully justified The increase in quantity has been accompanied by an even more striking improvement in quality, a work which was formerly meagre and inadequate having been transformed into one which gives a very fair idea of the subject treated and contains much matter of interest Mr Kuka disclaims any right to be regarded as a Persian scholar and pleads that his range of reading is limited, but it is evident from the bibliography annexed to the body of the work that he is acquainted with many of the best available sources, while the original Persian verses composed by him, which are included among the riddles, charades, and enigmas, contain evidence of taste and of command over the wide resources of the language

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which is by far the more interesting, as it contains felicitous and typical illustrations of Persian humour and hyperbole, parody and burlesque, satire and epigram, puns, riddles, charades, epigrams, and conundrums, and in each case the original Persian is given along with an adequate rendering into English. This covers more than two-thirds of the book. The remaining portion is devoted to witty and humorous stories and anecdotes taken from Persian originals, but the Persian

is not supplied The author has been studiously careful to exclude any matter to which exception could be taken on the score of indelicacy, but this restriction creates a picture of Persian mentality which some students of Persian will consider far too favourable

R P DEWHURST, I C S (ret)

THE OLD TESTAMENT A NEW TRANSLATION By JAMES MOFFATT Vol I, xi 571 pp Vol II, xi + 483 pp London Hodder and Stoughton, 1924 10s 6d per vol

In these days of specialized work it is a bold thing for a New Testament scholar to translate the Old Testament, for, although he will naturally mistrust his own opinion in a sphere where he has not expert knowledge and will follow that of Old Testament scholars, yet he requires a general acquaintance with the whole field in order to be able to pass wise judgments This is a great work and will be of immense service to all those who really study the Bible, especially to those who do not read the original It must be judged by its intentions It aims at giving a popular and accurate translation in good modern English It cannot supersede the AV and the RV, but is to be used along with them We must ask ourselves two questions is it accurate and is it couched in good English? The answer to the first question is almost wholly favourable (though I cannot persuade myself that כה יעשה יהוה לי וכה יסיף means may God kill me and worse) It is invaluable in throwing new light on obscure or doubtful sentences it is a wonderful contribution to knowledge The second question must be answered with much greater reserve

While there are innumerable passages, especially in the second volume full of felicitous renderings, some which make one glow with spiritual ardour, there are many others where wrong idioms, even bad grammar, harsh phrases, colloquialisms, almost vulgarisms, impair the pleasure and profit of reading The faults of idiom, diction and grammar

which are observable in the author's New Testament are still present, though happily they are not nearly so prominent. Thus to take his translations of the poetry, one's criticism of the first volume, and to a lesser extent of the second, is that they are a strange mixture. Phrases of rhythmic and poetic beauty jostle colloquial prose; in half a dozen consecutive lines we may find a number of incongruous details—rhyme, metre, and rhythm, along with unrhymed, unmetrical, and unrhythmical lines, or stately prose along with snippets of modern conversation. The following examples from vol. i. will illustrate what has been said:—

(*a*) Bad or clumsy English. Who has handed you over your foes, Gen. xiv, 20. In case they *would* kill him, Gen. xxvi, 7. She (Rahab) *stayed* on the wall, Joshua ii, 15. Isaac *stayed* at Gerar, Gen. xxvi, 6. Where you hid *yon* day, 1 Sam. xxvi, 16. All *yon* company that I met, Gen. xxxiii, 8. He and his officers *stiffened themselves*, Ex. ix, 24. Encouraged him from God, 1 Sam. xxiii, 16. Drowsy and asleep, 2 Sam. iv, 6. We *will* never be able, Neh. iv, 10. Destroy all the spots, מקומות, Deut. xii, 2. In 1 Ch. xxvii, 24, "never" occurs twice apparently for "not." So Song v, 6, and elsewhere, "check" is used for "find fault with."

(*b*) Colloquial or undignified English: in the great poem of Deut. xxxii the Almighty is made to refer to His enemies as "fatuous folk" (גוי אבד), v. 28, and to say "I had meant to finish them off" (אפאיהם), v. 26*a*. In the same poem occurs the school phrase "ask your seniors to repeat." Other examples are: Moses was a most devout creature, Num. xii, 3. Hands off! Jos. vi, 18. Jacob *started* to mount his sons on camels, Gen. xxxi, 17. This is a bad business, 1 Sam. xxvi, 16. Passing waifs (תושבים), 1 Ch. xxix, 15.

In places there are phrases which convey no clear meaning.

A considerable number of the individual words seem out of place in a Bible translation, for they have a peculiar and narrow meaning. Such words are braves, fetishes, fortalice, sept, sheikhs, midrash, burg and burghers (former not given, latter

marked "archaic" in Concise Oxf Dict), troglodytes (surely "cave-dwellers" is a far commoner word) מדבר is translated now "desert", now "country" or "open country" (description, not translation) now "wolds", now "steppes" (applied to a part of the country where there are no steppes) David's גבורים are called "knights", which they were not Some prophets are termed "dervishes", others "prophets", but we are not told what the principle of the distinction is

The word "clan" is greatly overworked It does duty for שבט, for גוי for בני (clan of), for ראשי האבות (chief of the clans), for בית (בית אביך, thy father's clan) "Quivering" is unpleasantly used of human beings for נמוגו Jos ii, 9, 24, for ינע, Is vii 2 and for ימס, Jos ii, 11 v 1, vii, 5, but this last word, נמס is rendered "melt" in Ps xxii, 14, Isa xiii, 7, "tremble" in Ezek xxi 7 and "collapse" in 2 Sam xvii, 10 Hannah's heart "thrills over the Eternal" (עלץ) and in Song i, 1 the bride says "there let us thrill with delight"

In place of the usual Hebrew or Aramaic text Dr Moffatt has frequently adopted readings found in the versions, or followed modern conjectures It would be well if these were indicated in the margin We should like to know which are conjectures and which come from the versions and also what degree of credence is to be attached to any particular reading

Another question is that of order In many instances the translator departs from the usual arrangement Sometimes the intention of this is to restore the chronological order, and for this we are grateful, but it is tantalizing to be unable to find a passage which has been removed to a new situation In other cases, however, where a supposed Hebrew editor has blended two or more narratives into a harmonious whole, Dr Moffatt undoes his work and gives us the separate documents according to the prevailing view of modern critics—a proceeding which is out of place in a popular translation

It is greatly to be regretted that Dr Moffatt has given us a title instead of a name for the Tetragrammaton The absolutely

necessary thing is that whatever word is chosen, it should be a name, not a title. I hope that in the next edition "Jehovah" will be adopted Why should "Yahweh" be suggested as the only possible name, unless indeed we are also to have Ya aqobh, Yitschaq, Yarobh'am and Chizqiel? But if we may and do employ the Anglicized forms of these names, we may also employ "Jehovah", used in the American RV., long established as an English word, and well suited to a popular translation

We must note some very happy renderings deep sea vessels for אניות תרשיש (ships of Tarshish), king's "confidential adviser" for רע המלך (but why David's *friend* for רעה?), temple attendants, for Nethinim, tutor to the king's sons, עם בני המלך, I am quite ready to die, הנני אמות, 1 Sam xiv, 43 There are many others, especially in the later books Perhaps the most successful attempt to translate poetically a poetical passage is in 2 Sam xxiii, 1–7 It is notable that the translation of poetry in the prose books is not on the whole so good as in the more purely poetical books, the Prophets and Psalms

The Book of Proverbs lends itself well to his style, and the translation of Pr xxx, 1, a happy conjecture, adds a pure gem to the book

Those who desire to know the Bible are under a great debt to Dr Moffatt for his work, if attention has here been drawn to flaws rather than to merits, it is in order that they may be considered before the next edition comes out

To sum up, the following are the changes which we should like to see introduced as soon as possible —

(1) The English improved in very many places

(2) Indication given of new readings, those found in the great versions being distinguished from modern guesses.

(3) Excision of all reference to different documents or editorial comments, at best they deal only with scholars' subjective conjectures, and they are unsuitable in a popular work

(4) Order not to be altered except where necessary (never to indicate documents), and all changes to be shown

(5) "Jehovah" to be used for the Tetragrammaton

T GRAHAME BAILEY

DIE HEILIGE SCHRIFT DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS By E. KAUTZSCH 4th ed Edited by A BERTHOLET Vol i, viii + 1000, vol ii 864 vol iii Die Apokryphen und Pseudoepigraphen d alten Testaments xxxi, 507 540 pp Roy 8vo 50s Tubingen T C B Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1922

The translation of the Bible has always proved a supreme task Its influence upon the language and literature of the people has been overwhelming Many a modern literature has its beginnings with that translation One has only to remember the Septuagint and Luther Wycliff and the Authorized, to realize that influence To the old difficulties the modern Higher Criticism has added some new ones The ideal aim of modern scholarship is therefore to produce now as perfect a translation of the Hebrew original as would satisfy the highest demands In Germany now an attempt has been made to produce such a translation and according to all appearances it has met with a favourable reception This task has been undertaken in the first place by a band of scholars under the able leadership of the late Professor Kautzsch It appeared in two forms one a simple translation of the text and another in two big volumes in which the translation has been accompanied by a brief running commentary and the chapters and books of the Bible have been preceded by a short critical introduction, the object being to justify the translation and to give the necessary explanations and references A fourth edition has now appeared, corrected and revised under the able guidance of Professor Bertholet who had taken over the general editorship after the death of Professor Kautzsch. It represents the high-water mark of German scholarship with all its merits and shortcomings, especially from the point of

view of that Higher Criticism, the tide of which is fast running out It is not here the place to discuss these points, which would require a minute and detailed examination Suffice it to say that for the time being it is a standard translation and a most valuable contribution to the interpretation of the Bible It is the ripest result of modern scholarship

M GASTER

THE OCEAN OF STORY Being C H Tawney s translation of Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara Edited by M N PENZER Vol II Foreword by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON 10¼ × 7¼, xxii + 375 pp London Chas J Sawyer, Ltd , Grafton House, 1924

This second volume of Mr Penzer's great work fulfils the promise of its predecessor, and has been produced with the same apparatus of notes innumerable, some short and some so long as to be almost monographs on the subjects to which they refer There are also three appendices on the story of Urvaśī and Purūravas, which " may even be the oldest love-story in the world , on umbrellas, in which, though it is not exhaustive, much valuable information is collected , and on poison damsels, which is really an admirable essay on a subject hitherto almost unnoticed by folklorists

The longer notes by Mr Penzer are so numerous that I cannot do more here than barely notice them to show the student the value of this work and the great extent of the research that has made them possible At pp 16 ff there is an excellent and informing account of polyandry and the causes of the shortage of women in India At pp 31 ff there are notable observations on the Act of Truth *motif* in Folklore " if x be not so, may y happen to me " At pp 81 ff we are treated to an equally remarkable note on Rāhu and eclipses, the origin of the myth of Rāhu swallowing the sun and moon at eclipses being apparently still untraced On pp. 107 f. there are some arresting remarks on " overhearing " as it occurs in folktales, followed by equally arresting observations

on pp. 113 f. on the "grim repast", when unsuspecting people are fed with human flesh At pp 117 ff are two fine accounts, first of nudity in magic ritual and then of folktales about women whose love is scorned, the *motif* in the well-known story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife At pp 166 ff we are treated to quite a remarkable description of the precautions observed in the ancient birth-chamber which it may be remarked, like those at weddings, are aimed at personal protection of the chief actors—in this case the mother and the infant On p 190 we have a note on sending inquirers with awkward questions on to others who can answer them as to which Mr Penzer does not hesitate to express his own opinion while on p 193 f there are useful observations on the ideas underlying the tale of Jonah in the whale's belly At pp 198 ff are some notes on the method of becoming a *rākshasa* or demon, which are well worth remark by students Then on pp 214 ff, are illuminating observations on Tantric rites, and on pp 223 f others on the "forbidden chamber" while on pp 231 f there are further remarks on gambling in India Finally we have a fine note on pp 240 ff on the sacred cow of the Hindus

The above list does not by any means exhaust the places where Mr Penzer has found opportunity for giving us the result of his researches but enough has been said to show how far they have gone and the value of his work to all folklorists and those interested in literature

This is no place to go into the details of his many observations, and I will confine myself to a notice of that part of his book which gives us the most new information—the Appendix on the Poison Damsel Here, in the main story of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, the King of Benares, Brahmadatta, is attacked by the King of Vatsa, and we have an account of the method of the fighting In the course of the description we read at p 97 "Then the Minister of Brahmadatta, Yogakaraṇḍaka, . sent Poison Damsels as dancing girls among the enemy's [the King of Vatsa's] hosts" This state-

ment sets Mr Penzer on an important quest, with the result that at pp 311 ff he produces his most valuable Appendix on Poison Damsels, about whom not much has been hitherto unearthed *More suo*, he goes in detail into the question: What was the Poison Damsel?

We heard much of the iniquity of the use of poison gas in the late Great War, but the use of poison in war in other directions is a very old practice In India it was in use in ancient times and is enjoined in the *Code of Manu*, and antidotes are provided in the *Suśrutā Saṃhitā*, a medical work of the first century A D, in which the poisoning of water, of stone-slabs, of landing-stages, of desert country, and of hay, fodder, and foodstuffs are all discussed Such practices, indeed, seem to be treated as ordinary incidents in war, but in Europe poisoning in war has been universally condemned by all authorities, a fact which accounts for the wrath which the proceedings commenced by the Germans caused in the Great War

Also, in considering historical instances recorded of the use of poison in war and political struggles, we should take into consideration, firstly the ignorance of the medical aspect of poisons everywhere until quite recently, causing doubt as to the accuracy of records, and secondly in India of the wide spread of poisonous substances easily procured Of course, many instances of dastardly acts of poisoning have been recorded all the world over

The Poison Damsel was obviously one of the methods of attacking an enemy, and Mr Penzer cleverly traces her in Europe to the days of Chandragupta, the Mauryan Emperor in India in the fourth century B C Aristotle was credited with aiding Alexander the Great, Chandragupta's elder contemporary, in his campaigns, and incidentally with saving him from the Poison Damsel The idea was subsequently spread over Europe by a Pseudo-Aristotelean work, the *Secretum Secretorum*, to give it its Latin title Next, Chandragupta himself, through his Minister Chāṇakya, was believed to have

been saved from another Poison Damsel This last incident is gathered from the *Mudra-Rākshasa*, as is also the belief that the poisonous person could poison only once It may be noticed, too, as a memento of the morals of the times that, though he saved Chandragupta, Chānakya passed the Poison Damsel on to a doubtful ally, Parvataka, whom she duly slew

What, then was the Poison Damsel? How did she poison? Here Mr Penzer's research is of great value In the *Pariśishta-parvan* we learn that she was "fed on poison from the time of birth So that by the time she was given to Parvataka in marriage her perspiration was so poisonous that the mere taking of hands in the marriage ceremony poisoned him (p 285) Mr Penzer then points out that, without going into the question as to how far the Poison Damsel was known in the nearer East, it was the *Secretum Secretorum*, a work of even date with Somadeva that spread the belief in her in Europe It was alleged no doubt apocryphally, that the work contained the secret communications of Aristotle to Alexander the Great, and it had an immense vogue In it Alexander is warned against the gift from "the King of India of 'a beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake' (p 291), and could kill by her perspiration In Hebrew and Arabic texts occurs the same idea (p 291), and the *Secretum Secretorum* in some shape or other was translated into every European literary language

The Poison Maiden seems always to have had the same characteristics bred on poison from birth she grew into a beautiful girl, whose very touch was poisonous Gradually antidotes were evolved The original antidote, of doubtful date and origin, however, was the magic circle, out of which neither snake nor Poison Damsel can go, but must suddenly die in the attempt to get out (p 295) Meanwhile the story got into the *Gesta Romanorum* and thence everywhere, and various methods of communicating the poison became popular

in story—by the fatal look, by poisonous breath, by intercourse, and so on Mr Penzer examines all of them most carefully, with many a fascinating tale, and as a remarkable fact it may be noted that nowhere does it appear that the Poison Damsel communicated her poison by means of disease

Mr Penzer's own view of the whole idea is that it is "merely the creation of the story-teller, who derived the idea from what he saw around him" the poisonous herbs and their uses, and the ways of the snake-charmers and their method of gradual self-inoculation with snake-poison (p 312) And here he concludes one of the most informing appendices he has so far written in this work

I cannot close this very cursory account of a great book without a reference to Sir George Grierson's foreword, which shows how much alive some of the folklore in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* is still in India, or without expressing my appreciation of his useful quotations from another great folktale, the *Lay of Ālhā*, in reference to one of Mr Penzer's many fascinating notes on horses in folklore

R C TEMPLE

ASIATIC ART IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (Sculpture and Pictorial Art) By LAURENCE BINYON 10½ × 14, 74 pp of letterpress and 64 full-page collotype plates in double tint, containing 107 illustrations Paris and Brussels G Van Oest, 1925

The publishers deserve the gratitude of students and lovers of Asiatic Art for adding this volume to their well-known series "Ars Asiatica", of which this will be Part VI in the French edition The India Society's publication of *Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum* was confined to a very small part of the ground covered by this volume Here the sculpture of India and China, and the paintings of China, Japan, Persia, and India, are represented, and an example is added from Korea and another from Tibet.

As in the rest of the Series, the illustrations are particularly good; and where the chief artistic merit consists in form, or drawing, or design, and not in an atmosphere, or in a delicate harmony of colours, they will be found adequate by students of art Even to those to whom the rich treasures of the British Museum are accessible in the original, the volume will be of immense service Like all British institutions the British Museum grew up piecemeal, without a previously thought-out plan and in defiance of logical arrangements It has a department of Oriental Antiquities but none of the objects illustrated in this volume will be found in that department You will have to search for them in scattered exhibits under Ceramics and Ethnography, or Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, or Prints and Drawings and some of them are not publicly exhibited for want of space, though they are accessible to serious students who know what to ask for Under the competent and skilful guidance of Mr Binyon's Introduction to this volume the reader will learn the history of the collections how they were got together and arranged; what they contain and also what they do *not* contain, and the significance and meaning of the particular specimens which are selected for illustration in this volume He will be able to get a glimpse of Buddhist art in its various phases, Indian, Chinese (notice particularly the Arhat in meditation plate x), Japanese (pl xxviii is unsurpassed in its design, artistic beauty, and religious feeling), Tibetan and Siamese, of Persian mysticism (pl l) in its interpretation of the Prophet's Mi raj of the wonderful portraiture of the Mughal school (pl lix), or the romantic feminism of the line drawings of the Kangra *qalam* of the silk paintings and embroideries brought by Sir Aurel Stein in 1908 from the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas, and of many other artistic features, which cannot even be mentioned in a short notice It is in the fitness of things that this book should be published in both English and French It will make a wide appeal both in the West and in the East

A. YUSUF ALI.

HISTORY OF INDIAN LOGIC (ANCIENT, MEDIÆVAL, AND MODERN SCHOOLS) By SATIS CANDRA VIDYABHUSANA xliii + 648 pp Published by the University of Calcutta, 1921

This book is partly a republication, in a revised form, of Dr Vidyabhusana's previous publications on Indian logic It is the monument of a life devoted to these studies, for the author died while the book was still in the press The first part of the work (the Ancient School) is partly based on his translation of the *Nyāya Sūtras* in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* (Allahabad 1913), but contains new matter in a chapter on the commentaries (*Bhāṣya*, *Vārtika*, *Tātparyaṭīkā*, and *Pariśuddhi*) The second part (the Mediæval School) is an edition, revised and corrected in important respects, of the Indian Logic Mediæval School (Calcutta University, 1909) The third part (the Modern School) consists of a section on such manuals as the *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña, the *Tārkikarakṣā* of Varadarāja, etc, and a section on Gangeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, which gives an analysis of that epoch-making work, and much valuable information about the innumerable commentaries upon it produced by the schools of Mithilā and Navadvīpa (Nuddea) But surely there is a cipher too many in the estimate that the expository treatises on this basic text of the modern school extend to over 1,000,000 pages

The book would retain its value, even if all the author's conclusions were as dubious as his attempt to distinguish an ancient Medhātithi "Gautama" from a relatively late "Akṣapāda" (the author of the *Nyāya Sūtras*), as separate founders of an early and a late Nyāya doctrine--or, again, as his attempt to prove that Akṣapāda's doctrine of the syllogism is derived from Aristotle In these and other conclusions he certainly lapses from those historical and critical canons by which it seems to have been his sincere desire to be guided. But theories matter less, in a book which provides so invaluable a compilation of data It is as a mine of information that the

book must be appreciated, and in that light it is indispensable **to students** of the *Nyāya*

Stress is laid on the passages in *Suśruta* and *Caraka* which **deal** with the methodology of science and debate The list of "*tantrayukti*" or methodological terms used in a *śāstra* is found **in the** *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra*, as well as in these two medical **works** It is of particular interest because Vātsyāyana on NS **I, 1, 4**, appeals to a "*tantrayukti* *paramatam apratisiddham anumatam*—which appears in all these lists as an excuse for **reading** into the *Nyāyasūtra* the Vaiśesika doctrine that *manas* **is an** *indriya* But there is little or no logic as the *Nyāyasūtra* **understands** logic in this popular methodology Nor is it **reasonable** to find in other passages of Caraka a reproduction of "Medhātithi Gautama's doctrines, i e of Nyāya teaching **earlier** than that embodied in the *Nyāyasūtra* It may be **noted** that the *sloka* quoted by Vātsyāyana on NS I, 1, 1, **is an** adaptation of a *sloka* found in the *Kautilīya*, 1, 2

The author is convinced that the *Nyāyasūtra* contains "passages which were quoted almost verbatim from the *Lankāvatāra sūtra*, *Mādhyamika sūtra*, and other Buddhist works which were composed about the third or fourth century A D" The parallelism in thought and phraseology is unquestionable, and leaves no room for doubt that the sūtras in question refer to Buddhist doctrines expressed in the phrases found in these works Vidyabhusana's view that these **passages** were interpolated into the Sūtra by Vātsyāyana **has** little to recommend it but it does not of course follow **that** the *Nyāyasūtra* is later than e g the *Lankāvatāra sūtra*, **such a** conclusion being in fact impossible Doctrines and **phrases**, passed on from one work to another, and the book **in** which we find a line is not necessarily the book in which it **was first used** Possibly a close comparison of Nāgārjuna **with the** *Nyāyasūtra* might lead to something more definite **The** ***Nyāyasūtra*** **is** without doubt a reply to the sort of **self-destructive and sceptical** dialectic which Nāgārjuna **applies to every conceivable topic**, an effective reply, too, of which

Buddhist thinkers who had had a surfeit of the *Śūnyavāda* sophistry may have been glad to avail themselves Perhaps that explains Dinnāga's close study of the *Nyāyasūtra*, and the rise of the Buddhist school of logic—which in spite of its polemical attitude was, in fact, an offshoot of the Nyāya

The author s present account of Buddhist logic differs from that given in his earlier work in certain important points, embodied in the footnotes In the first place, his identification of the numerous citations in Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā* of passages from Dinnāga is much more complete than it was before, and the important fact emerges that every identified quotation comes from Dinnāga s *Pramānasamuccaya*—and not a single one from the *Nyāyapraveśa*, the other logical work attributed to Dinnāga There is therefore no corroboration for the latter attribution—and this is interesting in so far as some of the arguments on which Stcherbatsky bases his view that Praśastapāda borrowed his logic from Dinnāga turn on the detailed likeness between the logic of the *Nyāyapraveśa* and that of *Praśastapādabhāṣya*

Further, Vidyabhusana now says that the *Hetucakrahamaru* (? *-damaru*) [1] is a chapter of the *Nyāyapravesa* And, at the suggestion of Professor H Ui, he has re-examined another "*Nyāyapraveśa*", which he had previously treated as a separate work by Dinnāga and finds that the two supposedly separate works are identical in their contents—one being a translation direct from Sanskrit, the other through a Chinese version He further suggests that a "*Nyāyapraveśa*" attributed on Chinese evidence to one Śankara Svāmin, a disciple of Dinnāga (unknown to Tibetan tradition), may be yet another version of the same work Under these circumstances, and in the absence of all citations from it in Brahmanic

[1] As Dr F W Thomas considers the title of this tract should be read. The teaching of this tract, in every detail, is contained in a citation of eight lines from Dinnāga made in Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā*, pp 197–8 of the Bibl Ind edition This citation is identified by Vidyabhusana as coming from the *Pramānasamuccaya* It would seem to be repeated, perhaps verbatim, in the Hetucakra

works, the attribution of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to Dinnāga seems uncertain.

It is impossible in a brief notice to refer to more than these few points in a work which is full of noteworthy things The revival among Indians of interest in the older Nyāya is a striking result of the publication of the fundamental texts in series such as the Bibliotheca Indica, the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, and the like– publications in the initiation of which European Sanskritists in India such as the late Arthur Venis did valuable work This work may indeed prove to have a wider importance for Indian thought than might have been anticipated, for the older Nyāya is capable of providing a useful corrective to the somewhat barren dialectic and misty metaphysic into which Śankara's teaching too easily degenerates The instinct which led Vidyābhusana to the study of Tibetan enabled him to make a contribution of a special nature and value to the elucidation of the Nyāya, a contribution which earns him a high place in Indian scholarship.

H N RANDLE

Indica (et alia)

1 THE PRAKRIT DHĀTV-ĀDEŚAS according to the Western and the Eastern Schools of Prakrit grammarians By Sir GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K C I E Ph D, D Litt, LL D (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol VIII, No 2) 12 × 10, 77–170 pp Calcutta Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1924

2 ARDHA-MĀGADHĪ READER By BANARSI DAS JAIN, M A 9 × 5½, lxv + 180 pp Lahore, 1923

Sir George Grierson if the metaphor may be allowed, is the *Kāma-dhēnu* of Indian linguistic lore, fulfilling the desires of students with a constant stream of masterly contributions, and his latest production will be greeted with lively satisfaction by all who are grappling with the problems of the Prakrit vocabulary The Prakrit *ādēsas*—i e the verbal roots which may be, or must be, substituted for Sanskrit roots, and which

either cannot be derived from Sanskrit roots at all, or though derived thence, have changed their meanings *en passant*—are here, after an introduction, arranged in two indexes. The first index presents all the Prakrit *ādēśas* that are regarded by the grammarians as of Sanskrit origin, with their alleged Sanskrit originals They are here arranged in parallel columns, of which the first gives the Sanskrit roots in alphabetical order, the second the actual forms of them quoted, the next five the Prakrit *ādēśas* for them recorded by Hēmacandra, Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, Rāma Śarman, and Mārkandēya (in all flexions quoted), and the last occasional remarks We have thus a conspectus of the lexical teachings of the Western School, represented by Hēmacandra, and the Eastern School, represented by the other four worthies The second index, a key to the first, shows in the first column the Prakrit *ādēśas* in alphabetical series, with the Sanskrit interpretations of the same five grammarians in the next five columns, and remarks in a seventh, and it is followed by an appendix containing the text of Rāma Śarman's *Prākrta-kalpa-taru* I, viii, on the same subject, edited for the first time as well as the very corrupt MS permits The practical utility of this work is inestimable Prakrit is not merely a group of literary dialects, it is primarily a series of links connecting the Vedic and Sanskrit with the various Aryan vocabularies, and is hence of prime importance for the study of the modern languages. From very early times there existed local variations in popular speech, which often crept through Prakrit into the Sanskrit locally written and spoken, thus in the West, especially in the region of Gujarat, the literary Sanskrit is frequently coloured by words and idioms of popular origin unknown elsewhere, and a similar process has taken place in the East, while the theories of Prakrit preached in the West often differ widely—sometimes *toto caelo*—from those taught in the East That a third school of Prakrit also existed is proved by the striking peculiarities of Southern MSS of dramas, though hitherto no written rules for it have been found surviving.

Thus to understand aright the Aryan languages of India we must consider them from the standpoints of historical evolution and local variation and here Sir George Grierson's work is peculiarly helpful He is one of those master-minds who make the rough places of vast areas plain, χθόνα ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην

As a handy practical guide to the language of the Jain canonical scriptures, Mr Banarsi Das Jain's Reader may be heartily recommended It comprises a sketch of the grammar and literature of the sacred tongue, with bibliography, 13 extracts from eight scriptural texts, and an annotated English translation The book is almost exactly what an elementary guide should be, without obtrusive display of erudition, it is sound in matter and helpful in method

3 PRIYADARSIKA, a Sanskrit drama By HARSHA translated into English by G K NARIMAN A V WILLIAMS JACKSON and C J OGDEN with an introduction and notes by the two latter, together with the text in transliteration (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol x) 9×6½, cxi + 137 pp, 1 plate New York Columbia University Press 1923

The *Priyadarśikā* is true to its name in the *nitidus novus libellus* that we owe to Professor Williams Jackson and his collaborators The graceful little play is rendered still more attractive by the accompaniment of accurate translation, scholarly introduction treating of the historical and literary matters connected with it, and illuminative notes, no less than by the excellent paper and the type in which it is presented One of the most interesting features in the introduction is the study of the motive of a play within a play, which shows that, as Professor Jackson remarks, "Orient and Occident, after all, are not so remote from each other in art" Teachers and students, in particular, will find the book as useful as it is pleasant reading

4 Karnâtaka-kavi-charite, or Lives of Kannada Poets Volume I—to the end of the fourteenth century By . . . Rao Bahadur R Narasimhacharya, M A Revised edition $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxiii + 23 + 453 pp Bangalore, 1924

5 Śâsana-padya-mañjari, or Poetical Extracts from Inscriptions Compiled by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, M A $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, iv, 4, 3, 300 pp. Bangalore Guruvilas Printing Works, 1923

6 Bhattâkalanka-dêva's Karnâtaka-sabdânusâsanam, with its Vritti or gloss, named Bhâshâ-mañjari, and Vyâkhyâ or commentary thereon, called Mañjarî-makaranda Edited by Rao Bahadur R Narasimhacharya $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, ii, iv, 20, 580 pp Bangalore, 1923

No scholar has devoted more zeal and ability to the study of ancient Kanarese literature and history than Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya, and it is gratifying to see in the appearance of a second and enlarged edition of his admirable *Karnātaka-kavi-carite* a proof that his labours have succeeded in arousing a fitting interest in this pleasant *hortus Musarum.* The work, as students of Kanarese know, gives what is known of the lives of the poets in their chronological order, with specimens of their verses, where time has spared them, beginning with Samantabhadra (*c* 400), and this new edition has been enlarged by the addition of notices of about fifty more poets, chiefly composers of inscriptions, thus marking a notable advance In *Śāsana-padya-mañjari* the same scholar has collected a neat anthology of 1,456 verses selected from 283 anonymous Kanarese inscriptions in Mysore and Bombay, with an appendix of short notes on points of lexical and grammatical difficulty Though there is a certain sameness of theme in many of the verses, they all have literary merit, and the student of Kannada poetry will find in them a rich mine of manifold examples of poetic diction.

Finally, we may offer our congratulations to the Rao Bahadur on the issue of his revised edition of the *Karnātaka-*

śabdānuśāsana Bhaṭṭākalanka is one of the great luminaries of Kanarese grammatical studies Though comparatively modern in date (his *Mañjarī-makaranda* was finished in A.D 1604), he had a profound knowledge of classical Kannada and its literature, as well as of Sanskrit grammar, which is embodied in the great work before us It is throughout in Sanskrit, except for the Kanarese words and extracts quoted in it, and consists of the *Karnātaka-śabdânuśāsana* proper (comprising 592 *sūtras* in the style of Pāṇini and Śākaṭāyana, reduced to the utmost possible degree of brevity, and arranged in four *pādas*), a *vṛtti* or running gloss of moderate extent, and a diffuse commentary [1] The author's method is very similar to that of the writers on Sanskrit grammar, and often seems to Western eyes more ingenious than scientific, nevertheless, there is a vast amount of sound information in the work, and it is more systematic and more complete than the Kannada grammars of the younger Nāgavarma and Kēśirāja He seems also to have had a touch of humour in his soul, as is evinced by his elaborate proof that the first aphorism, *siddhā hi śuddhakāh*, not only bears the natural meaning that the standard letters are *a* etc, but that it may also be construed in several other ways as *mangala-vācaka* denoting praise of the Holy Ones The editorial work of the Rao Bahadur is, as always, excellent but might we venture to suggest that the next edition should contain an index similar to that of Kittel's Grammar?

7 SIR J G FRAZER LES ORIGINES DE LA FAMILLE ET DU CLAN Translation française par la Comtesse J de PANGE (Annales du Musée Guimet Bibliothèque d'Études, Tome XXX) 10 × 6½, 1+185 pp Paris Geuthner, 1922

[1] It may be noted that Pandit K Varadacarya, of Mysore, has lately put forward an ingenious theory that the author of the Sutras is different from the author of the *vṛtti* and *vyākhyā* The evidence for this view is, however, inadequate

As Sir James Frazer's book does not deal in detail with specifically Oriental studies, we may be pardoned for devoting to it far less space than its scientific value deserves It presents a summary of the material collected and analysed in his *Totemism and Exogamy*, describing those institutions in the social life of man in the most diverse lands, stating and criticizing the leading theories of their origin, and offering a new explanation of the former, namely that totem was primitively the animal, plant, or other object imagined by a woman to have entered into her at the moment of the first symptoms of pregnancy, to be born later in human form and subsequently extended hereditarily in many cases to the clan Exogamy he explains, with Morgan, has sprung from the desire to check promiscuity and consequent incest where it occurs in connexion with totemism, it has arisen at a time when totemism was still in its earliest stage and been grafted upon the latter The book has all the high quality of the author's craftsmanship, and will be much appreciated

8 Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials, with dissertations on origin, folk-lore, and symbols By Rai Bahadur B A Gupte, F Z S Second edition, revised 8¾×6, lii, 285, xvi pp, 18 plates Calcutta and Simla Thacker Spink, 1919

Rai Bahadur Gupte's book has proved its worth, as is shown by the call for the second edition It is methodically arranged, fairly well indexed, and replete with really reliable information on the ceremonies of popular religion and the legends associated with them, with useful chapters on the parts played in folk-lore by animals and plants With these merits are associated some limitations The title suggests a performance much wider than is actually achieved the Dravidian South receives very little attention, and even for the North the descriptions are not exhaustive, while the attempts to explain the origin of myths are for the most part very unsatisfactory. As a practical repertory of folk-cults and folk-lore, however, it is really useful

9. A CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JAIN BHANDARS AT JESALMERE Compiled by C D Dalāl, M A, and edited with introduction, indexes, and notes on unpublished works and their authors, by LĀLCHANDRA BHAGAWĀNDĀS GĀNDHI (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No XXI) 9¾ × 6½, ii, ii, xv, 70, 101 pp Baroda, 1923

The literary wealth of Jesalmer was not wholly unsuspected, for Professor S R Bhandarkar in his Second Report (1909) estimated the number of MSS in the Great Library at 2,200 His description, however, was quite inadequate, and the present Catalogue of Mr Dalāl is a welcome and necessary supplement to it Mr Dalāl, before his lamented death, prepared notes upon the most valuable and rare MSS in the several Bhāndārs, which have been edited with care by Mr Gāndhi, and now form altogether six lists, describing 356 palmleaf MSS and 63 paper MSS, chiefly in Sanskrit and Prakrit, with extracts The editor has added an introduction of 70 pages on the most important works together with indexes of titles authors and other points of interest Naturally most of the works are Jain, and mainly concern the student of Jain literature but there is a fair sprinkling of books on secular subjects, especially poetry, *alamkāra-śāstra*, prosody and grammar The book is an important addition to the bibliography of Prakrit and Sanskrit

10 GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL LIBRARY SERIES Edited . . . under the supervision of the Curator, Government Oriental Library Mysore BIBLIOTHECA SANSKRITA Nos 48–53, 56–63 Mysore, 1916–23

This series fully maintains its usual level of quality, the works before us being all of interest and merit Three volumes, Nos 48, 52, and 56, are occupied by instalments of Dēvaṇṇa's *Smrti-candrikā*, viz the *Vyavahāra-kānda*, pt ii, *Śrāddha-kānda*, and *Āśauca-kānda* respectively; No 49 forms vol iv of the *Pūrva-mīmāmsā-darśana* (*Jaimini-sūtra*) with Khaṇḍa-dēva's commentary *Bhātta-dīpikā*, No 50

contains the *Gautama-dharma-śāstra* with the rare *bhāṣya* of Maskari, in Nos 51, 58, and 62 we have *Alamkāra-maṇi-hāra*, a treatise on the art of poetry by an eminent Vaisnava divine, Krsna-brahma-tantra Parakāla-svāmi, Nos 53 and 59 form vols iii and iv of an edition of Madhvâcārya's *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* with glosses by Jaya-tīrtha, Vyāsa-tīrtha, and Rāghavêndra-tīrtha, in No 57 is an instalment of the *Taittirīya-brāhmana* with Bhāskara Miśra's commentary, supplemented by Sāyana s exposition of the second *astaka*, No 60 presents Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa* with Mānikyacandra s commentary *Samkēta*, in No 61 we find an *Āyur-vēda-sūtra* or aphorisms of the medical art, in five *praśnas*, a work apparently of considerable antiquity, with a commentary by Yōgânandanātha, and No 63 offers the first instalment of the *Vidyāmādhavīya*, a treatise on horary astrology by a certain Vidyā-mādhava, illuminated by a commentary styled *Muhūrta-dīpikā* by Visnu Śarman The learned editors—Dr R Shama Sastry (Nos 52, 56–8, 60–3), and Messrs A Mahadeva Sastri (No 49), Srinivasacharya (Nos 48, 50–1), and Raghavendracharya (Nos 53, 59)—may be congratulated on the results of their efforts

L D BARNETT

THE CLOUD DREAM OF THE NINE By KIM MAN-CHOONG Translated by J S GALE $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 307 pp + 16 illustrations London D O'Connor, 1922

"The most moving romance of polygamy ever written" is the claim made for this book in the introduction It narrates the amorous exploits of a certain Master Yang who lived in China under the T ang dynasty and wooed so successfully that he gathered together eight wives all devoted to himself and to one another And the novelist is a Korean of the seventeenth century and the translator a Presbyterian missionary of to-day—altogether a strange combination The tale shows not merely how wedded bliss may be multiplied, there is a

pious setting which teaches "that earth's best attainments are fleeting vanities and that without religion nothing avails". The translator aims at providing a peep into the mind and manners of the Far East, and certainly he succeeds in so far as these are represented in works of fiction Real life is another matter.

W PERCEVAL YETTS

1 LINGUISTIC GLEANINGS By HANNES SKÖLD Lunds Universitets Arsskrift, N F Avd 1, Bd 19, Nr 5. 10×6⅝, 84 pp Lund C W K Gleerup, Leipzig. Otto Harrassowitz 1923

The headings Slavo-Baltica, Turcica, Fenno-Ugrica, Armenica, and Turkistan Notes show sufficiently the province of this monograph To linguists they will undoubtedly prove of considerable value, as they seem to explain many forms hitherto not well understood Accent-laws and sound-laws are dealt with Interesting, though perhaps too polemical, are "Some remarks upon the Russian national name", in which the question of the derivation of the Sanscrit *Rasa* and the Avestic *Ranha* are discussed "the Russian name for pearl and the story of Igor's Band," and other articles It seems to be doubtful whether "Igor's Band" is authentic history or not, but if composed by a contemporary of the events described, it would belong to the end of the twelfth century The original MS now lost, is probably not older than the latter half of the fourteenth century The total number of the subjects treated of in these "linguistic gleanings" is eighteen

2. OLD BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS By EDWIN CHIFRA 10½ × 7¾, 116 pp, 159 plates Pennsylvania University, 1922

Two hundred and sixty-four well-copied tablets preceded by 112 pp consisting of Preface, Introduction, Transcriptions, and Translations under thirteen headings, Personal names in

the two sections into which the texts are divided, a Descriptive List, and the catalogue-numbers The texts are all autographed, there being no half-tone reproductions. For many the interesting part of the book will be the translations, which occupy 52 pp The first English rendering refers to four brothers, who "obligate" themselves to provide for their sister This sister, who was named Bêltani, was a priestess or devotee of En-urta, a very favourite deity in W Asia, whom the family seems to have adopted as its patron-god. The name of this divinity ([cuneiform], *En-urta*, not *Nin-urta*—the Aramaic form is אנרשת, probably *Enuraštu*, and a Semiticizing of the word [1]) forms a component part of the 4th brother's name The penalty for failure was forfeiture of the inheritance, and if one of the brothers sold his share, he forfeited the money received A text to which Dr Chiera calls special attention is a legal decision referring to a murder—the only tablet recording a penal judgment among the Babylonian legal records of such an early date known Three persons were concerned in the murder, and the first to be accused was the victim's wife, but notwithstanding the evidence against her, she was exonerated Unfortunately the text is very mutilated, and the middle-portion is wanting Dr Chiera, however, has restored the portions which are recognizable from parallel passages

From what has been said it may be judged that this work is produced in a scholarly and scientific manner, and is a valuable contribution to Assyriological knowledge I doubt the correctness, however, of the reading Hammurawi for Hammu-rabi or Hammu-rapi—what was evidently good enough for the Babylonians, Assyrians, and apparently also for the Hebrews (the *l* in Amraphel is still a difficulty) should also be good enough for us This, however, is but a detail, and does not detract from the intrinsic value of the work.

[1] The shorter form, [cuneiform] *Uraš*, suggests that [cuneiform] may have been read *Nin-uraš*, and influenced the Aramaic transcription.

3. Historical Fragments By Leon Legrain 10½ × 8, 108 pp, 33 plates Pennsylvania Publications (as above), Vol XIII Philadelphia, 1922

The chronological list at the beginning reproduces, in a better form, that first published by Poebel, and enables one to control the dates of the historical inscriptions in this volume The results of a careful study of the historical inscriptions are given in the section headed "Translation and Commentary", which occupies pp 15–108 It is impossible to deal at all adequately with the mass of material which the book contains, but as an example of the nature of this portion we may quote what the author says concerning the kings of the interesting period of Sargon of Agade so familiar to readers of Assyro-Babylonian history Sargon Dr Legrain says, was king of Kis before he founded Agade He calls himself a devotee (*ur*) of Zagaga (or, according to Professor Langdon, a libator of the deified king Ur-Zagaga), the patron-god of Kis, who was, perhaps, his personal God In the same way Lugalzaggisi, born in Umma, calls on his patron-goddess Nindaba, even after he has become king of Uruk "Libator" possibly really indicates the rank and function of Sargon in the temple of Zagaga, and has 'a strange savour' of the boy brought up by Aggi, the libator growing up at the temple, and rising to be the founder of a great empire "To the last days of Nineveh and Babylon, people never tired of reciting that wonderful legend"

Interesting are the documents throwing light on the events which marked the end of the third dynasty of Ur Ibi-Sin, the last king, had been taken prisoner to Elam This new material tells us that Isbi-Irra, who now became the supreme ruler, was aided by Elam Owing to this, the power passed from Ur to Isin Abridgments of the letters referring to these events are given, and are of considerable interest It is noteworthy that Ibi-Sin complains that the god Enlil had given the royalty to an unclean clay-dealer (*lu im šamšam nulaḫḫa*), who was not a Sumerian The first of the two autographed

plates is a very fine enlargement of a part of a cylinder-seal given by Ibi-Sin to the high priest of Enlil, Sag-Nannar-zu. That the seated figure of a god here reproduced shows the deified king Ibi-Sin seems to me to be unproven, but there is no doubt that the signet in question was a fine example of Babylonian art The impressions were on a bulla which probably fastened, by means of a cord, a bag addressed to Sur-Dun-sig-ê, which was apparently to have been added to the volume as a frontispiece, but this seems to have been omitted

Dr Legrain is to be congratulated on having well edited a very important series of texts, deserving a much longer notice than has been possible here In addition to the chronological list, there is a list of Babylonian cities, and a map

4 THE STATUS OF LABOUR IN ANCIENT ISRAEL By MEYER SULTZBERGER, LL D $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 128 pp Philadelphia · The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1923

An interesting book, composed, as is stated in the preface, upon a different plan from that generally employed, and based on the legal assumption that, in giving evidence, no witness ever reveals all the facts known to him, but subconsciously withholds those which he conceives to be common knowledge Applying this principle to narratives, a possibility of presupposing other details naturally results by reading, as it were, between the lines

Interesting in the extreme is the account of the experiences of the Israelites before they became masters of their own destiny in the Holy Land From the position of being slaves under taskmasters in Egypt, they rose to the position of taskmasters themselves, for they found it to their advantage not to destroy the nations whose territories they had taken—the Hittite, the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, whose capital was Jerusalem, but to make of them *gerim*—landless serfs The description of the status

of the servile aborigines as indicated in the Old Testament, is well and clearly told, and the deductions therefrom are of considerable interest He who wishes to study the status of labour in ancient Israel, will find in this book not only details of the class which the author regards as Israel's great labour-force, the *ger*, but also of its subdivisions, the *toshab* and the *sakir*, with many other facts tending to a satisfactory comprehension of the situation—a situation which must have had its parallel in other ancient lands

Notwithstanding its modest extent, a subject-index would aid the reader and the student

5 THE ROYAL CHRONICLE OF ABYSSINIA, 1769–1840 With translation and notes By H WELD BLUNDELL, B Litt, F R G S 11 × 7½ 543 pp Cambridge University Press, 1922

The Ethiopic text occupies 198 pp , and is printed in very handsome type As the portion now published refers to the end of the eighteenth and the first four decades of the nineteenth century, its importance is not clear from the title-page of the book This being the case, the paper wrapper of the cover has a short but very comprehensive statement of the value of the work as a whole From this the reader learns that the British Museum MS starts with a history of the Jews beginning with Eli and ending with the time of Christ A history of the Roman empire follows, and is succeeded by a date-list beginning with the Creation and ending with the time of Mohammed After this native history and chronology are dealt with, including the laws and statutes of the kingdom brought from Jerusalem by Ebna Hakim, son of Solomon. Though very detailed, the Chronicle is interesting Noteworthy are the confession of faith (as it were) in the introductory lines, and the precision of the dating where occurrences such as battles are described The appendices, especially those dealing with the calendar and chronology, are attractive sections of the book and the same may also be said of the geographical index The whole is a solid and useful piece of work

6. MYSTIC TREATISES BY ISAAC OF NINEVEH Translated from Bedjan's Syriac Text, with an Introduction and Registers, by A J WENSINCK $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 499 pp. Amsterdam Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1923

Isaac, bishop of Nineveh, is regarded as having lived in the second half of the seventh century. The story of his life is characteristic of the ascetics of that and other ages, and it is partly to his constant writing of books and to his privations that the blindness from which, in the end, he suffered is said to have been due The present work is a strong advocacy of the hermit's life, such as he himself led, and is divided into no less than 82 chapters Isaac of Nineveh's examination of the subject of a solitary life is, therefore, very complete The translation made by Dr Wensinck is accompanied by a good subject-index, which enables the reader to see what Isaac's views upon such a life were Of special interest are the entries under Affection, Death, Knowledge (how it is swallowed up by faith is not clearly explained), Prayer (cut off by the delight of contemplation), and Purification Dr Wensinck knows English well, but corrections are needed here and there It is, nevertheless, a really valuable book

T G PINCHES

Reviews on Indian Subjects

1 THE RELIGION OF THE RIGVEDA By H D GRISWOLD. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxiv + 392 pp Oxford H Milford, 1923.

The numerous works dealing with the religion and mythology of the Rigveda are apt not only to give the student ample opportunities for considering the varying opinions of different scholars on these intricate and fascinating subjects, but also, in many cases, to leave him somewhat puzzled about the real points of view of their authors No such difficulty, however, will present itself to the reader of the book by Dr Griswold, who states his opinions in a simple and matter-of-fact way and gives throughout his

valuable work a clear statement of what may still be considered to be the orthodox view of the religion of the Vedic Aryans, viz that its deities are, as a rule, manifestations of the various forces of Nature

The present writer, unfortunately, does not see his way to agree with this opinion, though it be of a venerable age, having presented itself as the most probable one already to Yāska and several of his predecessors Recent researches seem to have established a fair probability that Indra was not a god either of thunder or of summer-heat, already the strongly divergent explanations of the nature of the Aśvins may be taken as a corroboration of the correctness of the theory of the Aitihāsikas, according to which they are in reality a pair of deified heroes, and it seems scarcely advisable to consider the sun as being the nature-substrate of gods like Vishnu, Pūshan, or Mitra, or the moon as having been impersonated in the austere and majestic figure of Varuna

But these considerations should in no way impair the value of a book like this, which by its clear and pleasant style, the well-chosen translations of Vedic hymns, and its author's thorough acquaintance with older literature on the subject, will be found to form a very useful textbook to students of Rigvedic religion The author's long personal acquaintance with the Punjāb, the country where the bulk of the ṛicah did undoubtedly originate, is of no slight value, though it appears to the present writer that Dr Griswold might have used it in a somewhat more extensive way for the benefit of his readers The author's method of paraphrasing, according to his own fundamental point of view, the names and functions of the Vedic gods is thoroughly sound, though some slight doubts may be expressed concerning the dual deities dealt with on p 104.

The linguistic materials presented by Dr Griswold are generally in good order, though sometimes open to doubt, for example, on p 18, n 1, few scholars may be willing to concur with the opinion of the author that the Icelandic language is "the most archaic of the Teutonic group".

There appears also to be a slight misunderstanding when the author (on p 70) suggests that all the contributors to the *Cambridge History of India*, vol 1, are agreed upon the correctness of the Vedic chronology of Max Muller To my knowledge no such unanimity of opinion was ever requested, nor has the present writer ever felt convinced by Muller's dates. The contributions of Pischel and Geldner towards the interpretation of the Veda have received only scanty acknowledgment by the author (p 78), which is somewhat deplorable, as these scholars—and more particularly perhaps Professor Geldner— may well be counted amongst the foremost of Vedic authorities, their long and painstaking investigations being now admirably summed up in Geldner's translation of the Rigveda The hypothesis raised by the author on p 254 concerning the sex of lightning is somewhat futile, as, so far as Hindu tradition is known to us, this phenomenon is always looked upon as being distinctly feminine

Well read as Dr Griswold undoubtedly is in the older literature on his subject, recent works seem generally to have escaped his notice Only to note some few points, there exist on Indra (p 180), on the soma-fetching eagle (p 215), on Dhisanā (p 226), on Rudra (p. 293), etc , several new works which throw some fresh light on the problems connected with these figures But, the foreword bearing no date, it may be possible that some of these works had not been issued when the learned author finished his manuscript

These small remarks should, however, not be allowed to throw any reflection upon this valuable and useful book. It appears to the present writer that the comparisons between Vedic and Christian subjects might have been somewhat less numerous, and that the parallel suggested (p 358) between Agni and our Lord Jesus Christ is strangely out of place. But this is obviously a matter of feeling and not a topic for scientific discussion, the much more as such speculations are wholly besides the general subject of the work and do in no way detract from its real value

2 HISTORY OF THE NAYAKS OF MADURA By R SATYANATHA AIYAR 8¾ × 5½, xiii + 403 pp Oxford: H Milford, 1924

Researches on the history of the great empire of Vijayanagar, splendidly inaugurated some twenty years ago by Mr Sewell,[1] whose standard work is now happily available in reprint, seem to become a favourite topic with South Indian scholars The *Madras University Historical Series* some years ago started with the publication of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, and in the present work which forms the second volume of this series, one of the Professor's pupils Mr Satyanatha Aiyar, has undertaken to give us a sketch of the history of the kingdom of Madura which grew up as a viceroyalty under Vijayanagar, owed its independence to the downfall of that empire, and itself, in the earlier half of the eighteenth century, shared the fate of its overlord in falling a prey to the Muhammadan Nawāb of Arcot

The author seems to have given to his topic a fairly exhaustive treatment and has presented, in the appendices, the chief sources on which he has been able to found his conclusions No doubt, the value of the work is considerably enhanced by the introduction and lengthy notes bestowed upon it by Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar, but even without these embellishments it would preserve by itself a fair amount of interest as being the first really scientific attempt towards a history of the Nāyaks of Madura, a subject not altogether familiar with European scholars

The subject is scarcely an edifying one, page after page is filled by the monotonous stories of the eternal strife between the Nāyaks and their neighbours, the petty rulers of Tanjore, Mysore, etc, a strife in which they wasted their forces, and made themselves ever more incapable to withstand the

[1] The valuable materials for the history of Vijayanagar, preserved in the Mackenzie Collection, were unfortunately not made use of in due time, and are now, at least in part, superseded by modern researches

Muhammadan pressure from the North. Nor does the style of the author contribute to the interest in these topics; and his constantly recurring wranglings with his predecessor, Mr. Rangachari, over matters of generally scanty importance will, as a rule, leave us quite cold Polemics are unfortunately necessary in scientific works, but they need scarcely occupy so much space, nor need they be conducted in the somewhat pettifogging manner adopted in this work

The book is not free from certain minor slips The constant adoption, in Indian words, of *nd* instead of *nd* is enigmatic and calls for explanation The denial, on the side of the author, of misrule and oppression by the Nāyaks towards their subjects, well attested by the Jesuit Fathers and by earlier writers in the case of the Vijayanagar empire, betrays a far too optimistic and uncritical view in a trained historian. The famous missionary, Roberto de' Nobili, often mentioned in this book, died in 1656, not in 1660 as asserted on p. 140.

The bibliography, as is generally the case in works by Hindu scholars, lacks in completeness and correctness One or more maps would have been of the greatest use in a book of this kind

3 THE KONKAN AND THE KONKANI LANGUAGE By Rao Sahab Dr V P CHAVAN $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, iii + 59 + xix pp. Bombay The National Book Depot, 1924

This little book is a reprint of some lectures held by Dr Chavan before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, and its last part consists of a number of extracts from the Indian Press concerning these lectures The main object of the author, apparently, is to prove that Konkanī, a dialect of considerable interest by reason of its preservation of older forms than those of the standard Marāthī, is a language by itself, independent of the idiom of Mahārāstra, and he argues his point with a fair amount of learning and enthusiasm

Similar views have been put forward, at various times,

by native pandits, as well as by Christian missionaries But, notwithstanding this, they cannot be upheld in the face of more recent researches, and there is no need here for a renewed discussion of this topic, as a simple reference to the part in question of the *Linguistic Survey of India* will be wholly sufficient

The etymology suggested by Dr Chavan for the word *Konkana* as being a derivative of Sanskrit *kim kinvam* ? is undoubtedly a bold one, but will, I am afraid, find only few supporters Forms like "Prakrat" (passim) or *pūtum* do, unfortunately, not seem to exist nor has a word *gai* "cow" as yet been unearthed from Sanskrit, and the boldest linguistic construction would fail to connect with such a word the Latin *vacca* That there should have been found a Devanāgarī manuscript of the Christian Purāna in Paris is unknown to the present writer, but there undoubtedly exists one amongst the Marsden manuscripts in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies (cp the Rev J E Abbott, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, ii, 679 sq , iii, 163 sq)

4 ĀRYAVIDYĀSUDHĀKARA, or a Compendium of Hindu Philosophy and Ritual by YAJÑESVARA CIMANA BHATTA Edited, with notes, by MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA PANḌITA ŚIVADATTA D KUDĀLA $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 4 + 139 pp (The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No 3) Lahore The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1923

5 ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA A new Edition by J JOLLY and R SCHMIDT Vol i, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 47 + vi + 272 pp (The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No 4) Lahore The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1923

The Punjab Sanskrit Series, which will form "a collection of rare and unpublished Sanskrit and Prakrit Works", has started with editions of two very interesting texts, the *Bārhaspatya Sūtra* and the *Jaiminīya Gṛhya Sūtra*, and goes on issuing important works of which the two indicated above

form the third and fourth part A fifth number of the Series is the *Nīlamata Purāna*, a document on the mythical history of Kashmir and one of the sources used by Kalhana, and further interesting publications are advertised as being in a state of preparation

The *Āryavidyāsudhākara*, the "moon of Aryan lore", is a work in five chapters dealing with the foundations of the Hindu social order, Vedic lore, public and domestic ritual, and with the different system of orthodox and heterodox philosophy, while the last chapter sums the whole matter up and ends with a *sarvadarśanānām aikamatyapradarśanam* The work is founded on the Sūtras and Dharmaśāstras—Manu, of course, being the authority most frequently quoted—and will, no doubt, form a most useful textbook for students

The importance of the new edition of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, prepared from the materials available in the second Mysore edition and from a manuscript preserved at Munich by Professor Jolly, can scarcely be overrated. Professor Jolly's great authority upon all matters connected with Hindu law and politics is far too well known to be dwelt upon here He has long been busying himself with the important work of Kautilya, and his papers on this subject are familiar with all Sanskrit scholars The text which he has given us marks a distinct advance upon that of his predecessor, and we are expecting, with great impatience, the second volume of his edition, which will bring the *variæ lectiones*, the native commentary and the notes of the learned editor.

In a masterly introduction Professor Jolly discusses, at considerable length, the very difficult problems connected with the date of the *Arthaśāstra* That this work is the original one of Kautilya, Chānakya, or Visnugupta, the famous Brahmin prime minister of Chandragupta, and should consequently date from about 300 B C, has been strongly advocated by Professor Jacobi in his well-known papers published some ten years ago by the Berlin Academy, and this view is in the main upheld by Dr. Thomas in the *CHI*., vol. i,

p. 467 On the other side, Professors Jolly and Winternitz [1] conclude, for various reasons, that the work must belong to a period some six hundred years later. To decide between the strongly varying opinions of these eminent savants is, of course, impossible at least at the present state of our knowledge, but to the reviewer it would appear that the date advocated by the two last-named scholars is perhaps, in spite of arguments that carry great weight, too late a one.

The *Arthaśāstra* is well known to Kālidāsa and to the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, who do perhaps both of them belong to the later period of the great Guptas [2]; it was also extensively used by the author of the original Pañcatantra, a work that may well belong to the period about A.D. 300, if not somewhat earlier,[3] and by Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra* whose date is now assigned to the third century A.D. On the other hand, we are assured by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that there are in the Mahābhāṣya no references to either Cāṇakya or the Arthaśāstra. This may mean that Patañjali did not know either about the minister of Chandragupta—who might very well, after all, be a legendary person—or about his work; but it is not quite clear whether the assertion is founded upon a minute comparison between the two texts. There remains, then, only one author who may safely be ascribed to the period between about 150 B.C. and A.D. 300, viz. Aśvaghosa; but to my knowledge no researches have so far revealed either his acquaintance with or ignorance of the tenets of the *Arthaśāstra*. Anyhow, it seems fairly safe to assume that the work cannot, in its present shape, be later than one of the very first centuries A.D.; but, on the other hand, decisive arguments are still wanting for con-

[1] Cf. *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, iii.

[2] The arguments on which Professor Keith has lately tried to advocate a far later date for Viśākhadatta are purely negative and seem to me wholly inconclusive.

[3] The latest discussion on this subject by Professor Edgerton (*The Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, ii, p. 182) brings no new arguments for deciding the question.

troverting the assumption that it may contain materials which date from the period of the early Mauryas The glaring discrepancies between the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Indica* of Megasthenes, ably demonstrated by Dr Stein, seem to carry but little weight when one takes into consideration that the ambassador of Seleucus was wholly acquainted with the Hindu language and lore, and that his work has only reached us in a fragmentary and distorted shape.

6 THE BRAHMASUTRAS OF BADARAYANA, with the Comment of ŚANKARACHARYA, Chapter ii, Quarter i, ii, edited in the original Sanskrit with Notes and English Translation by SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 51 + 112 + 44 + 226 pp Poona The Oriental Book-Supplying Agency, 1923

Professor Belvalkar, whose excellent activities in various fields of Sanskrit research are certainly looked upon with approval and admiration by all Western scholars, has undertaken in this work to give a text, with translation and notes, of the two first parts of the second *adhyāya* of the *Brahmasūtras* with Śankara's commentary which will form a handy introduction to the study of Indian philosophical literature The Sanskrit text is based upon that published in the Ānandāśrama Series, with some minor emendations, and with a thorough identification of all the quotations given by the *bhāṣyakāra*, the translation is composed in a readable and pleasant style, and the notes are throughout trustworthy and illuminating, betraying that the author is thoroughly conversant with the whole of the modern literature on the subject

The book seems to be admirably suited for lectures, as well as for private studies, and it is to be hoped that Professor Belvalkar will soon see his way to present us with the comprehensive work on Śankara's life, writings, and philosophy, of which he speaks in the preface. Evidently, no scholar could be better adapted for performing a task like that.

7. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR BUDDHISMUS Schriftleitung Professor Dr WILHELM GEIGER, Munchen V Jahrgang, 1923–4, Neue Folge ii, Jahrgang 9 × 6¼, 328 pp Munchen-Neubiberg Verlag Oskar Schloss, 1924

8. ASIA MAJOR Editores, BRUNO SCHINDLER et FRIEDRICH WELLER 9½ × 6½, v + 196 pp Leipzig The Asia Publishing Co London Probsthain & Co, 1924

The already well-known *Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus*, edited by Professor W Geiger, in its recently issued fifth volume brings quite a number of valuable contributions on various topics connected with Buddhist literature and teaching. Foremost amongst these must be mentioned the final part of Professor Stcherbatsky's "Logic of the later Buddhists", translated from the Russian by Dr Strauss, the whole of which has recently been issued as a separate work, and the continuation of Progessor Geiger's own translation of the "Samyutta-Nikāya" There is further to be noticed a lecture before the Quest Society by Mrs Rhys Davids on the "Buddhist Theory of Transmigration", papers by Professor Walleser on "Buddhist Negativism", by Professor Hillebrandt on "Hindu Influences upon German Literature", by Bhikkhu Nyānatiloka on "Nirvāna" and "Buddhist Meditation", by Professor Kita on "Japanese Mysticism", as well as some minor articles by Professors Leumann and Karny and Dr Heimann, and an obituary by Dr Stede on the late Professor Rhys Davids The volume contains numerous reviews of recent literature, amongst which the most remarkable one is perhaps that of Professor Garbe on Gunter's *Buddha in der abendlandischen Legende* while Dr Bachofer has totally misjudged the not very creditable work *Indische Plastik* by Cohn

The new review called *Asia Major*, the Introductory Volume of which was the *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, presents in its first fascicle a variety of papers, most of them dealing with subjects connected with the Far East The present writer, not being entitled to form an opinion on the scientific

value of these contributions, must limit himself to simply indicating their authors and titles

Professor Schrader, well known as an authority on Indian philosophy, contributes an important article on the "Transcription and Explanation of the Siamese Alphabet", Dr Trautz writes on "Japanese scientific auxiliaries to the History of Religion and Culture in Central and Eastern Asia", Dr Haloun gives the first part of an extensive paper on the "History of Clan Settlement in Ancient China", Mr Lin Yu-t'ang presents the introduction to a work in some eighty chapters on "The Phonetics of Ancient Chinese", and Professor Forke, Dr Erkes, and Dr v Zach give purely philological contributions from various Chinese texts The paper of Professor Brockelmann on "Altturkestanische Volkspoesie" forms a continuation of his article in the *Ostasiat Zeitschrift*, viii, 50 sq

The review opens with "A Note on Bhavabhūti and on Vākpatirāja" by Professor Hertel, a paper which will be read with intense interest by all Sanskrit scholars For Professor Hertel seems here to have proved, beyond the possibility of refutation, not only that the last two acts of the *Mahāvīracarita* are wholly spurious, and that the authentical work of Bhavabhūti was never finished—just as little as was evidently the *Gaudavaha* of Vākpatirāja—but also that this drama must be considered the latest work of the poet, and not the earliest one, as has hitherto been generally suggested And the reason why neither Bhavabhūti nor Vākpatirāja found leisure to complete their work was that just at the time of their composition their protector, king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, was overthrown by Lalitāditya Muktāpīda of Kashmīr —probably at some date about A D 740 These are indeed startling revelations, the more startling as not a word concerning the real state of the *Mahāvīracarita* is to be found in Professor Winternitz' *Literaturgeschichte*, nor has Professor Konow, in his book *Das indische Drama*, thought fit to insert even one single line concerning these obvious facts. One

must be thoroughly grateful to Professor Hertel for his unceasing labours on the critical investigation of Sanskrit works

The paper of Dr A H Francke, the well-known Tibetan scholar, on "Two Ant-stories from the Territory of the Ancient Kingdom of Western Tibet" is of uncommon interest, as it may perhaps prove that Herodotus' famous story of gold-digging ants in India is not wholly without a foundation in the folk-lore of the Upper Indus valley

9 Zum Worterbuch des Rgveda Von Walter Neisser (Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xvi, 4) Erstes Heft (*a—aušāna*) 9 × 6, xii + 205 pp Leipzig Brockhaus, 1924

The dictionary of Grassmann, indispensable to every student of the Rigveda, had, from the time of its issue, besides its undeniable merits, certain drawbacks in its sometimes rather fanciful verbal interpretations Since its appearance something like half a century has gone by, and in this period fall nearly all the extensive researches on the Rigveda by Ludwig, Hillebrandt, Bergaigne, Oldenberg, Pischel and Geldner, Macdonell, Bloomfield, and others, researches which have certainly put the interpretation of the text on a different footing from that prevalent throughout the work of Grassmann

It is, therefore, a most happy idea of Dr Neisser to collect in one work and extensively discuss the interpretative additions to the dictionary of the Rigveda available during the last fifty years Adequate praise can scarcely be bestowed upon the painstaking exertions, the profound erudition, the thorough acquaintance with modern literature, and the sound judgment which have already been displayed by the learned author We can only hope that time and circumstances will allow Dr Neisser with all speed to fulfil his vast task and thus to provide us with what will be in reality a new and complete dictionary of the most important of Indian texts The German

Oriental Society is also to be congratulated upon the issue of this valuable work at a time beset with no small difficulty.

10 MEN AND THOUGHT IN ANCIENT INDIA By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, x + 201 pp London: Macmillan, 1924

The idea of Professor Mookerji to join together, in one volume, what may be called the biographies of Yājñavalkya, Gautama Buddha, Aśoka, Samudragupta, and Śrī-Harsha is certainly a happy one, and he has given us an easily read and quite pleasant little book on his subject The work, of course, contains nothing new whatsoever, but seems to give an able summary of the views now generally held by authorities on Indian history As concerns Aśoka no modern scholar will deny that, as for moral superiority and humanitarian efforts, he has a claim to one of the foremost places amongst all known rulers. Of his statesmanlike qualities we know but little, except for the somewhat obvious fact that his vast empire broke into pieces at his death From this fact different minds may feel inclined to draw quite different conclusions.

11 IN THE NICOBAR ISLANDS By GEORGE WHITEHEAD. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 276 pp. London Seeley, Service & Co, 1924

The author, who has spent several years on Government service in the Nicobar Islands, has given us, in his work, a full, clear, and sympathetic description of the inhabitants of that little-known archipelago and of their life and customs. The book makes pleasant reading and offers much interesting material to the ethnographer and the folklorist, the pictures are very good and sometimes quite amusing, and the general value of the work is considerably enhanced by the extensive foreword by Sir Richard Temple, whose long connexion with the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is well known to every reader Mr Whitehead promises to provide us, in the near future, with a grammar and dictionary of Nicobarese, a work which will certainly arouse keen interest amongst students of the Mon and connected languages

12. INDISCHE PHILOSOPHIE. Von OTTO STRAUSS (Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen, Band 2) 8¼ × 5½, 286 pp München Reinhardt, 1925

Comprehensive works on Indian philosophy seem lately to be forthcoming in quite considerable numbers. Some three years ago Professor Dasgupta published the first volume of his *History of Indian Philosophy*, a work which has been followed, within a short time, by the volumes of M Masson-Oursel and Mr Radhakrishnan and now by the book in German of Dr Strauss, well known by his former researches on the philosophical tenets of the Mahābhārata, etc

The author, who displays an intimate acquaintance with his vast subject, and throughout writes in a clear and pleasant style, proves to be a very trustworthy leader through the labyrinths of the different philosophical systems, and his book may be highly recommended as a handy introduction to the study of the different Hindu schools of thought One might have wished to find, in the work of Dr Strauss, a somewhat more deep appreciation of Jainism which, for all we know, is the oldest of all these systems—older perhaps even than the speculation of the great Upanishads The interesting system of the Mīmāmsā also seems to have been dealt with rather superficially, nor has Cārvāka that "crown-jewel of atheists", been awarded even a short mention in this otherwise fairly exhaustive work In his appreciation of Śankara's relation to the Upanishads and Bādarāyana, Dr Strauss strictly follows the opinion of Thibaut which may, however, possibly need revision The notes and the bibliographical index are sparse but satisfactory, one misses, however, a mention of Professor Keith's work on Buddhism and of M de la Valleé Poussin's translation of the Abhidharmakośa

But in spite of these few remarks the present writer should wish to express his sincere acknowledgment of and indebtedness to the altogether excellent and useful work of Dr. Strauss.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

OBITUARY NOTICES

David Brainerd Spooner

The untimely death of David Brainerd Spooner, B A, Ph D, O B E, on the 30th January, at Agra, has deprived the Archæological Survey of India of one of its most distinguished and promising officers A scholar of Leland Stanford and Harvard Universities, Spooner took his Ph D in Germany, studied Sanskrit at Benares, and held a professorship at Tokio before joining the department as reorganized under the able direction of Sir (then Dr) J H Marshall His first important charge was that of the Frontier Circle, where he may be said to have won his spurs in the field of archæological discovery Those who had watched his work at Sahribahlol in 1906–7, and at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1907–8, with its fine output of Gandhāra sculptures, were prepared for the more memorable achievement next year at Shāh Jī kī Dherī, where, taking up the clue provided by M Foucher in his monograph on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra, he uncovered the remains of the famous *stūpa* of King Kanishka, and found, enclosed in a metal casket, the reliquary of rock crystal, containing the sacred relics (fragments of bone) of Gautama the Buddha, where they had lain for some 1,800 years In 1910 Spooner was placed in charge of the (then) Eastern Circle, where important work was carried out on the sites of ancient Pātaliputra, and of the great Buddhist monastery of Nālanda The most sensational discovery at the former site was that of the remains of a large pillared hall, which, from various indications, seemed to have been modelled on the great "Hall of a Hundred Columns" at Persepolis The vision of a much closer connexion between the Mauryas and Irān than had ever been suspected before fascinated Spooner, as possibly solving certain problems that confront the historians of that dynasty, and led him to search in other fields of inquiry for corroborative evidence. A sense of the

importance of the conclusions to which he was thus drawn induced him to publish the article entitled " The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History ", which appeared in two issues of this *Journal* (January and July, 1915) Spooner anticipated that this would meet the usual fate of such novel and boldly stated speculations Though sensitive, as most modest men are, he did not worry over criticism on minor issues, feeling that it did not affect the really essential questions involved He was much cheered, on the other hand, by the very sympathetic treatment and even encouragement his arguments received at the hands of certain learned European and Indian scholars, whose opinion he justly valued Spooner was appointed Deputy Director-General of Archæology in 1919, and had acted as Director-General on more than one occasion while Sir John Marshall was absent on leave

It was delightful to walk with Spooner round the pits and trenches at a site he was exploring , to feel the absorbing enthusiasm that inspired him , to observe his grasp of detail and power of co-ordinating data obtained, and his fertile imagination , and last, but not least, to enjoy the charm of a gentle, cultured mind of wide intellectual attainments Deep sympathy will be felt towards his widow, whose remarkable linguistic acquirements were of such assistance to him Deeply interested herself in every detail of his work she shared both his successes and his disappointments

C E A W Oldham

Lord Curzon

George Nathanial Curzon was born at Kedleston, Derbyshire, in 1859 He was created Earl Curzon of Kedleston in 1911, and Marquess Curzon in 1921

Readers of our *Journal* will be mainly interested in Lord Curzon as Viceroy and in his activities in the field of Oriental geography, history, and archæology

As a young man, after a very distinguished career at Oxford, he travelled extensively in the Middle and Far East,

visiting Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, the Pamirs, Siam, Indo-China, and Korea In 1895, he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society In connexion with his travels he published in 1889, *Russia in Central Asia*, in 1892 *Persia and the Persian Question*, and in 1894, *Problems of the Far East* By far the most important of these was his monumental work in two volumes on Persia, which has never been superseded On the geographical side especially it is a most masterly work, and exhibits throughout the amazing clarity of the writer's mind, and his rare command of the English language Though Lord Curzon was in no sense an Orientalist, he knew his Indian—and especially his British Indian—history well, and always displayed fine scholarly instincts in his dealings with experts He fitted himself for his foreign department work in India by the intimate personal knowledge he acquired of the countries which encircle her, and these travels served him not merely as an administrator, but also as a student of history

It may be fairly claimed for Lord Curzon that he did for the monuments of India what Sir William Jones had done for her literature, and his Viceroyalty will perhaps be remembered for his untiring efforts in the cause of archæology and the preservation of artistic and historical landmarks when his administrative reforms and his policy have been long forgotten How a man, even of his inexhaustible energy, found time for such extraneous activities fills us with amazement No Viceroy ever kept the secretariat more busily employed, and we doubt if any before him ever worked on so many files He created new departments and changed the whole routine of work But in spite of all this he was always ready to give sympathetic ear to schemes of a purely historic or artistic nature The impetus he thus gave to research cannot be overestimated Lord Curzon loved India, and he loved nothing in India more than her monuments One of the books which influenced him most was Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* which he read on his way to India,

and the number of editions this admirable work has been through is no doubt largely due to the interest which Lord Curzon aroused in the monuments of the then capital of British India He himself contributed a delightful introductory letter to the fourth edition in 1908 In his archæological work, as in all else, he was not content if he did not himself scrutinize everything He knew every detail of the old Fort William site, and though it is now all built over, he caused the main outlines to be indicated by brass tablets His memory was astounding He visited every important monument in the course of his tours, and everywhere left some record of his visit The Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey during the years of his Viceroyalty are replete with evidences of his activities and keen personal interest

It is impossible here to enumerate the restorations and improvements he set on foot The Gardens of the Taj, the fort at Mandu, Sanchi Tope occur at once to the mind By a happy chance he had in his Director-General of Archæology, Sir John Marshall, a scholar and an enthusiast, who was exactly the right man in the right place, who fortunately came to India at the right time

Perhaps one single instance may be given of the practical manner in which Lord Curzon was always ready to help the cause of scholarship There had been founded at Bankipore many years before Lord Curzon's arrival in India, the Khuda Bakhsh library of Arabic and Persian manuscripts It was pointed out to him that owing to the proximity of the library building to thatched houses there was constant danger of fire, and that the contents of the collection deserved to be properly catalogued The Viceroy immediately took the matter up, and having arranged for the purchase by the Government of Bengal of the land immediately surrounding, and for a Government subvention towards the upkeep and cataloguing of the Library, himself went and officially opened the Library under these new auspices

Although, as everyone knows, Lord Curzon suffered almost

continuous pain from sciatica, in other respects he possessed a wonderful physique, and a will power which enabled him practically to disregard the climatic discomforts of India He could not only stand with apparent immunity the Indian sun and heat by day, but was also able to work half through the night at his files and correspondence after a strenuous day of official duties After a dinner party and a reception, after shaking hands with hundreds of guests and conversing with officials from all over India, he would go up to his study at midnight and work until 3 a m , and be ready betimes for the exacting routine of the morrow

The work of Lord Curzon may be classed under several separate heads –

(1) The preservation of Indian monuments

(2) The excavation of ancient sites

(3) The commemoration of British Indian monuments

(4) The encouragement of historical and Oriental research , and last, but not least, the building of the Victoria Memorial Hall, and the formation of a collection to be permanently exhibited in the Hall when completed

Lord Curzon took the keenest interest in every detail of the construction of this great memorial to Queen Victoria, and this alone took a great deal of his time, especially the vexed question of the marble to be employed With the laying of the first stone he began to busy himself with the collection of suitable exhibits in the shape of pictures, engravings, arms, Oriental manuscripts, and historic documents, dealing mainly with the Victorian era These were in the first instance placed on view in one of the galleries of the Indian Museum, and afterwards in Belvedere Long after Lord Curzon retired from India, he continued to interest himself in this collection, and was always on the look out for pictures of historic interest It is pathetic to think he should never have seen the complete Memorial, which was formally opened by H R H the Prince of Wales in 1922

A fine example of Lord Curzon's romantic sense of history

was offered by the great ball he gave in Government House, Calcutta, on 6th January, 1903, the exact centenary of Lord Wellesley's ball, where all the guests appeared in costumes of the period, and Lord Curzon himself wore the uniform of Lord Wellesley

Lord Curzon's name will be ever gratefully remembered by all students of Indian history and archæology, and the many labours of love he undertook in the midst of his strenuous official life will bear permanent testimony to his devotion to the records of India's great past

E DENISON ROSS

Bishop Casartelli

By the death of the Right Rev Louis Charles Casartelli, Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, a distinguished name is removed from the roll of Members of this Society, and Oriental learning, and Iranian studies in particular, sustain the loss of an eminent and accomplished scholar Dr Casartelli was of Italian descent, his father being a refugee from Como in Lombardy, and his son spoke and wrote with some pride of his Lombard origin as forming a closer link between himself and the people of the land of his adoption

As a boy he was educated at Salford Grammar School, whence in due time he proceeded to Ushaw College, associated with the University of London, and, at the close of a brilliant course, graduated Master of Arts at the University with a gold medal for Classics

By this time the ancient University of Louvain had been revived, and there, for two periods, with eight years' interval, Casartelli studied Avestan, Pehlavi, and Sanskrit, under the illustrious Professor de Harlez The firstfruit of these studies was his excellent treatise entitled *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, a work that still remains the most valuable and authoritative monograph on the Mazdeism of the Sasanian period, and which at once placed its author amongst the foremost Iranists of his day For this he

deservedly received the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Louvain. An English translation of that work, done by a Parsi scholar in 1889, was dedicated to the President of this Society, the late Lord Reay. Another work of great value belonging to the same period was his *Traité de Médecine Mazdéenne*. Moreover, in addition to many articles contributed to various *Festschriften* and learned Journals, Dr. Casartelli wrote, during his ripest years, to Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* on the Iranian aspect of the following important subjects — Celibacy, Charms and Amulets, Disease and Medicine, Dualism, King, Law, Philosophy, Saints and Martyrs, Salvation, Sasanians, Sin, Soul, State of the Dead.

With profound scholarship and wide knowledge he combined sound judgment, and his opinion on difficult matters relating to the religion and culture of ancient Iran was eagerly sought and reluctantly departed from by his fellow Iranists in the East and the West. His remarkable versatility is shown by the fact that notwithstanding the onerous duties of his high ecclesiastical office and his lectureship in Iranian languages in Manchester University, he also held, in connexion with that city, the presidencies of the Statistical Society and of the Egyptian Association, and had a seat on the Council of the Geographical Society. Bishop Casartelli identified himself closely with the civic life of Manchester, and was highly esteemed by people of all religious communions. He became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1889, and in 1919 his name was placed on the roll of Honorary Members.

E. EDWARDS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–March, 1925)

Sir William Foster, member of Council, was knighted at the Birthday Honours

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The Hon Secretary Dr F W Thomas, has been elected a Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences

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Gifts

Sir George Grierson presented copies of *The Oriya Alphabet*, Sir A T Wilson *The Penetration of Arabia*, and the Vajirañāṇa National Library Bangkok, a large number of Siamese books

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The following are needed for the Library —

Bulletin Aca des Sciences de Russie, No 2, 3, 1918

China Branch R A S, *Transactions*, pts v–vii, 1855–9

Hakluyt Society Rundall, *Collection of Early Documents on Japan*, 1850

Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol v, pt ii, 1871

Le Strange, "Mesopotamia and Persia in fourteenth century A D from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi" *As Soc Monographs*, 1903

Numismatic Chronicle, vol ii, Nos 5, 6, vol iii, Nos 9, 11, 12 New Ser, Nos 9, 10 *Proceedings* from the beginning

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, vol i, pt iv, vol ii, pt iv

Sudan Notes and Records, vol i, Nos 2, 3, vol ii, No 1

Supplement to the *Geographical Journal*, No 5

Temple, *Legends of the Punjab*, vol iii

Tōyō-Gakuho, vol xiii, No 1

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol ii, pts ii–iv, vol xxix, pts iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der D Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol viii

Lectures

On 13th January, Professor Langdon, Director of the Weld Blundell and the Field Museum Expedition, spoke of the work accomplished during two seasons at Kish, the most ancient capital of Sumer and Accad The ruins, eight miles east of Babylon, cover an area five miles long and a mile wide, and the prehistoric habitations and palaces were apparently abandoned before 1000 B C, when the great temple of Nintud and Enlil was founded at Harsagkalamma and the magnificent palace of the historical Sumerian and Semitic kings built beside it

This building covers an area of about two acres, and its ground plan is perfectly preserved, most important finds hvaing been made within its precincts The site secured by the Expedition has unlimited possibilities, which only need the generous support of the public to be realized

On 10th February, Mrs Ayscough lectured on Chinese Memorial Temples, which she said threw a strong light on the psychology of the Chinese people Since very early days it had been the common practice to honour after death the spirits of certain worthy men and women by a species of beatification, and to erect temples or shrines in their honour

By this spiritual hero-worship, certain definite historical types, which were held up to future generations as bright and shining examples to be followed, had thus been established and maintained Although not entirely responsible for the longevity of the Chinese social system, this custom had undoubtedly contributed largely to the result attained, a result unique in the annals of civilization

Mrs Ayscough touched upon three different shrines which have all been erected in the province of Chêkiang firstly, the Memorial Temple of Yu the Great, who is supposed to have accomplished important engineering works circa 2210 B.C. He has stood to succeeding generations as the type of an ideal minister, distinguished by boundless energy, absolute and

single-minded devotion, complete self-sacrifice, and above all by a deep and very real humility

Secondly, of the shrine to Wang Hsi-Chih, the great Calligraphist, who represents the Chinese type of an ideal scholar, a master of his art, pure in mind and heart, and completely given over to aesthetic appreciation of everything most exquisite in the manifestation of Nature and of Man's Spirit

And thirdly, of the newly-erected Temple to Yo Fei, the great patriot so highly honoured by the young Chinese of the new era He was treacherously put to death A D 1141, but his spirit has been highly honoured by later ages, and since the revolution of 1911 has been elevated to a position of equality with that of Kuan Ti, most notable of popular heroes

On 10th March, Dr A M Blackman spoke on the "Treasure Tombs of Luxor" He pointed out that it was during the Eighteenth Dynasty that a change was made in the royal burial customs Instead of being buried beneath pyramids, as had been the custom during the old and Middle Kingdoms and at the beginning of the new Kingdom, the dead Pharaohs were now laid to rest in rock-hewn sepulchres situated in a desolate wady in the high desert behind Western Thebes, known to-day as the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings The entrances to these tombs were carefully concealed with masses of débris, and further to avoid drawing attention to them the funerary temples where the liturgy for the dead was celebrated, were erected at some distance off, on the edge of the cultivation in the Nile Valley itself

The lecturer described the plundering of the Royal Tombs during the reigns of the decadent descendants of the great Egyptian Emperors, and showed from contemporary legal documents that the loot obtained by the ancient thieves was identical with the treasures just found at Luxor

He minutely described the contents of such tombs, and showed slides (some of them coloured) made from photographs and paintings of contemporary portrait-statues, royal mummies, wall-decoration, interiors of royal tombs, gilded

and inlaid furniture, chariots, caskets, toilet-articles, and also by the courtesy of *The Times*, was able to throw on to the screen photographs of certain of the objects found in the tomb of Tutankhamen

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Twenty-nine members were admitted during the past quarter —

Mr H A Afsar, B A
Mr B L Agarwala, M A, LL B
Mr G R Bhandarkar
Mr N K Bhartiya, B A
Rev G Y Chitnis
Maulvi A R Dard, M A
Mr S S Dave
Mr R P Dukhi
Pandit L Dutt, B A
Mr R Dwivedi, B A
Miss E D Edwards
Mr L C Gupta, B A, LL B
Mr A Hamid-Khan
Syed A Hassan Sahib
Dr G Kato
Mr P Lawrence
Mr S S R Mahorkar
Mr N K Majumdar
Mr G R S Mead
Mr H N Mukherjee
Dr R Muller
Rai Sahib Pandit S Nait
Baron Max, Freiherr von Oppenheim, Ph D
Syed T H Rizwi
Mr S C Roushan, B A
Mr K L Sahu
H H Raja Lakshman Sen of Suket State
Mr Wee Tin Shan
Mr A N Singh, B A

Nine members have resigned —

Mr Bowstead
Mr J N Farquhar
Mr S E Loxton
Mr W J Lupton
Mr S P Mahajan
Pandit R P Sharma
Mr. E Sibree
Mr E de la M Stowell
General P L E Warming

And seven have been removed by death —

Professor Bonucci
Bishop Casartelli
Professor H Cordier
Lord Curzon of Kedleston
Mr Pringle Kennedy
Dr D B Spooner.
Mrs Bullock Workman

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20	Tavoy District	37	Kyauksa District
21	Mergui District	38	Meiktila District
22	Thayetmyo District	39	Yamèthin District
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JULY, 1925

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PART III—JULY

Notes on Tirahi

The Speakers of Tirahi

By SIR AUREL STEIN, K C I E

THE country where Tirāhī is spoken belongs to that border region between India and Eastern Irān which since my youth has never ceased to attract me by its varied historical, geographical, and linguistic interest So when after my first Central-Asian expedition my hope of being employed in the newly constituted North-West Frontier Province was realized, I was anxious to use whatever chance might offer for securing materials concerning that old language of Tirāh, to the supposed survival of which Sir George Grierson had first called my attention The inquiries I made with this object during 1904–5 both from the side of Peshāwar and from that of Kohāt and the Kurram valley proved, however, fruitless The Political Agents of the Khyber and Kurram, whom their duties as Wardens of the Marches keep in close contact with the tribes occupying the valleys of Tirāh and the tracts of Afghānistān adjoining towards the Kābul river, uniformly asserted that their local informants knew of no other language but Pashtō being spoken between the Kurram and Kābul rivers Other Frontier Officers to whom I applied were equally unable to help It seemed, indeed, as if that Tirāhī speech, of which

Leech in 1838 had heard as a "relict" preserved by a small tribal community outside its original home, and had collected a very brief vocabulary, had since become completely submerged by the steadily spreading tide of Pashtō. Nor did I fare better in 1912 when archæological work brought me back for some months to the Peshāwar border before my third Central-Asian expedition.

The years claimed by these explorations, and subsequently by the elaboration of their results and the publication of *Serindia*, did not allow me to return to the charge until March, 1919, when on my way back to Kashmīr a kind invitation from that great soldier-administrator, the late Colonel Sir George Roos-Keppel, then about to retire from the Chief Commissionership of the North-West Frontier Province, induced me to spare a few days for a visit to old haunts at Peshāwar. Sir George, who had spent many years of service in charge of the Kurram Militia, and later as Commandant of the Khyber Rifles and Political Officer for Tirāh, was as incredulous as before about the survival of a Tirāhī language. But fortunately my renewed requests for a search induced him to mention the matter to his right-hand man for Tirāh, Sir Abdul Qayyūm, Sāhibzāda, who by then had risen to be Political Agent of the Khyber.

This time the attempt proved more hopeful. Sir Abdul Qayyūm was not in vain credited at Peshāwar with having a very efficient secret service of his own. By nightfall of the same day his men were reported to be on the track of a Tirāhī-speaking individual, and by next midday he had been duly hunted down and brought up "for my disposal" at Government House.

Gul Pashān, a wholly illiterate elderly man, doing coolie's work for an Afghān contractor in Peshāwar City, proved a difficult person to deal with. Though away from his home for many years, he did not deny his knowledge of Tirāhī, as we had reason to fear at first; for somehow an idea had been conveyed by those who had helped to secure him that Tirāhī

was only a kind of gibberish used by trans-border criminals among themselves when they wished not to be understood by others But his brain, impaired by the use of opium, worked very slowly indeed When after half-a-day's effort I had secured from him a very scanty vocabulary with a fragmentary rendering of the Parable of the Prodigal Son he became so weary and " muddled " that we had to let him go—I may add, with a good reward, which he duly appreciated I myself was obliged to leave for Kashmīr the same evening and to abandon further attempts for the time being

My subsequent absence from India on special duty in England, and later on much pressing work on the detailed report of my third Central-Asian expedition, did not leave me an opportunity of resuming the task on Tirāhī until the visit which, in December, 1921, I paid to Peshāwar specially for this purpose Meanwhile I had secured very effective help from Khān Sāhib Afrāzgul Khān, the devoted Pathān surveying assistant of my third Central-Asian journey, who as a member of the saintly Ka'ka' Khēl clan commands an extensive range of friends and acquaintances among the tribesmen of Tirāh and beyond His inquiries led to the discovery of an intelligent old man, named Shāh Rasūl, whose original home was near Jaba, one of the villages where Tirāhī is spoken When I found that prolonged residence within the Peshāwar District had impaired his facility in speaking his mother tongue, Shāh Rasūl secured a younger man from his old home who happened to have come to Peshāwar to look for work, and whose memory was more trustworthy Both men were entirely illiterate, and this necessarily caused difficulty in getting them to understand such grammatical niceties as distinction between different tenses of the verb But in the end I succeeded with their help in writing down a Tirāhī translation of the Urdū version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Pashtō being used as an intermediary) and compiling a list of words and illustrative sentences. From these to my great satisfaction Sir George Grierson has been

able to prepare his lucid analysis of the main features of the language

According to the information received from these men Tirāhī is spoken in a small cluster of villages in the Ningrahār tract of the Afghān province of Jalālābād south of the Kābul river Jaba, the largest of them is shown on Sheet No 38 J of the four miles to the inch Degree Sheets of the Survey of India as situated in the Kōt darra valley which descends from the northern slopes of the Safēd-kōh towards the Kābul river and about half-way between Dakka and Jalālābād Of other Tirāhī-speaking villages Mitarānī and Barā-khēl were named to me

The geographical position of these villages accords well with the tradition recorded by Leech that the Tirāhī-speaking people had originally lived in the hills of Tirāh now occupied by the tribes which are collectively known as Afrīdīs for the map shows that the Kōt-darra Nullah is one of the several valleys draining the northern slopes of that portion of the Safēd-kōh range which stretches round Tirāh towards the Khyber Pass and comprises the valleys occupied by the Afrīdi tribes When and under what circumstances the people now speaking Tirāhī left their mountain home is a question which without information locally collected cannot be investigated In the absence of definite historical records it might well remain obscure even if it were possible to gain access to those villages on ground still barred to scholars, anyhow from the British side

But even without evidence on this point the fact now definitely established by Sir George Grierson s analysis that Tirāhī is a Dardic language may claim special historical and ethnological interest Observations which it is impossible to set forth here in detail strongly support the belief that the Afrīdī tribes, though at present speaking Pashtō, contain a large, if not predominant racial element which was established in Tirāh long before the advent of those Afghān invaders who during Muhammadan times gradually pushed their way

into the belt of hills and alluvial plains west of the Indus, and who have spread their Pashtō speech in places even across the great river We know that, both on the upper Indus and in the valleys drained by the Swāt river, tribes who now speak Pashtō and proudly claim to be Pathāns were of Dard stock and Dardic speech until their comparatively recent conversion to Islām[1] The advance of Pashtō among Kōhistānī communities up the Indus valley, where the use of a Dardic language still lingers, can be watched actually proceeding at present[2]

It is much to be regretted that no adequate materials are at present available for the proper anthropological study of the varied populations comprehended under the general term of Afghān or Pathān Nevertheless, it seems to me safe to assert, from personal observation, that the general type of the Afrīdī tribesmen plentifully to be seen in the bazars of Peshāwar and until recent years also serving in large numbers in Frontier Militia Corps and regiments of the Indian Army, with fair hair, white-rosy skin, and frequently blue or light grey eyes, bears a far closer affinity to the *Homo alpinus* type of the hillmen speaking Dardic languages south of the Hindūkush,[3] such as the people of Chitrāl, Mastūj and Gilgit, than to the much darker and curiously Semitic-looking type prevalent among Afghāns proper to the west and south-west of Tirāh

In this connexion attention should be drawn also to the name *Afrīdī* It can be shown that this designation has been borne since a very early period by those sturdy hillmen who have held their own in the mountains of Tirāh as far back as historical records can take us, and who have always known how to levy blackmail on those passing through the defiles of the Khyber, whether armies, travellers, or traders For there is every reason to believe that the name *Afrīdī* is the

[1] Cf Colonel H Deane's "Notes on Udyāna", *JRAS*, 1896, pp 661 sqq, Stein, *Serindia*, i p 24

[2] See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907), i p 371

[3] See *Serindia*, i p 26, ibid, Joyce, iii pp 1357, 1361

direct phonetic derivative of that of the Ἀπαρύται, whom Herodotus mentions in his list of tribes in the easternmost Satrapy of the Achaemenidian empire, in close connexion with the Γανδάριοι, i e the inhabitants of Gandhāra, the present Peshāwar valley [1] We have a significant parallel to the survival of this ancient ethnic term in the name *Dard*, which Megasthenes, and probably Ktesias before him, heard applied to the gold-washing people on the upper Indus,[2] and which to this day is still borne by the tribes speaking a dialect of Shinā, a Dardic tongue, in the valleys between Kashmīr and the Indus

Thus physical type, local habitation and name all uniformly point to the present Afrīdīs in essential racial character being the descendants of a stock established in the region of Tirāh since very early times This conclusion must carry additional weight owing to Sir George Grierson's demonstration that Tirāhī, once spoken in their hills, is a Dardic language, and a link in a chain of tongues which at one time stretched down from the snow-clad Hindūkush to the delta of the Indus

March, 1925

[1] Cf Herodotus, iii 91, the identification of the Ἀπαρύται with the Afrīdis was first suggested by Dr Bellew cf *JRAS* 1887, p 504

[2] Cf Stein *Rājataranginī* translation ii p 431 For Megasthenes' notice see Strabo xv i 44

On the Tirahi Language

BY SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K C I E.

TIRĀHĪ is a Dardic language of which, till now, hardly anything has been known Our only materials have been the contents of a short vocabulary compiled by Leech in the year 1838 [1] According to him, its speakers once inhabited the Tirāh country, now the home of the Afrīdī Pathāns, and, in consequence of a feud breaking out between the Ōrakzāīs and the Afrīdīs, they left that tract and settled in the Ningrahār country in independent Afghānistān, where they are now found

For more than a quarter of a century I had been endeavouring to obtain specimens of this form of speech, but, owing to the habitat of its speakers not being under the control of the authorities of British India, all my attempts had been in vain Sir Aurel Stein has related above how in 1921 he was able to secure at Peshāwar two men speaking Tirāhī and with their help to prepare a list of Tirāhī words and a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Tirāhī language With these materials, together with Leech's vocabulary, I have been able to prepare a pretty detailed account of the language, which will duly appear in the Addenda to the Linguistic Survey But, as some considerable time must elapse before this can be published, and as the subject is one of considerable interest to students of Dardic forms of speech, I here offer a brief preliminary sketch of its main features

As a Dardic language, Tirāhī belongs to the same group as Kalāshā, Gawarbati, and Pashai, languages of the lower part of the Kunar Valley and of Laghmān, but it also shows clear points of relationship to other languages spoken far to the East, viz the Ṣinā of Gilgit and the Indus Kōhistān, and Kāshmīrī Compare, for instance, Tirāhī *mala*, a father,

[1] *JASB*, vol vii (1838), pp 783-4

with Ṣiṇā *mālō*, Kāshmīrī *mōlᵘ*, Tirāhī *sure*, a child, with Kāshmīrī *shurᵘ*, and √*uth-* (not √*uṭh-*), stand up, with Ksh √*wŏth-* As usual in Dardic languages, there are several words which have preserved in a remarkable manner the form that obtained in the Sanskrit of two thousand years ago Such are *dēn*, a cow, as compared with the Sanskrit *dhēnuh*, and *ast*, a hand, as compared with the Sanskrit *hastah* Here, of course, there can be no question of such words being *Tatsamas* They must be old words inherited from the ancient Aryan language from which the Dardic languages have sprung It is hardly necessary to add that, surrounded as the speakers are by Afghāns, the language freely borrows from Pashtō, not only in vocabulary, but also in grammatical forms Such borrowings I shall leave untouched in the present pages

The Pashai already referred to is spoken in Laghmān, north of the River Kābul Ningrahār, where Tirāhī is spoken, lies to the south of that river Further south, again, in Wazīristān, we come upon Ōrmurī, an Eranian form of speech used by an immigrant tribe distinct from the Afghāns It is evident that at the time when the Ōrmurs arrived at their present site, they found themselves in close contact with a tribe of Dardic origin, for their language though Eranian, shows clear traces of Dardic influence Further south, we come to the Khētrāns of Thal Chotiālī These people speak a corrupt Lahndā much mixed with Dardic forms Finally, still further south we come to Sindhi, and in this, too, we find relics of some old Dardic language In this way, Tirāhī forms an important link connecting the Dardic languages spoken in Dardistān, north of the Kābul, with a chain of three languages which show traces of ancient Dardic influence, and reach down to the mouth of the Indus It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the extension of Dardic languages further south It is sufficient to state that traces of them have been recognized in the Bhīl languages of Central India, and even in the Kōnkanī dialect of Marāthī.

If this last identification is finally accepted, Tirāhī gives the hitherto missing link in a chain of languages reaching from the Hindūkush down to Goa

Phonetics.—It must be remembered that the materials collected depend almost entirely on what was uttered by two illiterate men Sir Aurel Stein, in recording the Tirāhī words uttered by them, most rightly refrained from any attempt at securing apparent uniformity, but wrote down for each word as nearly as possible the exact sound he heard in each particular case In recording a language which has previously been reduced to writing, there is a more or less fixed standard of spelling and pronunciation with which it is possible to secure uniformity, but when a language has no standard—and, to a less extent, even in every language which has a standard—the actual pronunciation of each *word varies each time it is uttered, according to its collocation* in the sentence or the mood of the speaker In languages like English or Hindōstānī, these changes are to a certain extent held in check by the existence of a standard to which the speakers instinctively conform, but, in a language which like Tirāhī has no standard, they are much more considerable, and we find the same word pronounced by these men in very different ways at different times For instance, for "man", the speakers at one time said *ādam*, and at another *adam* for "good", at one time *brada*, and at another *breda*, and for "child", at one time *bad^{a}na*, with no stress on the penultimate, and at another time *badána*, with a strong stress on the penultimate Under such circumstances, it would at present be dangerous to lay down any rules for a standard pronunciation of Tirāhī, and we must await further information on the subject Suffice it to say that this uncertainty occurs chiefly in regard to the vowels, and that the consonantal system appears to be pretty constant and to agree with that of the other Dardic languages Two points regarding consonants may, however, be noted here. Like other Dardic languages, Tirāhī possesses no sonant

aspirates. An original sonant aspirate becomes disaspirated, as in *dēn*, for *dhēnuh*, mentioned above. The other point, so far as I am aware, is peculiar to Tirāhī. When a word ends in a vowel, and is followed by a closely connected word beginning with a consonant, that consonant is doubled, one of the resultant pair being added enclitically to the end of the preceding word. This is not recorded in every instance, but the tendency is marked. Thus *nazara-manzum* becomes *nazaram-manzum*, in (thy) sight; *brica-tōna* becomes *bricat-tōna*, under a tree; and *ū-ti*, he has come, becomes *ut-ti*.

The Article.—There appears to be an indefinite article, corresponding to the Persian *yā-ī-wahdat* and the Kāshmīrī *-ā*. It is expressed by the addition of *i*, as in *kharāb badan-i*, a bad boy (*badana*). As usual, demonstrative pronouns are employed where we should use the definite article.

Gender.—A feminine gender is recognized, but the materials available are not sufficient for forming general rules as to its formation from the masculine. Many feminine nouns end in *ē*, in cases where, in India, we should find *ī*. Thus *strē*, a woman; *acchē* (Kāshmīrī *ach'*) the eye; *dē* (Indian *dhī*), a daughter.

Declension.—The two principal cases are the Nominative and the General Oblique. The object of a transitive verb is in the form of the Nominative, so that, to use the terminology of European grammar, we can say that the Accusative has the same form as the Nominative. On the other hand, the subject of a transitive verb in a tense derived from the past participle is, as usual in connected languages, put in the Agent case, which, as we shall see, is the same in form as the Oblique.

The Oblique case is generally formed by adding *a*. Thus, *panda-khum* (Nom. *pand*), on a road; *mulka-manzum*, in a country; *brada adama-mā*, from a good man, and so on. Sometimes some other vowel appears instead of *a*, as in *mala-tarafe ū*, he came in the direction of the father; *asto-manzum* (Nom. *ast*), in the hand; but the usual termination

seems to be *a* Occasionally the final *a* of the Oblique case is dropped, so that it becomes the same in form as the Nominative Thus, we have both *kuzara dāk-khum* and *kuzara dāka-khum*, on the horse's back So *putar-khum*, for *putara-khum*, on the son This naturally occurs most often when the word already ends in a vowel, as in *mala-mā* (Nom *mala*), from the father, *ghussā-khum*, in anger, *badmāshī-khum*, in debauchery, *kui-mā*, from the well

Another form of the Oblique case ends in (*a*)*s* or (*a*)*si* (or, by epenthesis, *is*) Comparison with Kāshmīrī shows that this is by origin a genitive (Skr *-sya*, Pr *-ssa*), which, in Prakrit, is also used for the dative In Tirāhī, *as* is most often used to indicate the genitive and *asi* the dative, but the two terminations are often interchanged In Indian languages, postpositions of the Dative are almost always by origin oblique forms of the genitive postposition (KZ xxxviii, 476), and it is possible that the origin of the termination *asi* is similar

The following are examples of these forms —

(*Genitive*)—*lemas shisi* (Nom *shi*) *kimat*, the price of that thing Here, both (*a*)*s* and (*a*)*si* are used for the genitive

brada adamas thān, the house of the good man

le thān malas (Nom *mala*) *ti*, this is the father's house

myāna trōras putar, the son of my uncle

(*Dative*)—*mē tānu malasi bazam*, I shall go to my father

mē le adam diyanasi dita wā, I had given that man for a beating (i e to be beaten)

le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to this *faqīr*

Occasionally I have found this termination *asi* employed where we should use the ablative, as in *tē le bāna kāma adamasi* (or *adama-mā*) *achita ti*, from what man did you buy that thing? *myāna dunsi* (Nom *dē*, obl base *dun-*) *khat ut-ti*, a letter has come from my daughter, *lema brijasi le brij kaza ti*, this tower is higher than that

The Genitive may also be indicated by simply prefixing it to the governing noun, as in *le kila ek baniyā-mā*, from a

shopkeeper of the village, *kuzara dāk-khum*, on the horse's back, as compared with *kuzaras zīn*, the horse's saddle, *āsmān nazar-manzum*, in the sight of heaven, *domāma āwāz*, the sound of a drum

As already stated, the case of the Agent is the same in form as the Oblique case but as the Oblique often drops its final *a*, it follows that the Agent case is often the same as the Nominative It may be mentioned that in the Ōrmurī language referred to above (p 406), the Agent case is always the same in form as the Nominative The following are two examples of this case —

cāna mala lā breda batsa kukhto, thy father slaughtered the good calf (lit by thy father the good calf was slaughtered)

sure putar (for *putara*) *tānu māl jama kere*, the younger son collected his own property

Two nouns have been noted as forming irregular oblique bases These are *dē*, a daughter sg dat *dunsi*, and *spaz*, a sister, sg dat *spazunsi*

The plural is often the same as the singular, especially when a noun ends in *a* or *ā*, as in *mala*, father or fathers, *sanā*, dog or dogs Sometimes a vowel is added to form the plural which is then like the oblique singular Thus, *ek adamas dō putara wāna*, of a certain man there were two sons, *le adama kharāb tīna*, those men are bad, *cāna sānas dante* (sg *dant*), the teeth of your dog, *tre adamo*, three men A plural is sometimes indicated by adding the word *sawa*, all, to the singular as in *ao sawa* I all, i e we

The oblique plural ends in *an*, as in *brada adaman thāna*, the houses of good men *sawa brijan-mā le brij kaza ti*, that tower is higher than all towers

Occasionally in the plural borrowed Persian or Pashtō forms are found, but these need not detain us here

The singular terminations (*a*)*s* and (*a*)*si* of the genitive and dative (or ablative) are sometimes added to the oblique plural, owing, I suppose to false analogy Thus, *brada adamansi khabar ut ti*, news has come from good men.

We may accordingly put down provisionally the following declension of the Tirāhī noun *adam*, a man —

	Singular	Plural
Nom	*adam*	*adama*
Acc	*adam*	*adama*
Ag and Obl	*adama*	*adaman*
Gen	*adamas*	*adaman*
Dat (Abl)	*adamasi*	*adaman*, *adamansi*

The other relations of time and place are indicated by postpositions, generally added to the oblique case The principal of these are -

khum, on, in, at

mā, from, and other ablatival significations, including the ablative of comparison

manzum, in

ni appears to form an instrumental

patī, after

patīkana, behind

sama with, together with

tōna, under

waza, under

Thus -

kuzara dāka- (or *dāk-*) *khum* on the horse s back

au lema kursī-mā uthum, I stand up from this chair

myāna thāna-manzum, in my house

ao lemaji odasta-ni marā qam, I am dying here by (i e of) hunger

lema-patī mala-tarafe ū, after that he came towards his father

thāna-patīkana, behind you

tānu dōstāna-sama, with (my) own friends Here the Persian plural *dōstān* has been borrowed

bricat-tōna or *brica-waza*, under a tree

Adjectives.—Adjectives change for gender and number, but sufficient materials are not available to entitle us to form general rules All that I can say is that the termination *ē* occurs most frequently with adjectives agreeing with feminine nouns or with masculine plural nouns

The numerals are 1 *ek*, 2 *dō*, 3 *tre*, 4 *tsawōr*, 5 *pants*, 6 *k͟hō*, 7 *sat*, 8 *ak͟ht*, 9 *nab*,

10 *dah*, 11 *eko*, 12 *bo*, 13 *tro*, 14 *tsauda*, 15 *panzī*, 16 *k͟hōla*, 17 *satāra*, 18 *atāra*, 19 *kunc*

20 *biau*, 21 *biau ek* 30 *biau dah*, 31 *biau eko*, and so on, 40 *dō bē*, 41 *do biau ek* and so on 50 *da biau dah*, 60 *tre bē* 70 *tre biau dah*, 80 *tsawōr bē*, 90 *tsawōr biau dah*, 100 *panz bē*

It will be seen that the system is vigesimal

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are declined as follows

	I		Thou	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	*ao au*	*ao mēn*	*to tu*	*tao*
Ag and Obl	*mē*	*ao*	*tē*	*tā*
Gen	*myāna*	*myāna*	*cāna*	*cāna*
Dat	*masi*	*masi*	[illegible]	[illegible]

Pashtō or semi-Pashtō are also used Such are *da-mē* or *masi-da* of me

It will be observed that the plural is often the same as the singular This may be a blunder of the two men who were Sir Aurel Stein's informants It must be noted that the nominative and oblique forms are often interchanged, one for the other Examples of these pronouns are —

ao lemaji odasta-ni marā gam I am dying here of hunger

mē le adam diyanasi dita wā, I gave that man to be beaten

le myāna putar muiā gā wā, this my son had died

lā masi dē, give that to me

pas diyan-mā ao gēma after beating we went away

mēn samo tre ādamo k͟hārasi da-bazam, we three men all go to the town

tu hōkhyār tis, thou art clever

tē masi tsindar nā dita thou didst not give me a kid

cāna brā ut-ti, thy brother is come

tao sawa k͟harābe tiza, you are all bad

The Demonstrative Pronoun is *le* or *lā*, this, that, he There do not appear to be separate words for "this" and "that", though we might expect *le* to be used for one, and

lā for the other As already stated, *le* or *lā* is often used as a definite article The declension is regular, except that there is a base *lema*, which is used for the oblique cases and plural

Examples —

le breda ādam ti, he is a good man
lā bē gā dūr mulkasi, and he went to a far country
lema asto-manzum anqur tsiya, put ye a ring on his hand
lemas spazunsi kaza, taller than his sister
lesi bo aiam I will say to him
lema brijasi le brij kaza ti, this tower is higher than that
le sawa hāzir wāna, they were all present
lema sawa brade tīna, they are all good
le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to the *faqīr*
lā gana putar ghussā khum gā, the elder son went on anger (i e became angry)

For the Relative Pronoun, the Persian *ki* is used

The Interrogative Pronoun is *kāma* (genitive *kāmik*), who ? "What ?" is *ki*

le adam kāma ti, who is that man ?
cāna patīkana kāmik badana da-ē, whose boy comes behind you ?
le ki ti, what is this ?

Other Pronominal forms are *kī*, anyone, someone, ***kasa***, whatever, *letik*, so many, *katēsi*, how much ? ***katisi***, how many ? *Tanu*, (my, thy, his, our, your, their) own is the equivalent of the Hindī *apnā*

Conjugation.—The Verb Substantive is —

	Singular	Plural.
1	*tim*, I am	*tima*
2	*tis*	*tiza*
3	*ti*, fem *tē*	*tīna*
1	*wāma* (? *wām*), I was	*wāma*
2	*wāz*, *wē*	*wāma* (? *wāza*)
3	*wā*, fem *wē*	*wāna*

In the Past tense, the *wāma* reported for the first person singular and for the second person plural can hardly be right

Examples -

brok gunaqār tim. I am a great sinner

tu hōkhyār tis thou art clever

munāsib nā ti, it is not proper

ao sawa gharībāna tima, we are all poor

tao sawa kharābe tiza you are all bad

az brōke stōra tīna to-day there are many stars

mī (for *ao*) *suro wāma* (? *wām*) *lema wakta-khum*, at that time I was a child

tu suro wāz jango wakta manzum, thou wast a child at the time of the fight

khushālī karan munāsib wā it was proper to make rejoicing

ao sawa lemaji wāma we were all there

tao sawa bōgha wāma (? *wāza*) you were all near by

ek adamas do putara wāna of a certain man there were two sons

The Active Verb has a verbal noun or infinitive, ending in *n* as in *karan*, the act of doing To form an infinitive of purpose, it is put into the dative case, as in *mē le adam diyanasi dita wā* I had given that man for a beating i e to be beaten

For the Imperative, the second person singular is the bare root, as in *dē* give thou *an* bring you The second person plural is formed by adding *ā* as in *anā*, bring ye

As in other Dardic languages, and as in the Ghalcah languages, a Present-future tense is formed by adding the personal terminations to a present base The tense so formed indicates either present or future time, but if it is desired to emphasize the present time the word *dē* or *da* (compare the Pashtō *da*) is prefixed, as in *au da-bazam*, I go If it is desired to emphasize future time, *ba* is prefixed, as in Pashtō, as in *au ba-dēm*, I shall give Sometimes, we have *bo* instead of *ba*, which is probably merely a variation of pronunciation

The present base seems to be generally the bare root,

but I have noted some verbs which form the base by adding *z*. Thus, from the √*ker*-, do, we have the present base *ker*-, but from √*bo*-, which means both "become" and "go", we have the present base *baz*- or *be*-, and from √*be*-, sit, we have *bēz*-, from √*ē*-, come, we have *ēz*- or *ē*-, and from √*dē*-, beat, we have *diz*-, *daz*-, or *dē*- With this *z*-termination, we may compare the corresponding termination *j* in Ṣiṇā, as in *bujum*, I go I have not sufficient materials to give a complete paradigm of this tense, but the following examples will show its nature I group the singular and the plural together, as the forms do not differ in the translations given to me, but it is probable that the forms ending in *m* are properly singular, while those in *ma* are properly plural. I can give no examples for the second person singular or for the second or third person plural

First person *da-bazam*, I go, *bo-aram*, I will say, *uthum*, I rise, *bēm*, I become, I go, *bazam*, I will go, *da-bazam*, I go, we go, *bēzum*, I sit, *dēm*, I give, I beat, *ba-dēm*, I shall beat, *dē-kām* (? *khām*), let us eat, *da-kerem*, I do, *dē-karēm*, let us do

ēma, I come, *dēma*, I give, I beat

Third person singular *owē*, it comes, *da ē*, he comes, *ƀarū* (causal), he pastures

A Present Definite is formed by adding the present tense of the verb substantive to the Present-future, as in *ƀarū-ti*, he is pasturing

As in other Dardic languages, the Past tense is formed from the Past Participle Intransitive and transitive verbs must be dealt with separately In the case of intransitive verbs, the participle by itself is used for the third person, to which pronominal suffixes are added for the first and second persons I can quote only two intransitive past participles These are *ū* or *ō*, from √*ē*-, come, and the irregular *gā*, from √*bo*-, become, go The participle *gā* is used in both senses, and, from the meaning of "having become", has come (as in Kāshmīrī) to mean "is". For

ū or *ō*, I can only give examples of the third person singular. One is *khā thānasi bōgha ō*, *qidān naghāra domāma āwāz ū*, when he came near the house, the sound of singing, music, and drums came (to his ears)

For *gā*, we have greater variety —

The first person singular is *gam* or *gim* (probably really *g*ᵃ*m*), as in *ao marā gam*, I became dead I am dead, *ao cāna hukum-mā bāhr nā gim*, I did not go outside (i e disobey) thy order As an example of the third person singular, we may take *lā bē gā dūr mulkasi*, and he went to a far country For the first person plural, we have *pas diyan-mā ao gēma*, after beating (him), we went away

In the case of Transitive verbs, as in other Dardic languages, the subject is put into the case of the Agent, and the verb is usually in the third person Thus —

ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere, that I (might have) made rejoicing with my friends

tī breda batsa kukhto, by thee the good calf was slaughtered

lāsi kī nā dita no one gave to him

A Perfect is formed similarly, with the addition of the present of the verb substantive, as in —

myāna dunsi khat ut-ti, a letter has come from my daughter For the *t* in *ut-*, see p 408

le kila ek banyā-mā achita-ti, (by me it) has been bought from a shopkeeper of the village

So a Pluperfect is formed with the past tense of the verb substantive, as in —

le myāna putar mura gā wā *le gar gā wā*, this my son had died he had become lost

ao az gana panda-khum gā wāma, I had gone (i e I went some time ago) a long way to-day

The above account, if imperfect, will at least give a general idea of the structure of this interesting form of speech A much fuller account, with a long vocabulary, will appear in the Linguistic Survey

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The Origins of Arabic Poetry[1]

By D S MARGOLIOUTH

THE existence of poets in Arabia before the rise of Islam is certified by the Qur'an, which contains one Surah named after them, and occasionally alludes to them elsewhere. Among the descriptions of the Prophet given by his opponents there was "a Jinn-ridden poet" (xxxvii, 35), to which he replies that he has brought the truth In another passage (lii, 29) the suggestions that he was a *kāhin*, a *jinn*-ridden man, and a poet are offered as alternatives Since those who described him as a poet said they would wait to see what would happen to him (lii, 30) it might be inferred that poets were in the habit of foretelling the future Elsewhere he asserts that his language is not that of a poet, but rather of an honourable messenger (lxix, 41), and that God had not taught him poetry, which would have been of no use to him (xxxvi, 69), his utterances were "statement and clear lesson", whence we should infer that poetry was obscure These hints about the poets are summarized in the Surah that bears their name (xxvi, 224, foll), where we are told that they are followed by the misguided, rave in every valley, and say what they do not do The sequel might seem to except certain pious bards from this condemnation, but the style of the Qur'an renders it uncertain whether this exception really applies to bards From what precedes it might be inferred that the demons descend on poets, for it is asserted that they descend on every guilty fabricator, to whom they communicate rumour, mostly mendaciously This seems to

[1] The subject of this paper was treated by Ahlwardt in a monograph called *Bemerkungen uber die Aechtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald, 1872, and by Sir C Lyall in the Preface to vol. ii of his *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* The former is not very confident, and calls attention to some of the matters which have been discussed rather more fully below, Sir C Lyall deals chiefly with the character of the transmitters, which he rates rather more highly than the present writer

refer to the practice ascribed elsewhere to the demons (xxxvii, 10) of eavesdropping at the heavenly councils, an offence for which they are punished by being fired at with shooting stars And this again brings the poets into connexion with prophecy

If by poetry the same be meant as in the later literature, we are confronted with a slight puzzle Mohammed, who was not acquainted with the art, was aware that his revelations were not in verse, whereas the Meccans, who presumably knew poetry when they heard or saw it, thought they were We should have expected the converse Perhaps we might infer that a poet was in general known rather by his matter than by the form of his utterances, whence the repudiation points not to the absence of regularity in the form of the utterances, but to the nature of the matter communicated Yet the text "we have not taught him poetry" certainly implies the existence of some artifice which distinguished the poetic style, and which had to be learned

However, the tone of this last text seems decidedly different from that of the others In the others the poetic gift is repudiated, the Qur'an is thought to be poetry, and the charge is rebutted But here it would rather seem as though the absence of poetic artifice was excused, it is no longer something which the audience find there when it ought not to be there, but something which they desiderate, and whose absence is justified

The passages cited are to some extent at least in accordance with later ideas Poets at times repudiated solemn engagements on the ground that the Qur'an declared them to be liars by profession [1] They not only admitted that they were inspired by Jinn, but could at times name these internal monitors [2] Though the words "they rave in every valley" are probably metaphorical, and mean "they exercise their imagination on all subjects indiscriminately", [3] they can also

[1] *Aghānī*, ed 2, xiii, 48, 23
[2] *Letters of Abu'l 'Alā*, 66, 25
[3] Rāghib Ispahānī

be rendered "they philander in every valley", and in accordance with this, most poems commence with an erotic situation wherein the poet does what has been described. The Prophet himself is represented in some stories as displaying the very crassest ignorance of the poetic art,[1] and according to one tradition asserted that a man's inside had better be filled with anything rather than with poetry, [2] yet verses were actually attributed to him,[3] occasionally he appears as a critic of poetry,[4] and a reciter of it,[5] and there is a familiar tradition wherein he bestows his approval on it

In the very considerable mass of pre-Islamic inscriptions which we now possess in a variety of dialects there is nothing whatever in verse, a fact which is especially noteworthy in the case of the funereal inscriptions, since most literary nations introduce verse into compositions of this sort Thus Latin literature commences with the epitaphs of the Scipios which are in Saturnian metre Of the recently discovered though at present unintelligible Lydian inscriptions a goodly number are in metre From the old Arabic inscriptions then we should not have guessed that the Arabs had any notion of metre or rhyme, though in many respects the civilization which they represent was highly advanced When, however, the Qur'an speaks of poetry as something requiring teaching, it is reasonable to suppose that it refers to these artifices, which imply acquaintance with the alphabet, since the Arabic rhyme means the repetition of the same group of consonants, and with a grammatical system, since the metre depends on the difference between long and short syllables and the association of certain terminations with certain senses

Perhaps then what the evidence of the Qur'an entitles us to assume is that before its appearance there were among the Arabs certain fortune-tellers, known as "poets", their

1 *Agh* xiii, 64, xx, 2.
2 *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal, ii, 331
3 Baidāwī on xxxvi, 69.
4 *Agh* xi, 76, 23
5 *Talbīs Iblīs*, 240

language would be likely to be obscure, as is always the case with oracles, and since the earliest Delphic oracle which we possess commences —

"I know the number of the sand and the measures of the sea"

the accuracy of these persons' statements might be sufficiently questionable to justify the description of them given in the Qur'an.

Now the view of the early poetry taken by the poet and antiquarian Abū Tammām at the beginning of the third century of Islam is very different. In words which are somewhat obscure, yet not unlike some used by Horace, he asserts that with the primitive Arabs no glories were retained save such as were securely fettered by odes, that they were the guardians of battles and other scenes of importance, and were even called "limited monarchy", a phrase which perhaps means that within certain limits the tribe which had the best poet dominated the others.[1] The poets according to this are not unintelligible oracle-mongers, but the recorders of events, which their talent enables them to immortalize. And this view is maintained by Abū Tammām's contemporary, the polygraph Jāhiz of Basrah.[2] It is not quite easy to reconcile this theory with the statements, and indeed the general attitude, of the Qur'an. It applies very well to Abū Tammām's own Dīwān which immortalizes the exploits of his patrons, such as the storming of Amorium by Mu'tasim, and fairly well to the fragments collected by him in his Hamāsah, since many of these are historical or autobiographical in character. So far from poets saying what they do not do, they are here supposed to be recording what they have actually done or seen done, and indeed if any Arab from the time of Ishmael onwards does anything he appears to perpetuate the memory of it in an ode. But a body of odes wherein history is perpetuated constitutes a literature such as by no means

[1] Dīwān, Beyrut, 1889, p. 83.
[2] *Bayān*, ii, 184.

merits the contemptuous language used by the Qur'an, and whose existence, as we shall see, other passages of the Qur'an seem absolutely to exclude

The Moslem archæologists, however, who commence towards the end of the Umayyad period, not only maintain that there was a body of classical literature of this sort in pagan Arabia, but claim to produce large portions of it There is reason for thinking that those who first produced it had to encounter some scepticism, when Khalīl (ob 170) produced his metrical system, learned, he averred, from the Arab tribes, one of his contemporaries wrote a book to prove the whole system a fiction [1] When the Arab versification is supposed to have commenced is far from clear, one of our authorities can trace it to Adam, [2] another can produce Arabic odes of the time of Ishmael [3] Though the South Arabian monarchs compose their inscriptions in their own languages and dialects, the verses in which, according to the Moslem archæologists, they frequently indulged were in the Arabic of the Qur'an [4] The general view seems, however, to be that Arabic poetry at any rate in the forms which were afterwards stereotyped commenced at most a few generations before the rise of Islam Père Cheikho [5] accepts the view of the *Aghani* [6] that Muhalhil, brother of Kulaib, whose *floruit* was A D 531, and who is mentioned as one of the glories of the Bakr b Wā'il, [7] was the first to compose long poems and introduce love into them What is meant by a *long* poem is not clear, it would seem to be something over twenty lines, since a poet, al-Barrāq, whom Cheikho dates A D 470, is credited with an ode of that length [8] We get something more precise in the case of al-Aghlab, who is said to have been the

[1] *Irshad*, ii, 366, 5
[2] *Murūj al Dhahab*, i, 65
[3] *Agh* xiii, 104
[4] Tabarī, i, 906, *Agh* xiii, 118, xx, 9
[5] *Poètes Arabes Chrétiens*, p 160
[6] iv, 148, 11
[7] *Agh* xx, 15, 27
[8] *PAC*, 142.

first to compose long poems in *rejez*, by long it is explained that more than a couple of verses is meant[1] This person is said to have died at the battle of Nihawand in 23 A H As he was aged ninety at the time, his birth would synchronize with the *floruit* of Muhalhil Nevertheless a high authority asserted that the first composer of more than a couple of verses in *rejez* was al-'Ajjāj, who lived in Umayyad times[2] Muhalhil's claim is also by no means uncontested, on the one hand poems with erotic prologues are cited from far earlier times,[3] on the other there is high authority for the assertion that the first poet was Imru ul-Qais who is somewhat later than Muhalhil[4] Similarly A'shā of Qais, whose death-rate according to Cheikho was A D 629, is said to have been the first poet who devoted his muse to mendicity,[5] but 'Abīd b al-Abras, who is far earlier, is quite a master of this form of art,[6] and 'Antarah of 'Abs, who is somewhat earlier, is by no means averse from or unacquainted with the practice

It is probable that Muhalhil's claim is based on his name, which means 'maker of fine textiles", interpreted as "poetical fabrics", while the interpretation of the name as "fabricator" led to the remarkable view that he was the first poet who departed from the strict truth[7]

If we regard the story which ascribes to him the invention of the *qasidah* as historical it must be admitted that he found numerous imitators For we possess an imposing row of volumes containing the collected works of a very large number of poets who belong to the period which separates his invention from the hijrah The reputed authors of the ten *Mu'allaqāt* are all authors of *dīwāns* or "collected Odes" most of which have been published and run into a considerable number of pages There are, besides, several poets equally

[1] Cf *Agh* xviii, 164
[2] *Muzhir*, ii, 243
[3] *Agh* xi, 154 (Khuzaimah b Nahd)
[4] Jāhiz, *Bayān*, ii, 184 (after Abū 'Amr b al-'Alā)
[5] *Agh* viii, 75
[6] Ed Lyall, 57, 9
[7] *Agh* iv, 148.

prolific, who are not included among the ten Immortals. Further the odes emanating from the poets of particular tribes were collected into *Corpora*, and one such Corpus has been printed Since these odes from their nature imply acquaintance with the alphabet, and frequently allude to writing, the pre-Islamic Arabs who used the dialect of the Qur'an must have been a highly literary community, ancient Greece can scarcely exhibit so many votaries of the Muses.

Our first question must be Supposing this literature to be genuine, how was it preserved? It must have been preserved either orally or in writing The former seems to be the view favoured by the indigenous authorities, though, as will be seen, not universally held The second Caliph is quoted for the assertion that though the pagan poetry was neglected during the early days of Islam and the years which were crowded with conquests, when more peaceful times came the Moslems returned to the study, they had, however, no written books or collections to which they could refer, and as most of the Arabs—i e, those who had been converted from paganism—were either killed or had died a natural death, most of the poetry had perished, and only a little survived [1]

It is clearly an anachronism to ascribe this statement to the second Caliph, the quiet time did not come till the reign of the first Umayyad, some thirty years after his death It is also absurd to say that only a little survived, if what is meant be a whole row of volumes If, however, numerous odes of considerable length were orally preserved, this can only have been because there were persons whose business it was to commit them to memory and hand them on to others We have no reason for thinking that such a profession existed or that it could have survived the early decades of Islam.[2]

[1] *Muzhir* i, 121

[2] Tha'alibi, *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, 556, mentions Sawwār b Zaid as the *rāwiyah* of the people of Hirah He recited Arabic verses by a Persian king The *Rawī* of the people of Kufah (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 358) is Islamic

"**Islam cancelled all** that was before it", the Qur'an states **that those** who follow the poets are misguided, and its language **about** them is harsh and contemptuous. There was then a **strong** reason for forgetting the pre-Islamic poetry, if any **existed**, and yet another that was likely to work powerfully. The deeds which the ballads are supposed ordinarily to have commemorated were inter-tribal victories, Islam, which aimed at uniting the Arabs and greatly succeeded in achieving this, discouraged all such recollections, ballads of this kind could only stir up bad blood. And indeed such ballads, unless they are committed to writing, have a tendency to be forgotten. Further the Bedouins were regarded as untrustworthy and indeed reckless in their assertions about verses,[1] whence an oral tradition maintained by them could claim little credibility.

There remains the other possibility that the odes were preserved in writing. If, as one of them asserts, such verses shone over the world, and when they were recited people asked who could have composed them,[2] the probability that they would be committed to writing would be considerable, for it would have been a profitable business to multiply copies. Now allusions to writing are very common in this literature,[3] and some poets even speak of it in connexion with their own verses. A pre-Islamic versifier in the Hudhail collection desires that 'a message wherewith new scrolls gleam, wherein there is writing for him that will read',[4] be conveyed for him, doubtless referring to his own ode. The commentators suppose him to mean Himyari writing on palm-leaves. And indeed it is actually recorded that certain Arabic verses were written by one Qaisabah in the Himyari script on the back of his saddle,[5] while two others were written by a courtier

[1] *Agh* xi, 100, 3
[2] *Agh* xii, 123, 4
[3] Hārith, *Mu'allaqah*, 67, speaks of treaties written on *mahāriq*, parchments.
[4] Kosegarten, 13, 6
[5] *Agh* xi, 125, 21

of a Ḥimyari prince, Dhu'l-Ru'ain, in a sealed document, though the nature of the script is not stated.[1] The Ḥimyari King Dhū Jadan, whose skeleton of enormous dimensions was discovered at Ṣan'ā, had above his head a tablet where there was an inscription in rhymed prose, in classical Arabic, only in the Himyari character.[2] Most likely then his verses were also committed by him to writing.[3] The pre-Islamic poet Laqīt composed a poem with the title "Writing on a scroll from Laqīt to the Iyādites in the Jezirah", to warn them against a punitive expedition by some Persian king.[4] A pre-Islamic poet even quotes a maxim which is read off a parchment by one who dictates.[5] Perhaps then there would be nothing inconsistent with the statements of these odes if we imagined them to be regularly circulated in writing.

Yet the existence of a pre-Islamic classical literature in the dialect of the Qur'an in the Ḥimyari, or indeed in any other script, seems too flagrantly at variance with the statements and assumptions of the Qur'an to be entertained. "Have ye a book wherein ye study?" it asks the Meccans (lxviii, 37), "Have they the mystery and do they write?" it asks of its opponents (ibid. 47). Those to whom it is addressed were a people whose fathers had received no warning (xxxvi, 5), "to whom no previous admonisher had come" (xxxii, 2; xxviii, 46); only two communities, the Jews and Christians, had revealed books (vi, 157); the pagans had nothing of the kind. This is a matter on which it is difficult to suppose that the Qur'an could be mistaken; a missionary to the Hindus might condemn their books as valueless and pernicious; he could not well deny their existence. And if the pre-Islamic poetry was written, the pagans had plenty of books (and, indeed, "inspired" books) which perhaps were unedifying—though, as we shall see, they were by no means exclusively so—yet

[1] *Agh.* xx, 8, 13.
[2] *Agh.* iv, 37.
[3] *Agh.* xii, 112, Shamardal *writes* a poem.
[4] *Agh.* xx, 24.
[5] *Diwan of Hudhail*, ed. Kosegarten, 115, 2.

sufficient to give the affirmative answer to the questions which have been cited, but which the Qur'an certainly assumes will be answered in the negative

Further the process of literary development is normally, perhaps invariably, from the irregular to the regular Latin literature begins with what Horace calls *horridus ille numerus Saturnius* presently Greek metres are adopted, but the adaptation is at first very rough after a century and a half Virgil and Horace set an example of regularity which others have to follow The Arabic literary styles, rhymed prose and verse, both bear some resemblance to the style of the Qur'an, there are parts of the Qur'an which only the extremely orthodox deny to be in ' rhymed prose ' and of many a metre the Qur'an offers an occasional illustration[1] The process from the Qur'anic style to the regular styles would then seem to be in accordance with analogy, and if the Qur'an were the first work in the language which displayed literary art, its claim to miraculous eloquence would be something which people could easily understand, it would not be very different from that which is claimed for or by others who have for the first time introduced versification into a language But if the audience had already been accustomed to rhymed prose and verse of the finish and elaboration which is displayed in the ostensibly pre-Islamic performances in these styles, the claim would at the least have been harder to substantiate

Still it may be said that this last argument is *a priori*, and that where the Moslems themselves impugn the veracity of the Qur'an others are not justified in believing it Thus the author of the *Aghani* who is a Moslem, quotes as a genuine ode by the precursor of Mohammed, Waraqah b Nufail, one wherein he declares that he is an admonisher, bidding them worship none but their Creator[2] This flatly contradicts the Qur'an, which, as has been seen asserts that the Meccans had had no such admonisher before Mohammed Qudam b

[1] See Wright's *Grammar*, ii, 359
[2] iii, 15

Qādim (A D 400–80) in the poem which bears his name anticipates the warnings of the Qur'an in many details, and claims to have given religious guidance to his people in the Moslem sense [1] Hence when the Qur'an declares that the pagans had no books, even a Moslem apparently is not bound to believe it, what, however, we propose to show is that those who maintained the existence of such written literature were considerably less worthy of credence than the Prophet, even if we reject the Moslem view of his character

Before we believe in the stories about Arabic verses written in the Ḥimyari character it would be desirable to see some specimens One would like to see how the calligrapher in this script dealt with the Mu'allaqah of Ḥārith, in which numerous words are divided between the two hemistichs It is a principle of the S Arabian scripts to mark the end of a word by a perpendicular line, this would not look elegant in verse, where cæsura is common, further the ordinary Arabic script seems well suited to Arabic verse on the ground that the calligrapher can easily extend or contract his words so that the whole composition is "justified", but this process would scarcely be possible in the South Arabian writing Still a specimen, if such could be discovered, might silence this objection

In the history of Islam we come across notices of written volumes of poetry before prose works are mentioned, according to Tabari some one in the year 83 found in a castle in the desert of Kirman a volume of poems by Abū Jildah al-Yashkurī, a Kufan fellow-citizen had written the book [2] He also quotes at length a poem by A'shā of Hamdān referring to the events of the year 65, which was concealed at the time, it is scarcely possible to conceal anything but a material object The jurist Abū Yūsuf, who compiled a code for the use of Hārūn al-Rashīd (180–93 = 788–809), mentions among articles in which there is no property, i e the theft of which is

[1] See Griffini, *Il Poemetto di Qudam ben Qādim*, Rome, 1918.

[2] ii, 1102, 6

not punishable by the ordinary process, the Qur'an and the **leaves** whereon are verses,[1] the most natural interpretation **of this rule** is that the only books in familiar use at the time **besides** the Qur'an were volumes of verse, and the rule is **given** as having been formulated by Abū Ḥanīfah, whose **death-date** is 150 Tabari records that a little after this date **a collection** of Arabic (probably pre-Islamic) poetry was made by order of the Caliph Mahdī (158-69)[2] The Hamāsah of Abū Tammām, which is about a generation later, was made from written materials[3] Perhaps it was this early association of poetry with writing which led some who produced pre-Islamic poetry in great quantities to favour the supposition that their sources were written documents Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah (A H 95-155), who was one of these benefactors of the community is supposed to have asserted that the Lakhmid Nu'mān (A D 580-602)[4] ordered that the poems of the Arabs should be copied on boards[5] and buried in his White Palace in Ḥīrah When the adventurer Mukhtār b Abi 'Ubaid came to Kufah in A H 65 he was informed that there was a treasure buried in this Palace, he dug it up and this collection of poetry was brought to light Supposing this story really goes back to Ḥammād, its purpose was doubtless to account for the fact that he knew quantities of pre-Islamic poems and verses which were known to no one else In the *Aghani* he is charged with shameless forgery,[6] and his contemporary Mufaddal Al-Dabbī declared that he had corrupted poetry beyond the hope of recovery[7] In one of the anecdotes he and Mufaddal are summoned by the Caliph Mahdī—the occasion must have been before his Caliphate, since that began 158, whereas Ḥammād died 155—and asked to explain a verse of Zuhair,

[1] *Kitāb al Kharāj*, 105

[2] ii, 841, 21

[3] Tabrīzī's Preface

[4] See Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden*, 1899

[5] Ibn Jinni, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, Cairo, 1914, i, 393, he wrongly renders *ṭunūj* by "quires"

[6] v, 172, ed 1, 163, ed 2

[7] *Agh* v, 172

which begins an ode with the words *quit this* Mufaḍḍal explained the difficulty as well as he could, Ḥammād declared that the ode did not begin with that line, but with three others which preceded it Presently under oath he confessed that these lines had been fabricated by himself. They figure, however, in our editions[1] The antiquarians of Kufah maintained the genuineness of verses known to have been composed by this Ḥammād for the entertainment of the governor Khālid al-Qasrī, and assigned to earlier poets[2] It is asserted by Yāqūt, on the authority of al-Nahhās (ob A H 331), that the seven Mu'allaqāt were collected by this Hammād, one could wish their discovery had been made by some one more respectable The other authority in Kufah for the early poetry, Jannād,[3] was one who, like Ḥammād, recited much, but had little knowledge

Like Ḥammād, the early collectors of poetry were for the most part persons whose scruples in the matter of forgery were slight One Barzakh, a contemporary of Ḥammād and Jannād, when asked on whose authority he recited certain verses ascribed to Imru'ul-Qais, replied on his own, which he regarded as sufficient[4]

Somewhat later than Hammād was Khalaf al-Ahmar, whose death-date was about 180, and who was the instructor of the most eminent antiquarians He too has a bad reputation, and in a story which Ibn Khallikan gives on the authority of Abū Zaid confesses that he circulated forgeries of his own in Kufah as ancient poems, alarmed by an illness, he acknowledged his guilt to the Kufans but like many another man found it easier to "bamboozle" than to "de-bamboozle" A contemporary of his, Abū 'Amr b al-'Alā, ob 154, who has a great name as an antiquary, confessed that he had inserted

[1] *PAC* 540, Ahlwardt, p 81, etc
[2] *Agh* xiii, 4, end
[3] *Irshād*, ii, 426, 3
[4] *Irshād*, ii, 366, 18

a line of his own in a poem of al-A'shā,[1] one wonders whether he had not inserted more than one A disciple of Khalaf, al-Aṣma'ī, who made one of the best known collections of early poetry, asserted that he had stayed in Medinah, and failed to see there a single sound poem, those which were not corrupt were spurious[2] Yet he does not seem to have been over-critical It was recorded of one Kaisān that he used to go to the Bedouins and hear their recitations He would take them down on his tablets and transfer them in altered form to his notebooks he would alter them again before he committed them to memory, and yet again before he communicated them to others Clearly not much of the original would by this time have been left Yet al-Asma'ī regarded him as a good authority[3]

The great collector Abū 'Amr Shaibanī (ob 205) was found to possess a case containing only a few pounds' weight of books, when some one wondered at their paucity, he replied that for a genuine collection they were numerous[4] Yet even this small collection was not free from spurious matter, the author of the *Aghani* quotes from a work of his a lengthy ode ostensibly by a pre-Islamic poet, and declares it to be clearly an Islamic fabrication[5]

It may be added that the opinion which these eminent antiquarians had of each other was often by no means high Ibn al-A'rābī thought neither al-Asma'ī nor Abū 'Ubaidah was any good at all,[6] they probably returned the compliment, and certainly took the same view of each other

The standard of the third century seems to have been no better than that of the second We have two stories of Mubarrad, an antiquary of this period, on whom the warmest encomia are lavished He visits a man of eminence, who asks

[1] *Agh* iii, 23
[2] *Irshād*, vi, 110
[3] *Irshād*, vi, 215
[4] *Irshad*, ii, 236, 5
[5] *Agh* xiii, 4
[6] *Irshād*, vii, 5, 13

him the meaning of a word in the Tradition; not knowing it, Mubarrad makes a guess, for which the great man solicits an authority Mubarrad without hesitation produces "the verse of the poet" as a proof passage Then another learned visitor arrives, who is asked the same question He happens to know the right answer, and gives the word its true meaning, when Mubarrad's verse is brought out by the great man, Mubarrad confesses that he had composed it for the occasion [1] Another time some people who suspected Mubarrad's proof-passages fabricate a word and send to ask Mubarrad the meaning, he replies without hesitation that the word means *cotton*, and proceeds at once to cite a verse to prove it The performance wins the admiration of the questioners, equally whether the answers be true or not [2]

It is in accordance with these facts that we occasionally get highly disconcerting information about quite important collections of verse It has been seen that we are in possession of the Corpus of the works of the poets of the tribe Hudhail, and this tribe was thought to be the most poetical of all the tribes, [3] the grammarian Ahmad b Fāris of the fourth Islamic century visited the tribe in its home, and could not find that any member of the tribe knew the name of one of these poets, at best those among the tribesmen who possessed any poetical taste could recite some commonplace lines which had no connexion with their tribe [4] Sukkarī, the collector of the Corpus, lived a century before, one would have thought that the compilation would have led to increased study of the odes among the tribe whence they emanated, but apparently it had the opposite effect At an earlier period, though the names of the poets were known, there was great uncertainty as to the attribution of the odes [5] There was a considerable amount of poetry attributed to a poet known as the Majnūn

[1] *Irshād*, i, 126
[2] *Irshād*, vii, 138
[3] *Muzhir*, ii, 242
[4] *Irshād*, ii, 8, 5
[5] *Agh.* xx, 19, 3 a.f.

of the Banū 'Āmir An antiquary took the trouble to consult every family of this tribe, but found no one who had ever heard of him [1] For all that, it was possible somehow to find out his name or names and even to trace his ancestry to the tenth generation, and to discover a whole quantity of biographical detail, including quite lengthy conversations The names of two of the romancers are in this case recorded [2]

In some other cases we are told not only the names of forgers, but those of the works which they forged Yazīd b Mufarrigh was the fabricator of the story of the Ḥimyarī king Tubba' and of the poems attributed to him [3] The verses incorporated in the Life of the Prophet by Ibn Isḥāq, probably the earliest prose work in classical Arabic were made to order, [4] in several cases the editor Ibn Hishām notices their spuriousness, but there is little, if any, reason for supposing any of them to be genuine The poet Nuṣaib began his poetical career by composing verses which he attributed to celebrated members of the tribes Ḍamrah b Bakr b 'Abd Manāt and Khuzā'ah When these verses had won the admiration of leading men in these tribes, Nuṣaib felt confident of his poetic gift [5] Doubtless the experiment indicated a scientific mind, but if the admiration of the tribal leaders was genuine, it is likely that the verses would be cherished as the work of the ancient bards it would scarcely have been in Nuṣaib's power to undeceive them Similarly the poet Ja'far b al-Zubair brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abdallah, is said to have attributed his own verses to Omar b Abī Rabī'ah, and these verses were in consequence we are told, introduced into the diwan of the latter [6]

It must be added that good encouragement was given by Caliphs and others to forgers When Mufaddal and Ḥammād

[1] *Agh* i, 161, 10
[2] Ibid, i, 170
[3] *Agh* xvii, 52
[4] *Irshād*, vi, 40, 1
[5] *Agh.* i, 126.
[6] *Agh* xiii, 102, 16

acted to Mahdi in the way described above, the former got the higher reward, but Ḥammād, who had forged and lied, was well paid also. Hārūn al-Rashīd offered 10,000 dirhems to any one who could recite an ode by al-Aswad b. Ya'fur; it is most surprising to read that though all the Arab chieftains from Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia were present, no one responded.[1] On some other occasions readiness to recite an ode that a Caliph wanted led to an immediate rise of stipend.[2]

Muwaffaq, brother of the Caliph Mu'tamid, and even more powerful than he, desired his vizier to furnish him with poems by Jews. Mubarrad, to whom the vizier applied, declared that he knew of none. But a rival scholar, Tha'lab, to whom appeal was then made, was in the fortunate position of having been collecting Jewish poetry for the last fifty years. He produced his Corpus, and his fortune was secured.

Owing to the bad faith of those who gave publicity to the odes, they were very variable quantities. The author of the *Aghani* produces an ode of Dhu'l-Asba' in six lines; presently it is increased to twelve; next we learn that in the opinion of a most notable antiquary only three of the lines were genuine; and we wind up with seventeen.[3]

That in spite of temptations some of the antiquaries may have been scrupulous, and even critical, can be admitted; they did not themselves fabricate, and admitted into their collections what they believed to be genuine monuments of antiquity. But this brings us back to the question of their sources. The mission of Mohammed was a tremendous event in Arabia; it involved a breach with the past to which history furnishes few analogies. From all parts of the peninsula men left their homes to establish themselves in regions whereof few of them had even heard; and within the peninsula the rise of Islam was accompanied and followed by civil wars.

[1] *Agh.* xi, 129 med.
[2] *Agh.* iii, 4.
[3] *Agh.* iii, 2, 4, 10.

The attitude of Islam towards the old paganism was not one even of contemptuous toleration, but one of the fiercest hostility, it offered no compromise of any sort with it If the poets were the spokesmen of paganism, who were the persons who preserved in their memories and transmitted to others those compositions which belonged to a dispensation which Islam terminated? We can trace the consciousness of this difficulty in the solution which Ḥammād is said to have offered, the poems had been buried during the years when Islamic fervour was at its height, and were casually unearthed after it had somewhat cooled The other explanation with which we shall now deal was that the poets were not spokesmen of paganism They were Moslems in all but in name

If we turn our attention to internal evidence, there are some features about these poems which at least occasion surprise The poets of most nations leave no doubt at all about their religion, and the Arabs of the inscriptions are equally candid on this subject most of the inscriptions mention one or more deities and matters connected with their worship Marzubānī devoted a work of over 5 000 pages to an account of the pre-Islamic poets, their religions and their sects, [1] one would fancy that the materials for these subjects were very scanty, as allusions to religion in the odes which we possess are far from common One poet, indeed, asserts that his religion agrees with some other people's, [2] only he does not tell us what it was The polytheistic atmosphere of the inscriptions is simply absent This is perhaps what suggested to Père Cheikho his theory that they were all Christians, but it does not seem that this theory will work Some of these supposed Christians express themselves in a manner which shows clearly that they belonged to a different community, thus A'shā of Qais, who is on Cheikho's list, speaks of petitioners making the circuit of some patron's gates even as

[1] *Fihrist*

[2] 'Amr b Qami'ah, ii, 9

Christians make their circuit round the house of their idol;[1] and one of the few cases wherein we find an oath by a pagan deity is in a verse ascribed to him[2]

Christians wherever they are have their sacred books, and their language and thought are greatly affected by the phraseology of the Gospels, Epistles and Psalms Their poetry most frequently takes the form of hymns But in the supposed pre-Islamic poetry there is a dearth of allusions to the Scriptures and institutions of Christendom even among those poets who are supposed to have flourished at Christian courts. The expert author of the *Aghani* argues that a certain poet who flourished towards the end of the first Islamic century must have been a Christian because he swears by the Gospel, the Monks, and the Faith, which he rightly says are Christian oaths[3] Though the pre-Islamic poets very frequently swear, it is almost invariably by Allah, this oath indeed pervades their diwans The pre-Islamic ʻAbīd b al-Abras even says in Qur'anic language, "I swear by Allah, verily Allah is bountiful to whom He will, and is forgiving and gracious"[4] And their view of the operations of Allah is such as no monotheist could disapprove, it anticipates the statements of the Qur'an in almost every detail Allah "opens and closes the world",[5] He is invoked to reward benefactors[6] and to gather those who are dispersed,[7] He it is whose orders are carried out,[8] His pity is implored by women in bereavement,[9] His blessing is invoked on wells[10] Imprecations are made in His name[11] He who asks of Allah is not

[1] Sukkari, *Comm on Hutay'ah*, p 38
[2] *Agh* xx, 139, 4 a f
[3] A Moslem swears by the Torah and the Qur'an, ibid, xii, 72, 9.
[4] Diwan, 67, 1
[5] Dhu'l-Aṣbaʻ, *Agh* iii, 9
[6] *Agh* xiii, 5
[7] Ibid, 4
[8] Hārith, *Muʻallaqah*, 44.
[9] *Agh* iv, 151, 6.
[10] ʻAbīd b Abraṣ, 19, 8.
[11] Ibid, 66, 12.

disappointed like one who asks of men [1] Guilt in **Allah's** eyes is what they feared [2] Allah is the witness **to whom** they appeal [3] He knows what is hidden from **others** [4] He is called the Lord of mankind [5] A pagan poet says "By Allah does the traveller know, when the **earth** conceals him, what Allah is about to do?" [6] Sometimes the name Rahmān is substituted for Allah, as is the case in the Qur'an [7]

Indeed, the only religion with which these pre-Islamic poets can be credited is the Mohammedan They are not only, as has been seen, strict monotheists--for they very rarely mention any deity save Allah, and such mention is at times not respectful [8]--but they show themselves quite familiar with matters which the Qur'an asserts were unknown to the Arabs prior to its revelation Thus in Surah xi, 51 it is stated that neither Mohammed nor his people had previously heard the story of Noah, and this statement is in accordance with what we should infer from the inscriptions, which make no allusion to the Biblical genealogies of the Arabs which involve it However, Nābighah of Dhubyān, whose *floruit* is given by Cheikho as A D 604, a year which is also given as his death-date, is not only familiar with the story of Noah, but even knows something about the patriarch for which the Qur'an appears to be the sole authority. He says *I found fidelity which thou didst not betray, even thus was Nūh, he did not betray* [9] There is here an evident reference to the epithet *faithful* which in the Qur'an is applied to Nūh (xxvi, 107) The poet 'Antarah of 'Abs, whose diwan occupies 284 pages evidently knew the revelations of the Qur'an and

[1] Ibid, 8, 23
[2] Ibn Qutaibah, 44, 10
[3] *Agh* iv, 144, 15
[4] 'Abīd b Abras, 50, 17 Hārith, *Mu'allaqah*, 55
[5] *Agh* xi, 132, 6 a f
[6] *Agh* xiii, 7
[7] Ibid, near end
[8] 'Abīd b Abras, 13, 14
[9] *PAC* 730, 4 a f

the technicalities of Islam before the appearance of Mohammed, in an address to the Persian king Anushirwan, who died about A.D. 580, this poet calls the king the *Qiblah* of Suppliants,[1] using a technicality of Islam for the direction of prayer, which perhaps ought not to surprise us since according to the *Aghani* the pre-Islamic Medinese had a *masjid* with a *qiblah*,[2] which are ordinarily regarded as Islamic innovations. This same poet is familiar with the Islamic postures of prayer, inclination, and prostration,[3] and with the Stone of Standing, i.e. that whereon Abraham stood, whose connexion with the Meccan sanctuary is quite certainly an Islamic innovation.[4] He also knows the Qur'anic names for Hell, *jaḥīm* and *jahannum*,[5] and those which that work employs for the Day of Judgment.[6] He uses with favour Qur'anic expressions.[7] Hence there is no reason for doubting that he was a good Moslem, except that his life was passed before Islam had appeared.[8]

This pre-Islamic bard perhaps parades his Mohammedanism somewhat excessively; but many others give glimpses of theirs. We should have gathered from the Qur'an that the distinction between the present and the future life had been introduced to the Arabs by Mohammed, for his opponents are represented as treating the notion of a future life with contempt. Hence we should assume that the usage of the phrase *the nearer* in the sense of "the world" must have been introduced by the Qur'an, where sometimes it is used alone, but more frequently with the substantive "life." The person who thinks of the world as "the nearer life" must have in mind a more distant life, the doctrine which

[1] Cairo ed., 254.
[2] xiii, 116, 12.
[3] Cairo ed., 101, 154.
[4] Ibid., 232.
[5] Ibid., 237, 204.
[6] *Qiyāmah*, 83, 247; *maḥshar*, 127.
[7] So *jabbār 'anīd*, 191, 206, 231.
[8] *Agh.* iv, 128, 4 a f.

Mohammed's audience at first regarded with scornful bewilderment. But the pre-Islamic poets are thoroughly familiar with the expression 'Abīd b al-Abras, who lived many decades before the preaching of the Qur'an, speaks in Qur'anic language of "the goods of the nearer ",[1] meaning the goods of this world, and Dhu l-Asba', who is also pre-Islamic, quotes from the Qur'an the phrase *wishing for the goods of the nearer* [2] The former, in addressing a remonstrance to the father of Imru'ul-Qais, refers to the Resurrection-day,[3] and has an expression which implies acquaintance with the Mohammedan Law of Inheritance, [4] while the latter knows the distinction between the *sunnah* and the *prescription*, i e the text of the Qur an The phrase *al-dunyā* for "the world " is also found in the Mu'allaqah of 'Amr b Kulthūm, who is supposed to have died in the year A D 600, more than twenty years before the Flight When these poets wish to illustrate the relentlessness of the divine power, they regularly take the Qur'anic cases of Iram, 'Ād and Thamūd, [5] and several of them confuse the two latter,[6] for which there can scarcely be any reason except their juxtaposition in the Qur an, whence indeed the story of the three was in all probability obtained Even the supposed founder of the *Qasīdah*, Muhalhil, who, as has been seen flourished a whole century before the Prophet, is sufficiently in advance of his time to quote the Qur'an *They told us Kulaib was dead, and I said has the earth swayed with us or have its anchors swayed ?* [7] This is evidently to be explained from Surah xvi, 15 where we read *And he flung upon the earth anchors lest it should sway* Another Surah (lxxix, 32) makes it clear that mountains are meant Similarly

[1] 80, 28
[2] *Agh* iii, 9, 8 Surah viii 68
[3] Ibn Qutaibah, 37, 15
[4] *Dhū suhmah*, for 'a relation ", Lyall
[5] *Agh* xi, 61, 11, 'Amr b Qami'ah, 64, 4
[6] Zuhair, *Mu'allaqah*, 32, *Hudhail*, Kosegarten, 80
[7] *PAC* 166, 6 a f

Ta'abbata Sharran in his dirge on Shanfara quotes the Qur'an.[1] A prehistoric Persian king, according to Tha'ālibi, does the like [2]

Sometimes the obvious use of the Qur'an in these odes is too much for the Moslem critics, thus we are told that doubts were held about the genuineness of a poem ascribed to Labīd, wherein the story of the Elephant is told, and the defeat of the foreigner attributed to Allah precisely as the Qur'an tells the story [3] The author of the *Aghani* argues that Ḥasīn b al-Humāmi was Islamic on a similar ground [4] Others were less critical, Mutahhar b Tāhir, who is of the fourth century of Islam, notices that the pre-Islamic Zaid b 'Amr b Nufail preached monotheism in a set of verses which are a mere cento of Qur'anic texts about Mūsā and Hārūn in their relations with Fir'aun and went so far as to declare himself a Moslem in the phrase *aslamtu wajhī* [5] Umayyah b Abi'l-Ṣalt, who speaks of the Christians as though he were not one of them, uses for the Day of Judgment a phrase which we should have supposed to have been introduced by the Qur'an,[6] even if we could accept the view that the pagan Arabs were thoroughly familiar with the notion of such a Day The poetess Khansā is familiar with the *Zabāniyah*, which would seem to be a Qur'anic technicality [7] Hātim Tā'ī, who is a Christian, is acquainted with the Islamic exclamation *Allāhu akbar* [8]

It is quite conceivable that Mohammed may have had "forerunners" in the sense that some persons before his time in Central Arabia may have revolted against the pagan worships Christianity, moreover, seems clearly to have obtained a hold over parts of the Peninsula If the pre-Islamic poets had composed like Christians, assuming the

[1] Surah xl, 18, *Agh* xxi, 89
[2] *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, 47, 2.
[3] Labīd, ed Brockelmann, xxxiv
[4] xii, 123
[5] *Livre de la Création*, i, 75
[6] Ibid, ii, 145, *Yaum al-taghābun*, Surah lxix, 9
[7] *Agh* iv, 136, 7
[8] Ed Schulthess, 51, 15

doctrines of Christianity and showing familiarity with its institutions, we might be confronted with some difficulties in their odes and the question of their transmission, only their religion would not be one of them But when we find them talk like Mohammedans, being as rigid monotheists as the followers of the Prophet afterwards were and so far as they echo any sacred book, echo the Qur an, it seems most difficult to believe in their genuineness Why should the Arabs of the inscriptions have their various local deities in their thoughts, and the poets of the same regions know of no God save the Deity whose unity Mohammed proclaimed? Even if we suppose the inscriptions to have emanated from communities other than those of the poets, what becomes of Mohammed's mission if those whom he "warned" were believers in One God and expecting a Day of Judgment? If we are guided by the inscriptions it must be admitted that the polemic of the Qur'an is rightly directed, the cults of the Meccans and their neighbours may not have been identical with those of the regions to which the inscriptions belong, but they had a family likeness to them But the views of the pre-Islamic poets on religious subjects seem to be similar to or even identical with those taught in the Qur an

A second line of internal evidence is that of the language All these poems are in the dialect of the Qur an, though here and there a word or form may be employed which is said to belong to some particular tribe or region If we suppose the imposition of Islam on the tribes of Arabia to have unified their language, because it provided them with a classic of indisputable correctness in the Qur'an, analogies occur, the Roman conquest did the same for Italy, Gaul and Spain But it is difficult to imagine that before Islam provided this unifying element there was a common language, different from those of the inscriptions, spread over the whole peninsula The individual tribes, or at least the groups of tribes, would have had easily recognizable differences of grammar and vocabulary Père Cheikho's collection commences with the

poets of South Arabia, they compose in the dialect of the Qur'an Within South Arabia itself the inscriptions are in a variety of dialects, and some of these come near the Prophet's time, they can only be interpreted with difficulty, because the help which the classical Arabic gives is scanty. Yet when the Moslem archæologists produce verses by a king of Hadramaut, and written by him, they say, in the Himyari character, they are in the dialect of the Qur'an, which he expected his people to understand [1] The authority for this story is Ibn al-Kalbi, one of the foremost of the antiquaries A Himyarite, who belongs to a period before the Abyssinian invasion, writes and seals a couple of verses not in the language of the contemporary or somewhat later inscriptions, but in Qur'anic Arabic [2] In these cases few will even doubt that the verses are fabrications and the events wherewith they are connected at best legendary Yet we have to remember that the authorities for these pre-Islamic poems are either the same as or not less trustworthy than those for Cheikho's poets of Yemen, and the author of the *Aghani*, who occasionally practises criticism, produces them without suspicion He very likely does so in good faith, like those Moslem controversialists who assert that the Christian doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was occasioned by the misreading of two points on a word in the second Psalm, it should have been read *nabiyyun*, but was misread *bunayya* They are not aware that this doctrine was held many centuries before the Arabic alphabet was invented, an invention at least a century earlier than that of the diacritic points And the ascription of verses in the classical Arabic to pre-Islamic bards of Yemen appears to be an error of the same sort There is no evidence that South Arabia had any poets, if, however, there were any, they must have sung in one of the South Arabian dialects

And having this decided evidence of bad faith in a group of cases, we do not know what we can accept in other cases.

[1] *Agh* xi, 125, 4 a f [2] *Agh* xx, 8, 13.

In North Arabia one or two inscriptions have indeed been discovered in the Qur'anic dialect but others exhibit a wealth of dialects similar to that found in the South; and here again verse is non-existent in the present state of our knowledge. Since Islam originated in the Hijāz, the Moslems might be expected to know more about the history of that part of Arabia than about the South in fact, they know somewhat more about the South, because events of greater importance for the peninsula had happened there than elsewhere. Yet their knowledge of South Arabia was so vague that they ascribe verses to South Arabian potentates in a language which we know on epigraphic evidence was not theirs. When the antiquaries made their compilations, the language of the Qur'an had, owing to Islam become the classical language in South Arabia, but there was the same reason for its predominance in other parts of the peninsula, we have as yet no ground for supposing that it counted as a literary language anywhere until the Qur'an was produced.

Now, if we were dealing with prose documents, we might acquiesce in the hypothesis that they had been either translated, or at least gradually shifted, from one stage of the language to another, somewhat as changes in orthography get gradually introduced into printed works, in accordance with later usage without any violation of good faith. But in Arabic poetry, of which the artifice is more complicated than any other known style, such a proceeding would be simply impossible. The works would have to be recast. And it may be observed that just as the converts to Islam turned their backs on their old religion, so that the Qur'an knows more about it than any of the later Moslems, similarly in Arabia they turned their backs on their old languages and dialects, so that help for the understanding of the inscriptions can now be obtained from two authors only, whom the late Professor Hartmann justly termed eccentric. And just as the occurrence of Islamic ideas in ostensibly pagan works is a clear proof of spuriousness, so the employment of the

dialect which the Qur'an rendered classical furnishes ground for grave suspicion

That the language of the Ḥijāz was the court language of Ḥirah is not impossible, but the evidence for this apart from the "early poems" seems wanting, vast deserts separate these regions The Moslems who produce poems from all parts of the peninsula in the same dialect seem to be acting consistently with their practice of making many or most of these poets worshippers of Allah and of no other god, they project into past times the phenomena with which they are themselves familiar Something like this seems to be the case with the geography of these poems, 'Amr b Kulthūm, the author of a Mu'allaqah states that he has drunk wine in Baalbek, Damascus, and Qāsirīn, that which he solicits is of Andarin The last two places are said to be in the neighbourhood of Aleppo Doubtless in the 150 years which this person is supposed to have lived he had time for extensive travels, but acquaintance with these places as well as with the provinces and tribes of Arabia such as this ode displays reminds the reader of the time when the Moslem empire included Syria and Arabia rather than of the time when the Arabs were in the condition depicted in the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, about A D 500

A third line of evidence is to be found in the *content* of the odes If they regularly commence with erotic passages because the Qur'an says poets philander in every valley, if they proceed to describe their wanderings and their mounts because the Qur'an says poets are followed by those who go astray, which certainly implies that they go astray themselves, and if they proceed to dilate on their achievements, often immoral in character, because the Qur'an says they say what they do not do, we can at least trace to the source this monotony, which led some critics to declare that all that mattered in poems was the language, since they all repeat the same ideas [1] But if this stereotyped form is earlier than

[1] Ibn Rashīq, *'Umdah*

the Qur'an it must go back to certain acknowledged models; and the search after these leads us as has been seen, back to Adam It is true that the odes show remarkable acquaintance with the anatomy of the horse and camel and perhaps with the habits of other animals but these, as we know, were studied by grammarians as well as by poets That some Bedouin poet may have started an ode with a lament over the ruined dwelling of his beloved or with an account of her wraith, and may have proceeded to describe his live stock, is quite possible, but we can name with precision no classic whose work formed the basis of education and whose example had to be followed by all aspirants to the poetic art If there had been such a classic or classics the polemic of the Qur'an must have taken account of such, because they would have been the authoritative source of current ideas Their guidance might be stigmatized as bad but it could not well be denied that the people had books which they studied

In the main odes which are ascribed to the early poets are what are called occasional and are records of experiences which would have interested themselves only or at best some of their tribesmen The possibility cannot indeed be denied that an Arab who divorced a wife or raided camels or slaughtered an enemy might compose an ode on the subject, and where several persons were involved in such transactions each of them might record his experience in this way But Horace is quite accurate when he says *neque Si chartæ sileant quod bene feceris mercedem tuleris*, the record must be on paper or its equivalent or such compositions have no chance of being preserved When what the antiquaries communicate is something that takes the form of a dialogue, i e a series wherein poet replies to poet, the probability that the whole is romance becomes especially great, for we cannot well credit the rival poets with taking steps to preserve each other's performances, so that the intervention of a third party is required, whereas if we suppose the whole to have emanated from one mind, we at

least have something before us that is simple and easily paralleled

The hypothesis of romance further accounts for cases wherein the anecdotes associated with the verses contradict experience, so the author of the *Aghani*, who introduces a number of verses improvised in a poetical competition wherein the poets Nābighah Ja'dī, al-'Ajjāj, and al-Akhtal took part,[1] calculates that this Nābighah must have been 220 years old at the time, and declares himself satisfied with this conclusion Others had made him reach the age of 180, but as he had quite certainly celebrated his 180th birthday in the time of the Prophet this was a serious understatement Now when we read the poetical competition between Homer and Hesiod, chronology does not trouble us, because we know that the whole story is imaginary Only if the same person who told it in good faith were also our chief authority for the history of the poets, we could not be too sceptical

This is one example, but there are many others We can perhaps trust the statements of the *Aghani* so far as it is clear that they are based on written materials, whence, if we had the collection of poems made by order of the Caliph Mahdi, we could be confident that those poems were in existence as early as the year 158 A H And if the collector seemed a reasonably veracious and critical person, we might trust him if he informed us that he got his material from much earlier documents But if in lieu of sobriety and veracity we had tall stories about men who lived for a couple of hundred years, and collections of poems buried under palaces, and gigantic skeletons with inscribed tablets on their heads, we should be justified in dismissing everything as a fabrication And if in lieu of written materials we found our author relying on oral transmission through a period when anything which had been remembered would, if possible, have been forgotten, we could feel doubly sure that his statements were not to be trusted on any subject

[1] *Agh* iv, 129, 131.

If then the ostensibly pre-Islamic poetry is suspect on both external and internal grounds, we are brought back to the question of the commencement of Arabic versification. Is it of high antiquity, though the monuments which we possess are for the most part post-Islamic? Or is it altogether post-Islamic, being a development of the styles found in the Qur'an? This question appears to be of great difficulty.

On the one hand we seem to have continuity; the Umayyad poets come after those of the time of the Prophet and his Companions whereas these follow on the pagan poets. Some of the earlier diwans, e.g. that of Hassān b. Thābit, the Prophet's encomiast, inspire little confidence; but it would be difficult to shake the genuineness of those of the Umayyad poets. Further, a few of the technicalities of verse seem to lie behind phrases of the same sort which occur in the Old Testament, whence the hypothesis that the Arabs composed odes, only we cannot be sure whether we actually possess any lines that are earlier than Islam, is attractive.

On the other hand besides the absence of verse in the inscriptions we notice that the Qur'an has no allusion to music.[1] In Dr. Stanton's most useful Index to the Qur'an we look in vain for the items *Music* and *Singing*. The word *rattil* in that book cannot really mean "to chant", since it is used of the Divine Being (xxv, 34); it must mean something like "set in order". The "Psalms", which from their Syriac and Greek names clearly mean words accompanied by wind or stringed instruments, in the Qur'an have become *Zubūr* "texts", "books". Indeed the dates for the introduction of music into Moslem communities are given in the *Aghani*, and these take us into Umayyad times. About the year 65, we are told, one Ibn Misjah introduced *barbitiyyah* and *istuchusiyyah* from the Greeks having started his musical studies by hearing Persian builders humming tunes when the Ka'bah was rebuilt after its destruction in that year.[2] One

[1] Three texts are supposed to refer to music (xvii, 66, xxxi, 5, liii, 61), *Talbis Iblis*, p. 246. The reference is obscure.

[2] *Agh.* iii, 84

songstress, Rā iqah, introduced singing into Medinah about the same time[1] There are, however, other claimants. The first of the two words mentioned clearly means "harp-playing", the second is obscure Mr Farmer, a high authority on these matters, thinks it means the system of Aristoxenus

These statements of the *Aghani* seem to correspond well with the phenomenon which has been noticed—the absence of allusion to music in the Qur'an though with most communities it is an important adjunct of public worship, and with a military community like that of the Moslems we should have expected that its importance for the operations of war would have been recognized But if music was an introduction of Umayyad times, can we imagine that metre existed among the Arabs before in the regularity and copiousness which their versification displays? The more usual order of origin would seem to be dance, music, verse, and the emancipation of verse from music is ordinarily a lengthy process Some of the Arab metres seem to suggest either the dance or music or both

The existence of the Qur'an, containing the rudiments of rhymed prose and of metre, would account for the development of both when the theory and practice of music had been introduced, and the projection of the art into pre-Islamic antiquity would not be unthinkable The dialect of the Qur'an had become a court-language, and with the establishment of a court the profession of court-poet arose The encomia of the second 'Abbasid by Ru'bah are in *rejez* metre, a halfway house between poetry and prose, and, as has been seen, a leading antiquary asserted that this poet's father was the first to compose more than a couple of lines in this, the least artistic of the metres It seems remarkable that long poems should have been composed in the more difficult rhythms at an earlier period

An inquiry into the genuineness of the diwans of the period of the Pious Caliphs and of the Umayyads would exceed the

[1] Ibid, xvi, 13

limits of this paper The evidence that is before us on the main question seems sufficient to render all ostensibly pre-Islamic verse suspect and perhaps all pre-Umayyad verse The pre-Islamic kingdoms which are known to us from the inscriptions were highly civilized but do not appear to have had poetry, can we believe that the uncivilized Bedouin had it, in anything like the elaborate form wherewith the Moslem archæologists credit them? On the whole the probability would seem to lie on the side of the supposition that both poetry and rhymed prose are in the main derived from the Qur'an and that such literary efforts as preceded that work were less not more artistic

The tribal bard may perhaps be compared to the Pastoral poet and bear a similar relation to reality The author of Ecclesiasticus is unnecessarily plain-spoken when he says (xxxviii, 25) —

How can he get wisdom (the Greek σοφισθήσεται might well be rendered *become a poet*) *that holdeth the plough,*
And that glorieth in the goad
That driveth oxen and is occupied in their labours,
And whose talk is of bullocks?

Yet his opinion seems to be sound No one thinks of Virgil or Theokritus as real shepherds or goatherds, they are clearly men of learning and culture who "simulate" shepherds and goatherds And this is evidently the case *mutatis mutandis* with the authors of the Mu'allaqāt Tarafah, e g, is clearly a learned man he knows about Byzantine bridges and navigation on the Tigris as well as that in the Persian Gulf, or more probably the Red Sea Although he died some seventy years before the Hijrah, he takes a phrase from the Qur'an, which he misunderstands In Surah xxvii, 44, the Queen of Sheba, fancying that she is stepping into a pool, lifts her skirt, but Solomon explains that it is *sarh mumarrad* out of glass Some Moslems naturally suppose this to mean "a tower erected (or raised high) out of pieces of glass", but it seems clear that the true sense is *polished smooth*, an epithet which

would apply to Solomon's supposed crystal palace, but not to any ordinary palace When, therefore, Tarafah compares the thighs of his camel to the two gates of منيف ممرّدة (line 19) it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he is thinking of the verse in the Qur'an, where the word *mumarrad* belongs to the special palace which Solomon constructed, his education, therefore, includes the study of the Qur'an This work, however, was revealed some sixty years after the supposed Tarafah's death It is like the *dunyā* of 'Amr b Kulthum, whose death-date is given as A D 600, but who by the use of this word displays acquaintance with the doctrine of the Qur'an, first promulgated some twelve years after his demise.

If on the question whether Arabic versification goes back to immemorial antiquity or is later than the Qur'an it seems wisest to suspend judgment, the reason lies in the bewildering character of the evidence that is before us We are on safe ground when we are dealing with inscriptions, and the Qur'an can be trusted for the condition of the Arabs to whom it was communicated in the Prophet's time But for the history of Arabic verse we have to go to other authorities, who for the most part treat of times and conditions of which they themselves had no experience, and whose training had caused them to assume much that necessarily misled them In judging their statements we can carry scepticism too far, but we also may be too credulous

April, 1925

Metamorphic Stylization and the Sabotage of Significance. A Study in Ancient and Modern Chinese Writing

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATES VIII AND IX)

THE selection of a title is sometimes a choice of evils. Which shall most move us, the desire to attract the many, or the fear of offending the few?

For the heading of this paper, the original aim had been laudable. Pith, brevity, and point were to combine with brilliant exactness of definition, alluring to the reader and doing justice to the theme. "That," as they say in the street, "was the idea." Followed an interval for intellectual refreshment and repose, and then, "sudden in a minute," in a flash, was captured the caption. But the disillusion of it! Gone were the pith and the brevity, and in their stead appeared a sesquipedalian pomposity. But however ponderously, the present title has the merit that it does precisely formulate the baffling and hitherto little noticed phenomena of substitutional types to which this paper essays to call attention by the illustration of a few out of many examples.

It is a matter now of common knowledge that Chinese writing descends from a prehistoric stock of pictorial designs, which in the course of at least four millennia, have reached that degree of supreme unintelligibility connoted by the term "a Chinese character." The driving force that has brought about this change, or rather succession of changes, is the nature and needs of the art of writing, and the mechanism actuated by this force is that alterative process of graphic simplification and symmetrizing, known as conventionalization, or more recently, as stylization. Diviners, secretaries, and scribes, were the actual operatives of the mechanism, and their hands are responsible for the ordinary graphic wear

and tear which I have termed "metamorphic stylization" So far, however, the effect was from the original pictographic point of view, merely a *suppressio veri* With this normal and inevitable development the present paper is not concerned

But matters did not end there Clerical depravity, or should I say, scribal ?, went further and did worse For in a minority of cases, but a minority that research is bound to enlarge, a primitive pictographic type has been replaced by another type entirely alien to the original design, naturally leading to erroneous conclusions and fatal to the understanding of the true significance of the character thus corrupted and perverted Here then we have to recognize a *suggestio falsi* introduced into the evolution of Chinese writing

It is this perversion, whether deliberate or accidental, that I have termed the "sabotage of significance", and have illustrated by examples in the pages that follow Certain suggestions may be thought audacious, but will not, I trust, be found without interest

HU THE TURK

Hu 胡 Turkic, the dewlap, and that part of the blade of a halberd, 戈 *Kuo* which is thought to resemble a dewlap, how, why what?

These are the disconnected senses represented by this character which must consequently serve as shelter for at least three separate and unrelated words And yet, as we shall see, originally it was designed to write none of these but quite a different syllable which has not any longer even the same sound

The *Shuo Wen*, which explains the Lesser Seal form by the words 牛顄垂也, *niu han ch'ui yeh*, "the hanging neck of the ox," or the dewlap, dissects the character as composed with 肉 *jou, flesh*, with 古 *ku*, for the sound, and *Kanghsi* accordingly ranges the character under the Radical 肉 *jou* However, we may take note here that no examples of 胡 *hu*,

written with these two elements together, have been discovered of earlier date than the Han And what is rather curious, even during that dynasty examples are found where the supposed ideographic half of the character is not 肉 *jou, flesh*, but 月 *yueh, moon*

Now when with commonly used words, we can produce no examples of their characters earlier than that period, there is always cause for fruitful reflection and research, not seldom with surprising discoveries in the event

And so it has been here, thanks to the acumen of Wu Ta-ch'êng as he develops his studies in his 字說 *Tzŭ Shuo*, or *Characters Explained*

The last but five of these studies in the edition of 1893 is entitled 瑚字說 " An explanation of the character 瑚 *hu* " but in fact, it is a convincing explanation also of the more important character 胡 *hu* of which probably the other is a mere augmented form

And the curious thing is that Wu Ta-ch'êng's conclusion could be reached almost from the pages of *Kanghsi's* Dictionary alone and certainly from the latter and the *Shuo Wen* together, as I shall show below

Now here is Wu Ta-ch'êng's explanation rather more briefly put than in his own words

The original of the character 胡 *hu*, as it has been written since Han times, was , and this, and its reversed form, is simply one of numerous early variants used for the word *fu*, a certain vessel of capacity, which is now, and was also in Han times written  The early variants, such as the above, consisted of 古 *ku*, as the phonetic, and the archaic scription of 匚, *fang*, a determinative of vessels of capacity

What Wu does not expressly say, but evidently meant his readers to infer, is that at some early date, either at the close of the Chou Dynasty or a little later, the scholars or scribes of the time misunderstood or miswrote the primitive basket-work determinative by substituting either 月 *yueh*,

moon, or 肉 *jou, flesh*, in the latter case no doubt influenced by the word *hu*, dewlap As so often happens in Chinese writing, characters originally mere variants in detail, and therefore necessarily homophones (since they were used for the same spoken word) have in course of time and usage come to have different applications, and in consequence have developed a diversity of sound, as in this case, where 胡 is *hu*, and 簠 is *fu*

It was mentioned above that Wu s conclusion could have been reached via *Kanghsi* and the *Shuo Wen* Thus, according to the latter [illegible] is the *chou wen* phase of 匚 *fang* (This "*chou wên*" form is found sometimes in composition on the Honan relics though [illegible] is more usual there) And *Kanghsi* gives [illegible] as the same as [illegible], and this latter as an ancient mode of writing 簠 *fu* so that [illegible] = 簠 *fu* And the theory is verified by the fact that the first of these two forms is found on extant specimens of the Bronzes known as 簠 *fu*, e g on the 大 司 工 簠 *Ta ssŭ kung fu* on p 53 of vol vi of the *Chun Ku Lu Chin Wen*

But although, as mentioned above, no example of the modern scription of 胡 *hu* can be cited from Bronze or Bone of pre-Han date some early confusion as to the orthography must have prevailed This is proved by the passage in the *Tso-chuan* [1] cited by Wu Ta-ch êng, where Confucius when consulted by K ung Wên-tzŭ, replied, "I have learned all about sacrificial vessels 胡 簋 之 事 則 嘗 學 之 矣 " Here the *hu* of *hu kuei, sacrificial vessels* is written 胡, not 簠, as it should be normally And, on the other hand, we now know by the first-hand evidence of the wooden slips discovered by Sir A Stein,[2] see for instance a very clear example on No 71, Plate 4, that 胡 *hu* with the sense of "Turkic" was in current use in the first century B C written as it is now

The conclusion to be drawn is that a combination primitively

[1] See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol v, pt ii, p 823 (text), p 826 (English)
[2] See Chavannes, *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, p 28.

consisting of an ideographic element representing a basket-work vessel, with a phonetic addition, has by a quite simple but effective corruption suffered the basket to become sometimes the symbol for flesh, sometimes the figure of the crescent moon

VICTOR AND VANQUISHED

Fu 伏, to crouch, cower, lie prostrate, to submit to, to lie low

The first and earliest examples of the character thus written, made up of 人 *jên, man*, and 犬 *ch'uan, dog*, are to be found in the early Han wooden slips, excavated by Sir A Stein, and published by Chavannes But it should be remarked as a curious point, that no pre-Han occurrences of this common word can be produced This failure to appear should make us suspicious

The combination of *man* and *dog* to suggest a word with such senses as we see above, the master depicted with his submissive and cringing hound, is certainly apt and natural enough And yet it seems to be completely erroneous There is no dog in the archaic composition at all, but there are *two* men

We owe it, not to Lo Chên-yu or Wang Kuo-wei, but to Mr Wang Hsiang, 王 襄, of Tientsin, whose great merit it is to have arranged the characters of the Honan Bone find, so far as he found it feasible according to the scheme of the *Shuo Wen*, and thus to have earned the gratitude of all sorts and conditions of students in this arid and stubborn field

Wang Hsiang has collected four examples from the Honan relics, as shown below, and ranged them under 伏 *fu*. (Figs 1 to 4)



FIGS 1 2 3 4

The more cautious Lo Chên-yu has relegated these examples to his volume of *Yin dynasty characters awaiting investigation*,[1] in company with numerous others for which Wang boldly supplies modern equivalents Time, however, and further inquiry will disprove, I fear a considerable number of Wang's equations But the present solution I venture to believe, will hold good And I think I can suggest which Wang Hsiang does not do, how the discrepancy between the composition of the Shang dynasty character and that of the Lesser Seal and modern forms may have arisen Should it be correct it will afford a very signal illustration of the title of this paper

Both the existing figure and that of the Shang era are symbolical But the two symbols are drawn from different concepts In the later, the ideographic design is based on the submissive behaviour of a dog to his human master In the archaic character we have a picture of the Victor and the Vanquished, but both are human We see the former represented frontally as a dignified and towering personage, under whose outstretched arm cowers the insignificant profile of a beaten foe, a crude but convincing illustration

It may be asked when and for what reason such a transference of symbolic design came to be made For the date, the available facts are wanting, though we may hazard the surmise that it took place in the closing centuries of the Chou dynasty

But for the cause of the change I venture to put forward the conjecture that we can probably ascribe it to the similarity of the linear form of 犬 *ch'üan, dog*, which in the Lesser Seal is , to 大 *ta* It would not need much to change the  of the original design (the Victor) to the  (the dog), of the Lesser Seal, nor to increase the stature of the original  (the Vanquished) to the height of his companion element When this was done, the transformation was complete The

[1] 殷虛書契待問編 *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wên Pien*

Victor has become the victim and a dog, the Vanquished, now stands upright as a Master-man

The Surprising Alchemy of a Sacral Vessel

I 彝, vessels of bronze, which in conjunction with others named 尊 *tsun*, were devoted to ancestral worship in the Family Temple Judging by the variety of make in the vessels on which this character occurs as its name, *i* cannot have been confined to one model In the *Chou Li* or ***Ritual** of the Chou Dynasty*, are described the 六 彝, *liu i*, or *Six Vases*, as Biot renders it Two of these were the 鷄 彝 *chi i*, or *Cock Vase*, and the 鳥 彝 *niao i* or *Bird Vase* Chêng K'ang-ch'êng, commenting on these four characters, writes that they 謂刻而畫之爲鷄鳳皇之形 "meant incised designs representing (respectively) a Cock and a Phoenix"

But apart from the genuineness of the *Chou Li*, some of the Bronzes and all the Honan relics where the archaic character appears must date from the previous Shang dynasty

The Lesser Seal form of the character is , which the *Shuo Wen* analyses as composed of 糸 *mi silk thread*, 廾 *kung, the hands raised*, 米 *mi, rice*, and 彑 *chi, a pig's head*, which conglomeration of elements it would be hard to defend seriously as a graphic design for a Bronze sacral vessel Fortunately it is unnecessary to do so The archaic examples on Bronze are exceptionally abundant, and a few also exist on the Honan bones I select two from each of these sources (see Figs 1 to 4 on Plate IX)

Now these examples, and especially Figs 1 and 2, from the Bronzes, make it plain, despite obscurities regarding some of the details, what the intention of the designers of the primitive character was They put before us the two hands holding up either an actual bird, or what is far more likely, an object fashioned in the shape of a bird Lo Chên-yu concludes a short note on the two examples from the Honan bones with the remark, "The character 彝 *i* in the oracular sentences

depicts the two hands holding a cock and is identical with those on the old Bronzes The significance of this we cannot tell "

The point of this last sentence is, presumably, that Lo was conscious that the very numerous Bronze vessels on which the character 彝 i occurs as the proper designation of the vessel in question are Bowls and receptacles of varying design, but are not shaped in the semblance of birds The explanation of this seeming discrepancy between the vessels and the construction of the character applied to them, does not appear

But the feature that concerns us now about the character, is the complete falsification that it has undergone in the change from an integral Bird-shaped outline, supported by two hands, to a complex of a pig s head, rice, and silk thread, with two hands below which last remain the sole element in common between the primitive and the later scriptions

THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE THREE CHARACTERS 草 TS'AO, GRASS 早, EARLY, AND 皂 OR 阜 TSAO, BLACK

No authentic instance of any of these three characters can be traced previous to the Han dynasty which seems strange at first sight with words of such common use

Let us therefore inquire what the evidence is on the subject, and how it will justify the claim now made, that these three characters spring from a common origin and that that origin is the pictogram of an acorn

And first we will take the character 草 *ts'ao* It is elementary knowledge that the Chinese word for grass or herbage was not thus written until quite late times, its precursor being 艸 *Kanghsi s* 140th Radical, and the *Shuo Wen's* 12th But at some date later than the publication of the *Shuo Wen* in A D 121, the now current form was taken into use[1] Now the Lesser Seal scription of this

[1] It is of interest to note that the modern form, and with its modern meaning of plant, herb, occurs on one of the wooden slips excavated by Sir A Stein, and published in Chavannes *Documents Chinois, etc* See

current form is . The explanation given by the author Hsu Shên is in these terms —

草斗櫟實也一曰象斗從艸早聲, *tsao tou li shih yeh i yueh hsiang tou ts'ung ts'ao tsao shêng*, that is, "The acorn [lit the *tsao*-bushell], the fruit of the oak-tree, another term is the *hsiang*-bushell [象 is a variant of 橡 *hsiang*, another oak], composed of *ts'ao*, grass, and *tsao* for the phonetic"

Hence it results from this passage that the true and earlier meaning of the character now always used to write grass or herbage in general, was "acorn" and it was not aspirated

This brings us to 早 *tsao, early* The *Shuo Wen* renders this word by its synonym *ch'ên, early*, and thus analyses the character, 從日在甲上, *ts'ung jih tsai chia shang*, "composed with *jih*, the *sun*, above *chia*" *Chia*, 甲, we know as a word meaning a scale or protective sheath or (not to put too fine a point upon it), an "integument" also, as the first of the Ten Stems or Denary Cycle But what sort of an explanation of the construction is this that the *Shuo Wen* offers to us? I submit that it is worthless What has the primacy of the Denary Cycle, or the sense of protective scale, to do with a word that signifies early?

The solution I venture to put forward is based on an entirely different dissection of the character I do not believe the upper half is 日 *jih*, the *sun*, at all I believe the Lesser Seal is a corrupt and stylized alteration of the figure of an acorn with its cup and stalk, the primitive outline of which was approximately  I suppose that the sense of the homophonous but unrelated syllable *tsao*, *early*, inevitably entailed the change of form from a conical to a round outline that would depict the sun, and that the Lesser Seal  represents an endeavour to make some plausible modification

No 531, where the word appears in the term 石南草 *shih-nan-ts'ao*. The date of this document may well have been in Hsü Shên's lifetime.

of the cupule and its stalk This hypothetical restoration of the character 早 *tsao* would accord with my view that it is in fact the original way of writing the word *tsao*, which, as we saw above, the *Shuo Wen* explains as "the acorn, the fruit of the oak tree"

We have still to deal with the character 皁 or 皂 *tsao black*, but there is little difficulty in doing so The syllable *tsao*, meaning *black*, is perhaps in origin not related to *tsao, early*, although homophonous with it But, what is a quite different proposition, the two *characters* are mere variants of each other, for each descends from the picture of an acorn, and this is less disguised in 皁 *tsao black*, than it is in 早 *tsao, early*, for the original outline of 白 *pe* is oval or conical, resembling the acorn, and not circular like the sun in *tsao, early* Incidentally, the earliest example of its occurrence is again in the wooden slips of the Stein collection, where in No 530,[1] it appears in the form 皁 in the expression 皁莢 *tsao chia*, or *black pod*, as Bretschneider renders it [2]

The *Liu Shu Ku* of the latter part of the Sung dynasty, represents the old form of the character as  without naming any authority, though it seems probable enough The text continues "The fruit of the 橡 *hsiang* and 櫟 *li* oak-trees is *tsao* 皁 which depicts the acorn with its cup containing the fruit remarking truly further on, that the pictographic nature of the character is obvious, 皁 [*sic*] 之象形昭然 *tsao chih hsiang hsing chao jan*

The Chinese were well acquainted with the black dye that can be extracted from the acorn-cup, and the etymological sense of 皁 *tsao black* is no doubt "acorn (colour)"

Marco Polo's Manzi

Man 蠻 The Chinese name for the barbarous tribes of the South, an ethnic term constantly associated with another,

[1] See Chavannes' *Documents Chinois, etc*, plate xiv, and p 115
[2] *Botanicon Sinicum*, part iii, p 487

the *I*, or Eastern barbarians Tai T'ung in his *Liu Shu Ku* states that *Man* is 南夷通名 *nan i t'ung ming*, "the general name of the Southern *I*"

The *Shuo Wen* wastes little time over the *Southern Man*, as it calls them, and merely says of them and the written character for them together, as if any distinction between these was not worth while, "A kind of serpent 它 *t'o*; composed with 虫 *ch'ung*, *creeping thing*, and 䜌 *luan*, as the Phonetic" And this has remained the accepted "explanation" ever since, the character being regarded as one of the Phonetic Compound Class

But though the solution proposed below can claim no support from any Chinese scholar ancient or modern, it is hoped to convince the readers of this paper that the true and primitive character was a pure pictogram, and represented a frontal view of one of these indigenous *Man*, the head-dress with pendant ornaments being apparently emphasized, though naturally the details are no longer clear to us


FIG 5

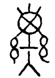

FIG 6

Fig 5 is copied from the facsimile reproduction of a Bronze known as the 宗周鐘 Tsung Chou Bell, appearing in No 20 of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*[1] Fig 6 occurs on a Bone fragment in my own collection, H 800, and is the only example known to me in the Honan relics Despite minute differences of detail, the two are obviously the same character But let me say at once that to this solution of the character shown above, there are difficulties, and serious ones, to be faced

[1] Also in vol viii p 56, of the *Chun Ku Lu Chin Wên*, also, in vol iii, p 8, of Yuan Yuan's *Chi Ku Chai*, etc

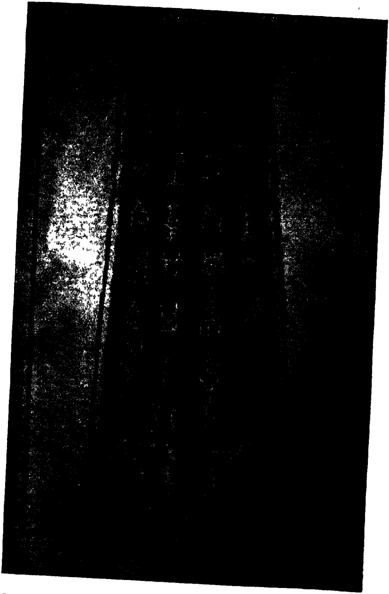
In the first place, this character is very different from the *Shuo Wen's* figure of the Lesser Seal form , which is composed of 䜌 *luan, to attach,* and 虫 *ch'ung, reptile* or *insect* But it shares that dissimilarity with so many other archaic characters, that such an objection has little weight

More serious, however, is the fact that we find the word *Man* (followed by 方 *fang, country, region*) written simply , viz 䜌, normally pronounced *luan,* on some old Bronzes of Chou date,[1] a composition which, if we abstract the determinative 虫 *ch'ung* is identical with that of the *Shuo Wen,* and of more ancient date Most embarrassing of all, to some perhaps it will seem fatal to my solution, is the fact that the character seen in Fig 1 and in Plate VIII is virtually identical with the figure reproduced by the *Shuo Wen* as the *chou wên* form of the character 孳 *tzŭ, to breed,* which, as we have it in the present text of that work, is  So close is the resemblance that a distinguished Chinese scholar, 孫 詒 讓 Sun I-jang, in his critical study of the above-mentioned Tsung Chou Bell puts previous decipherments aside, and without hesitation adopts the equation with 孳 *tzŭ*

It will be conceded, I trust that I have neither ignored nor minimized the obstacles to the acceptance of the view that the true reading of the character shown in Figs 5 and 6 is 蠻 *man*

But as the onus of proving the truth or the high probability of this thesis lies upon me, I beg the reader's attention to the accompanying Plate VIII, reproducing the opening sentences of the inscription on the Tsung Chou Bell, photographed from vol xx of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Below is added a transcription in modern Chinese of this text, leaving the third character blank, its decipherment being much disputed, with the result

[1] Thus on the 虢 季 子 盤 *Kuo chi tzŭ p'an,* see the *Chun Ku Lu Chin Wên,* vol viii, p 39



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[To face p.

that the English rendering of the first column is correspondingly doubtful, though fortunately it is immaterial to the present argument.

蠻	伐	伐	我	蠻	土	文	王
迺	乃	其	土	敢	南	武	肇
遣	都	至	王	臽	國	堇	○
閒	服	戭	𦎫	虐	服	疆	相

It should be mentioned here that the fifth character in columns 2 and 4 of the accompanying Plate, transcribed 蠻 *Man* above, is represented by 要 *yao* in Yuan Yuan's modern transcription,[1] and as stated already, by 孳 *tzŭ* in Sun I-jang's *Ku Chou Shih I*. All the rest is common ground. I proceed then to put forward the following English rendering of the text:—

"The King having resolved to second the careful attention of [the late Sovereigns] Wên [Wang] and Wu [Wang] to frontier boundaries, the Domain *Man* tribes of the Southern country dared to injure and ravage our territory. The King dealt with them and drove them back as far as P'o. He attacked their City, and the spies which the Domain *Man* tribes sent forward, etc., etc."

Now a very brief explanation will make it clear why the words "the Domain *Man* tribes" appear above. During the Chou dynasty there existed a territorial arrangement known as the Nine Domains or Tenures, 九 服 *chiu fu*. One of these, the sixth, was named the 蠻 服 *Man fu*, or Domain of the *Man* tribes, and therefore when, as here, we meet the words *fu Man* in the reverse order, they should mean "the *Man* dwelling in that Domain", or as translated above, "the Domain *Man* tribes". Thus understood the text runs clearly and naturally enough.

How does it fare at Sun I-jang's hands?

[1] See his 積 古 齋, etc., *Chi Ku Chai, etc.*, ch. iii, p. 8.

After rejecting, with complete reason it seems to me, Yuan Yuan's decipherment of the two characters as 服要 *fu yao*, Sun hypnotized by the apparent identity of the second of the two characters with the *Shuo Wên's* alleged *chou wên* form of 孳 *tzŭ, to breed* explains his view thus:—服孳者服子也服蓋國名之不見于經傳者孳即子之藉字其君之爵也 or in English: "The words 服孳 are equivalent to 服子 *fu tzŭ*: the 服 *fu* would presumably be the name of a State not found in the Classics and Histories, and 孳 *tzŭ* is a borrowed character for 子 *tzŭ*, Baron, the rank held by its Prince."

First then we have to accept the barbarous raiders as being styled the "Baron of Fu" in this document, and further a hypothetical State with a Ruler having conjectural rank as a 子 *tzŭ* or Baron; but this latter character, one of the simplest and commonest in the language, has to be put aside in favour of a complicated homophone without precedent in such a connexion.

Sun's view, I will confess, seems to me too forced and too insecurely grounded to be accepted, but the reader has now the means for deciding which of the two interpretations he prefers.

It remains to add a few sentences regarding the difficulties already mentioned above, which attend the decipherment here newly proposed. First, we have seen that on an archaic Bronze *Man* was written with a character normally read *luan*. It is possible to account for this on what may be called the principle of graphic *cy-près*. The original portrait of a *Man* tribesman is an elaborate and cumbrous affair, but bears a sufficient general likeness in construction to the character 䜌 *luan* to explain the loan of the latter for the needs of the former. The early scribes were none too particular in these matters—that is certain.

Second, the *Shuo Wên's* attribution of the same composition (it is the same to all intents and purposes) to the character 孳 *tzŭ*, *to breed*. I can only suggest that in this the author

of the *Shuo Wen* was historically wrong, and that having an ancient form before him, the equation of which he did not really know he made an erroneous but plausible guess It is regrettable that the example illustrated above from H 800 in my collection throws little light on the question It occurs in an inscription in a passage of four words which run 亡 蠻 來 祥 *wu man lai hsiang* (where the last word is, as usual on the Bones, written 羊 *yang*), and whether we read *man* or *tzŭ* for the second character, I do not pretend to understand its purport, though *lai hsiang*, on these relics, is frequent in the sense of "coming good fortune"

A Doubtful Character

I 矣 A word which in present and past usage is incapable of exact translation, but can be described as reflecting emphasis on the sentence that precedes it But shadowy and unsubstantial as the syllable has long become, once, long ago, it possessed a definite though dubious content, which the Honan relics have restored to us

What is the orthodox view of the meaning and composition of this character? We shall find it in the *Shuo Wen*, under the Lesser Seal form , where we read, 語 已 詞 也 從 矢 㠯 聲 *yu i*[1] *tz'ŭ yeh ts'ung shih i shêng* "A final particle composed with 矢 *shih*, *arrow*, and 已 *i* for the sound"

But this analysis of the *Shuo Wen* is completely wrong, and the forms cited from the Honan relics, and reproduced in Pl IX, Figs 5 to 10, prove it, as well as the source of the error The true origin is not to be found in a combination of *arrow* and 已 *i* for the sound, but in an integral figure representing the frontal view of a man having his head turned to the left in some cases, to the right in others, and holding in one of his hands some object that looks like a stick, but may be a weapon

The head, much contracted and stylized, varies from  or

[1] Tuan Yu-ts'ai, however, prints the second character 㠯 *ssŭ*.

P to ⊀ or 干 This has become 㔾 in the Lesser Seal and 厶 in the modern form 矣, but when this latter forms part of a compound, the head is altered to ⺌ or 土 The rest of the character is simply the usual old shape of 大, whose ideographic value is a man viewed frontally The rod or weapon has dropped out in the Lesser Seal and Modern forms, and indeed is sometimes omitted on the Bones

What the significance of this human figure is remains still to my mind an open question For a long time I believed certain very similar forms appearing on very early Bronzes were not only the archaic representatives of the later character 矣 *i*, but were also the earliest mode of writing the word *i* *doubt*, which was later and is now written 疑 And indeed this is the view taken of the character by Mr 王 襄,[1] Wang Hsiang of Tientsin, in his *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsung*, and certainly with that prepossession in our mind, it is easy to see in the archaic design an attitude of doubt, hesitation, or expectancy But neither Lo Chên-yu nor Wang Kuo-wei commit themselves to it And the ground of my own hesitation is the nature of the contexts, as perhaps it has been with these two Chinese scholars In the large majority of instances the character appears in the constantly recurring formula 卜 *pu* *x* 貞 *chêng*, "to divine as to *x* and inquire, where *x* may be represented by one of a large number of words but all are definite and restricted objects of inquiry, as to which equally definite answers were expected This is followed when 矣 = *x*, either by 今 月 亡 咎 *chin yueh wu chiu*, "during the present month no misadventure," or by the shorter phrase 旬 亡 咎 *hsun wu chiu*, "during the (present) ten days no misadventure" Now if we read, with Wang Hsiang, 卜 疑 貞 *pu* *chêng*, we should have to render this, "inquired as to matters of doubt," or "a matter of doubt" But all the questions as to which divination was resorted to were matters of doubt until the ancestral responses were obtained It does not

[1] See in the 正 編 *chêng pien* Section, p 65.

therefore appear very probable that vague, unspecified doubts would form the object of divination

While, therefore, accepting 矣 *i* as the modern character, *quâ* character, of this archaic form, we should do well to leave it to the future to determine its original meaning In any case, it seems a striking illustration of the thesis of this paper

THE STRANGE CASE OF THE *I* BARBARIANS

I 夷 We have already considered the written designation allotted by the Chinese to the tribes whom they knew as ***Man***, or *Nan Man tzŭ*, "the Southern *Man*" We are about to examine the less well-known and more surprising history of the names and characters by which the ethnic stock described as *I* were denoted by their Chinese neighbours

The facts are, we must admit, not only intricate, but still in part obscure, though in the main the history is now ascertained and I hope I shall be able to set it out intelligibly. It will, however, be convenient to the reader to know at this stage what it is I shall endeavour to prove, and the series of propositions that have to be examined These may be thus stated -

1 The modern character 夷 *i*, also found ***mutatis mutandis*** in the Lesser Seal was not employed in the Shang or Chou periods to name these tribes with one possible partial exception.

2 This character, however, but in its earlier outline, existed in those days, but it was used to write a word of an entirely different and unrelated meaning

3 During the two dynasties Shang and Chou, the *I* tribes were denoted by a character which with a slight variation of outline still remains in use, but is now, in its turn, associated with a quite different meaning, and written 尸 *shih*

4 When this change of character for the name *I* came into fashion has not been fully ascertained

5 To account for this change, we are justified in asserting that 夷 and 尸 were, at the time of change, pronounced alike,

6. The original components of the character 夷 *i*, and the real significance of their combination, are quite other than the *Shuo Wen* describes The elucidation of this will amply demonstrate the process styled in the caption of this paper the "sabotage of significance"

We will examine these six points in order, by number, simply

1 Although references to the *I* tribes are fairly frequent both in the old Bronzes, and on the Honan relics such passages never exhibit the character 夷 *i* The sole and only partial exception to this appears on a Bronze vessel known as the 周使夷敦 *chou shih i tui*, bearing a short inscription of about forty words, which is reproduced in facsimile in *chuan* 3 of the 筠清館金文 *yun ch'ing kuan chin wên* The form of the character *i* there is  (having, we note, two short horizontal strokes), and it occurs in the phrase 王使小臣守使于夷, *wang shih hsiao ch'ên shou shih yu i* "The King commissioned the minor official named Shou as Commissioner in *I*" On this passage, the author, Wu Jung-kuang, thus comments, 夷者天子畿内邑 that is "This *I* was a city within the Imperial Domain," and then refers us to some words in the *Tso Chuan*, under the 16th (not 17th, as he writes) year of Duke Chuang The text of this sentence will be found in Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol v, pt i, p 94 —初晉武公伐夷執夷詭諸, rendered by Legge, p 95, "Before this Duke Wu of Tsin had attacked E, and captured Kwei-choo [E was in Chou, and the city held by Kwei-choo, a great officer of the Court]"

We thus see that the single instance of the character 夷 *i* that is of pre-Han date, designates a city in the Imperial Domain, and not the barbarian *I* tribes

2 But, as stated previously, this character 夷 *i* existed in the earliest times, though with a small but material difference, and with an entirely diverse meaning Up to the present, however, it has not been found as an independent

unit, but only in composition, and that only in two characters. One of these is 雉 *chih*, *pheasant*, the other 陚 *i*, a place-name. In Part I of "Pictographic Reconnaissances",[1] I have briefly discussed the first of these characters in connexion with Lo Chên-yu's entry on the word, and I now append the relevant passage in translation, from Lo's note on 雉 *chih* [2] —

"The *Shuo Wen's* 'ancient (*Ku wen*) form' (here he cites it), is said to be composed with 弟 *ti series*" And he proceeds to add this valuable remark 'Now judging by the archaic forms occurring in the oracular sentences (i e on the Honan relics) the composition is however, with the element [illegible], which depicts shooting with an arrow having a string attached,—what was known as 繒 繳 *tsêng cho, arrow-and-line* The Pheasant cannot be taken alive, he must be shot before he can be secured, as the saying is 'Two to one on the Bird,' 雉不可生得必射而後可致之所謂二生一死者是也 And he concludes that Hsu was in error when he wrote that the composition was with 弟 *ti*

The examples of 雉 *chih* and 陚 *i* (Figs 11 to 17 on Pl IX), where alone we find the element in question sufficiently show the *arrow* and the stylized symbol of the *loops of string* wound round the shaft of the arrow

We have now reached a point where we can profitably consult the *Shuo Wen*, and see what are the explanation and analysis of the character there The current text runs, 平也從大從弓東方之人也 that is, "Level Composed with 大 *ta*, *great*, and 弓 *kung*, *bow* The people of the Eastern region [3]

But this analysis is doubly wrong What Hsu thought was 大 *ta* was 矢 *shih arrow*, and what he took to be 弓 *kung*, *bow*, was a graphic element representing a string in loops And the

[1] *JRAS*, October, 1917, pp 785–6.

[2] *Y H S K K S*, p 38

[3] Tuan Yu ts'ai deletes the first two characters as interpolations, and substitutes *tung fang chih jên yeh*, "the people of the Eastern region," in their place, followed by the analysis

whole character was never designed to suggest the *I* or tribes of the East, but to correspond to a term for an (apparently) obsolete mode of hunting

There could hardly be a more signal example in illustration of the title of this paper

3 We will follow Wu Ta-ch'êng's lucid exposition under the heading 夷字說 *i tzŭ shuo*, in his 字說 *Tzŭ Shuo*, or *Explanation of Characters*

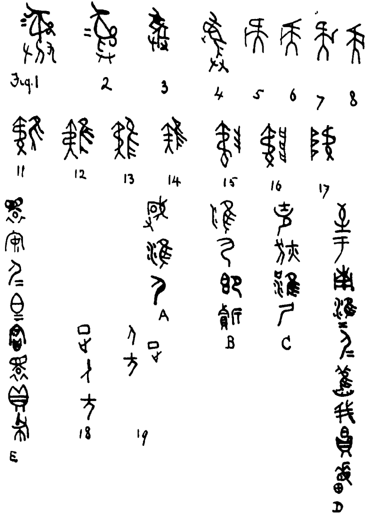
Naturally these combative tribes occupied no small part in the commemorative records of the Shang and Chou Empire, to which they seem to have played much the same rôle as the truculent races on our own North-west Indian frontier

Wu opens his short essay thus, 古夷字作  即今之尸字古尸字作  即今之死字也, that is, "The ancient character for *I* was , which is the modern character 尸 *shih, corpse*, the ancient character for 尸 *shih* was , which is the modern character 死 *ssŭ, dead*"

This brief but pregnant statement will be more easily grasped if I postulate what there is not space to argue, but will not probably be disputed by the experts on Chinese phonology, namely, that the three different sounds now in certain Northern dialects represented by 夷 *i*, 尸 *shih*, and 死 *ssŭ*, were once identical, and all had a sibilant initial, perhaps still earlier, a sonant dental mute (*d*)

Perhaps I may put Wu Ta-ch'êng's aphorism in a slightly more convenient form, thus  was the original way of writing *I*, the Eastern tribes, and it is further the original of the modern character 尸, the latter, therefore, did not at first bear the meanings of *corpse, defunct*, which it now has, but those senses were served by the older scription of 死, now confined to *death* or *dead*

Wu now plunges into the detailed proofs of his thesis drawn from archaic Bronzes, and in order that the reader may appreciate his argument, I fear it will be necessary to reproduce



Metamorphic Stylization and the Sabotage of Significs

on the Plate facsimile copies of the extracts to which he appeals And I must further, on my own part, add some examples from the Honan relics, which were of course unknown to Wu, but, as it seems, amply confirm him

Wu gives five passages from four Bronzes, which will be seen on Plate IX as Figs A to E Here below are merely added English renderings and transcriptions in modern Chinese. The identity of two or three of the characters is doubtful, but fortunately these are not material to our present purpose. A and B are from the same inscription

A 滅 淮 夷 *mieh huai i* " to exterminate the *I* of the River Huai "

B 淮 夷 即 奴 *huai i chi ts'an*, "the *I* of the River Huai then penetrated "

C 克 狄 淮 夷 *k'ê ti huai i*, "defeated and drove back the *I* of the River Huai "

With the last two of the five extracts, we must perforce come face to face with a further complication and a curious one, which Wu Ta ch'êng has, however, acutely and successfully resolved Desirable as it would be to escape further intricacies, it will soon appear that this particular snag is impossible to avoid if we are to reach our terminus It consists in the presence immediately beneath a character of two very short parallel strokes, thus, = I may say at once that these correspond in function to our familiar use of inverted commas as a sign of repetition, and that this correspondence is shown in the two transcriptions that follow

D 至 于 南 淮 ，夷 〃 舊 我 員 畝 This, says Wu, after citing it in facsimile (as shown in Plate IX), should be read, *chih yu nan huai i huai i chiu wo yuan mou*, "as far as the Southern *I* of the River Huai , the *I* of the River Huai had settled down in our border lands," adding, "the two characters 淮 夷 *huai i* are repeated; it is not that 夷 *i* was written  "

E. So too with the last extract :—

㠯 安 夷 ,, 伯 ,, 賂 㠯 貝 布, to be read in the same

way, *huan an i pê i pê lu huan pei pu*, "Huan having placated the Chief of the *I*, the Chief of the *I* presented to Huan valuables of shells and fabrics," where "the two characters 夷 伯 *i pê*," says Wu, "are also repeated. The *I* were the people of the Eastern regions, and the character *i* resembles the character *jên*, *man* and depicts a man with bent back in a crouching position, 象人曲躬蹲居形."

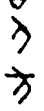
Wu then goes on to point out that these *I* barbarians, who lacked the ceremonious attitudes of civilized life, were habitually accustomed to squat on their haunches, and that their Chinese name did in fact mean "squatters," and so in order that a distinction between men that squat (barbarians) and men that do not (Chinese), might be expressed graphically, the former were written *i* and the latter *jen*. But let me say here that though on the old Bronzes this distinction was well observed, dire confusion among Chinese editors and scholars has ensued.[1]

[1] Here are a few instances. The passage in D above, is transcribed 至于南淮人 *chih yu nan huai jen*, etc., in the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*, vol viii, p 69. So too, in passage in F, *I pe* is transcribed 人白 *jên pê*, ibid., vol vi, p 86. In both these the sign of repetition is present. The character , *without* the sign of repetition, is transcribed 人 *jen*, ibid., vol viii, pp 4 and 12, but as 及 *chi*, *as well as*, in the same inscription in Yuan Yuan's *Chi Ku Chai*, etc., ch vii, p 8. Again , a variant of , becomes 人 *jên* in an inscription given in the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*, vol viii, p 53. And perhaps, strangest of all, the character occurring in the sequence 南夷東夷 *nan i tung i*, "the Southern *I* and the Eastern *I*," is transcribed 卩 *tsieh*, *seal* or *joint*, in the same work, vol viii, p 58, in the continuation of the same inscription, part of which appears in the photograph accompanying the entry on 蠻 *man* in this paper. This is the more surprising as the terms *nan I* and *tung I* were well-known ethnic names. *Kanghsi* also does not fail to insert the same element with the mark of repetition, as the *Ku wên* of 夷. So too the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*.

Wu next takes up the earlier occurrences of the scription 𡰥, which he traces to Han commentators, who supposed it to be the "ancient form" (*ku wên*) of 夷 *i*. And he very plausibly conjectures that the *literati* of that age, coming from time to time in the "early text", 故書 *ku shu*, of the *Chou Li*, upon the word *I* with the mark of repetition attached to it, thus  erroneously supposed that this latter was the original form of the ancient character 夷 *i* itself. "And," he remarks, "when Hsu's work (the *Shuo Wen*) gave  as the ancient form of 仁 *jen*, *humankindness*, the matter became still more difficult to understand."

What Wu then goes on to discuss is most interesting, but it leads away from the present subject, and I must not follow it out here. I hope to return in the future to a point of much and unexpected interest arising out of it.

Do the Honan relics afford any testimony bearing upon the written form of the name of the *I* tribes? In my opinion they certainly do. A rather disconcerting testimony, it must be admitted, but still testimony. But it is only right to point out that this opinion is not shared by Lo Chên-yu. I am naturally very reluctant to differ from this great and cautious scholar, but it is not always possible to avoid it in picking one's way through the pitfalls and tangles of this perplexing study. And this is a case in point. Immediately below is a facsimile copy of one of several examples of a sequence of three characters,[1] which Lo transcribes as 正 人 方 *chêng jên fang*. We know that Lo treats 正 in such cases as the equivalent of the modern 征 *chêng to attack*, but even so, the words as thus transcribed could only mean "to attack the region of men", which, to speak frankly, would be nonsense. To me, however, it seems evident that what must have been intended to be

[1] Thus,  See the Y. H. S. K., ch. ii, p. 6. Two other examples, Figs. 18 and 19, are given on Plate IX.

conveyed is, "to attack the region of the *I* tribes," and this despite the undoubted fact that what is actually written, or rather inscribed, is the character 人 *jên, man*

4. I may, however, call attention to the opinion expressed by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Tzŭ Shuo*, that the close resemblance between the form in the Chou Shih I tui inscription (see above, under 1), and the Lesser Seal , shows that the change of scription from  was not due to the initiative of the Han scholars, but began during the decadence of the Chou

5 This identical pronunciation probably had either a Dental, or what Karlgren terms a Supradental initial either that is, *s*, *sh*, or *d* On this point his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese* should be consulted, e g, pp 78–81 and 241–3

6 We have already seen (under 2) what were the components of the character 夷 *i*, and what was the significance of their combination I will only add a few sentences

Why does Lo Chên-yu describe (as he does under 2 above) the element  as "an arrow having a string attached"? The arrow is evident, but the string is represented by the line of two loops crossing the shaft This two-looped line of the archaic script has always in the later developments of the writing been disastrously altered into 弓 *kung, a bow*, not only in this, but in two other characters, 弗 *fu* and 弟 *ti*

But the real ideographic aim and type of the two-looped line is a spiral succession of thongs or coils enwrapping various kinds of rod or similar objects For this reason it takes part in the character 弟 *ti*, *series* (now written in the augmented form 第 *ti*), but even on the Honan relics "borrowed" to write the homophonous syllable *ti*, younger brother This sense of *series* is symbolized and exemplified by a series of thongs wound round a 戈 *ko, halberd*, of which combination an archaic instance is well shown in , H 361

Such then being the true ideographic value of the two-looped line in archaic Chinese writing, we can easily see in Lo's figure above, the arrow having a string attached of which

he speaks But we can also see that had this particular pictogram of the arrow-and-line survived in its true features, it should have shown a character  or  in modern writing (according as the stylized contractions () or 口 or 二, or ultimately —, of the feathering, were omitted or preserved) Now only a very slight modification, a touch at the top, and a straightening of the right foot in one case, would make this hypothetical modern shape into either 夷 *i* or 弟 *ti* And it is the close approximation of these two characters in their earlier forms that explains their otherwise puzzling interchange in several modern characters, where both seem to be phonetics especially under the syllable *T'i*, where instances may be seen on pp 865–8 of Couvreur's Dictionary, e g 鵜 and 鶗 *t'i*, *Pelican*

And here we may at last take our leave of the *I* barbarians, of squatters, of corpses, and of all such as shoot with arrow and line But in doing so there remains one question to be asked and answered As 夷 *i* at an early date lost its original significance of shooting with arrow and line, with what, if any graphic clothing did the denuded syllable having that particular sense thenceforward cover itself? We find the answer in the Classical texts At some time the character 弋 (*ih*) replaced it and is thus found in the *Shu King*, in the *Odes*, and in the *Chou Li*, where in the latter, it occurs in the phrases 弋射 *i she* to shoot with the special arrow termed 矰 *tseng*, and in 田弋 *t'ien i* to go fowling

But why this particular homophone (barring the tones), which otherwise means a post or stake, should have taken over this sense, we cannot investigate now

How a Tiger Mounted a Cooking-boiler

Yen 甗, a cooking vessel usually rendered colander in English, but consisting of a bowl having the bottom pierced with one or more holes, and resting on a hollow tripod base,

the pierced bottom being intended to admit steam to rice or other food in the bowl

The archaic character is a faithful drawing of the vessel, in some variants scarcely stylized at all, as the first of the three examples cited by Lo (see below) clearly shows



FIGS 7 to 9

Lo's short note runs thus —"The outline of the upper part is like a cauldron 鼎 *ting* the lower is like a cooking-boiler, 鬲 *li*,—such is a 甗 *yen* The characters on ancient bronzes which have 犬 *ch'üan dog* added at the side (獻 *hsien*), have already lost the true shape 已失其形 *i shih ch'i hsing*, and a later development still is the form in Hsu's Work (the *Shuo Wen*) in which 瓦 *wa*, earthenware, is added" (As above, first line)

If with Lo we ignore the 瓦 *wa* and 犬 *ch'üan* as being later determinatives, we are left with a character made up of 虍 *hu*, a contraction of 虎 *hu tiger*, and only found in combination, and of 鬲 *li*, *cooking-boiler* This combination, it should be observed, was current before the standardized Lesser Seal was introduced in the Ts'in Dynasty in a few ' ancient bronzes ', in the character 獻 *hsien to offer in sacrifice* It must, therefore, have dated from at least as early as the last centuries of the Chou

The integral outline of the *yen* that we find in use under the Shang has in some way or other become a compound,—according to the *Shuo Wen* a Phonetic Compound,—in which the upper half is claimed as the phonetic Yet, as it stands, this upper half is only a contraction of 虎, *a tiger*, obviously a sound totally incapable of serving as a clue to the sound *yen* or *hsien* Here, it is true, Tai T'ung, author of the *Liu Shu Ku* or *Six Scripts*, appears as the friend in need, and

claims that the T'ang dynasty edition of the *Shuo Wen* wrote not 虍 *hu* but 虔 *ch'ien*, contracted, for the phonetic This would serve perhaps at a pinch, though the authority is none too firm, and what is more, the examples referred to just above, attributable to the last centuries of the Chou, do not support it But this rather gallant effort to find a plausible phonetic becomes much less credible when we find that the same element, the contracted Tiger, is found at the top of various other characters in which *ch'ien*, as little as *hu* would serve as a phonetic Such are 盧 *lu*, described by the *Shuo Wen* as a *ch'ui*, some kind of jar, perhaps a water-kong, and 䖒 *hsi*, described in the same work as "an ancient earthenware vessel In both these, 虍 is said to be phonetic and both words it may be noted are terms for certain vessels of capacity

These facts really require some explanation that does explain them which the existing conjectures are incapable of doing If 虍 *hu* is not a phonetic, what can it be doing in these characters? The element in itself really represents a tiger's head (not his "stripes") as will easily be seen by examining the archaic examples of 虎 *hu, tiger* But why should a tiger's head, or his stripes or his whole body, have been introduced into the figures of cooking-boilers water-jars, or other vessels of earthenware? Such an element is altogether out of place and absurd

In these circumstances I propound an entirely new, indeed a revolutionary solution of the presence of this incongruous element in 鬳 *yen*, and the two other characters *lu* and *hsi*

Whoever will take the trouble to consult Figs 103 to 109 on the Plate to "Pictographic Reconnaissances", Part I,[1] will notice that in the more naturalistic and non-linearized examples of 虎 *hu, tiger*, the tiger's head is represented in cursory manner by the forms , , and . Now

[1] See *JRAS*, October, 1917

these forms if turned through a right angle so as to open upwards, closely resemble the common slightly stylized representation of a bowl, as it appears, for instance, in two of the three Figures at the beginning of this entry, viz .

And I suppose that at some unknown but early date, owing to unknown but effective influences, some unknown but incompetent or negligent scribe, confused these two types, and thus converted the outline of a bowl with upstanding handles, into the head and open jaws with their powerful fangs, of a tiger, at the same time shifting the head so as to point upwards

I doubt if at first any sinologic readers will accept this explanation, but I am inclined to believe (and hope) that after a little while it will begin to haunt them

But whether this explanation is accepted or rejected, the character as it stands well illustrates the sabotage of its primitive significance

The Organization of the Sannyasis of the Vedanta

BY J N FARQUHAR, M A, D Litt (Oxon), Professor of Comparative Religion in Manchester University.

TWO sannyāsī problems have long troubled me, first, how it was that the early rule, *Any educated twice-born man can become a sannyāsī*, was supplanted by the rule, *Only Brāhmans can enter the order*, and secondly, how it came about that, in North India, *seven of the ten sub-orders of sannyāsīs became flooded with non-Brāhmans* and lost their purity

It was probably about 600 B C that the doctrine of Release *through the Brahman-Ātman* was first *proclaimed* in North India and quite naturally led to the appearance of a new type of ascetic Already the *vānaprasthas* or hermits, an order formed at a much earlier date, were well known throughout the Aryan land but the new passion for Release, coupled with the conviction of the identity of the human self with the Supreme Self could not find adequate expression in the easy peaceful settled life of the forest *āśrama* something much more radical and arresting was necessary In order to express their identity with the Brahman-Ātman and their desire for complete release from all the trammels of the world, men, and possibly women also, cut themselves adrift from family, caste, and property and from all the simplest comforts of early Indian civilization In this brief paper we deal merely with the organization of the order, not with its aims or methods

1 At first there seems to have been no organization. Those who felt impelled to the act of *sannyāsa*, "complete renunciation," went out, carrying nothing with them, to live in chastity, homelessness, and beggary. It is probable

that men of all castes lived the life as it appears in the earliest narratives in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya Upanishads*

2 But, at a later date, the doctrine of the Brahman-Ātman was introduced into the Vedic schools and was taught to the students, after they had acquired their Veda and its Brāhmana In this way the early prose Upanishads were built up in the schools From this time forward then, only men who had passed through this discipline were recognized as sannyāsīs, and they were admitted to the life by means of the ceremony of initiation, *dīkṣā* Since only men of the three twice-born castes were admitted as pupils in Vedic schools, only men of these castes from this date were allowed to become sannyāsīs This condition of affairs is clearly reflected in the Dharmasūtras and in *Manu*

3 In spite, however, of this rule, which held sway so long, it has been quite clear to me for a number of years that the rule of admission to the sannyāsī order from some early date downward to our own day has been *Only Brāhmans are eligible*,[1] but no man could quote to me any standard text ordaining the change, and there were so many exceptions to the rule in North India that the whole situation was confused in the extreme

Then one day in the South, a sannyāsī recited to me the following lines but could not tell me from what text they came —

Brāhmanasyāśramāścatvārah
Ksatriyasyādyāstrayah
Vaiśyasyādyau
Tadāśramınascatvāro Brahmacārī Grhastho Vānaprastho
Bhiksuriti

Soon after, another man in the North recited the same lines, but he could not tell me the source either Finally a few

[1] Max Muller states this rule plainly in his *Hibbert Lectures*, 343, and it also occurs in *Āryavidyā Sudhānidhi*, 153

weeks later, when scanning a late work on *dharma*, **published** in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, the ***Vaikhānasa Dharma Praśna***, I found the lines in the first khanda. The following is the translation —

> Brāhmans have the four Āśramas, Ksatriyas have the first three Vaiśyas the first two The four dwellers in these āśramas are these, the Brahmacārī, the Grhastha, the Vānaprastha, the Bhiksu

The following table will make the rule clear —

	1 Grhastha	2 Brahmacārī	3 Vānaprastha	4 **Sannyāsi.**
Brāhman	,	,	,,	,,
Ksatriya	,	,	,,	
Vaiśya	,	,		
Śūdra	,			

Bloch, in his monograph, *Über das grhya und **dharmasūtra** der Vaikhānasa* does not mention this precise text, but the Dharmasūtra he discusses is clearly very closely related to it and he says the date cannot be earlier than the third century A D [1] Thus if we say that from A D 300 the rule has been that only Brāhmans may become sannyāsis, we cannot be far wrong

For more than twelve centuries this rule was followed all over India Even now there remain a number of monasteries in North India where only Brāhmans are initiated, and in South India everywhere the rule has been strictly observed until to-day

4 There are two orders of sannyāsīs, ***Ekadandīs***, who carry a single *danda*, rod, and *Tridandīs*, who carry a triple *danda* These two names are found in the ***Mahābhārata***, but no scholar, so far as the present writer knows, has ventured an opinion as to what the original distinction between them was Since the days of Rāmānuja at least, it is plain that the distinction has been that Ekadaṇḍīs follow the Advaita Vedānta of Śankara, while Tridaṇḍīs hold the

[1] P. 29.

Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja Mādhvas, who are Dvaitas, are also Ekadaṇḍīs, the reason being that Madhva, their founder, was originally a sannyāsī of the school of Śankara Ekadandīs are found in all parts of India Tridandīs are, in the main, found only in the south

Ekadandī sannyāsīs were divided by Śankara into ten sub-orders, which were then named as follows, *Tīrtha*, *Āśrama*, *Sarasvatī*, *Bhāratī*, *Vana*, *Aranya*, *Parvata*, *Sāgara* *Giri* and *Purī* They are therefore called *daśnāmī* sannyāsīs, sannyāsīs of the ten names

When a man becomes an Ekadandī sannyāsī, he receives *dīksā*, initiation and with it a new name which in each case is in two parts, the second being the name of the sub-order to which he belongs Thus, Madhva, the founder of the Mādhva sect, who belonged to the Tīrtha sub-order was called Ānandatīrtha, while Mādhava the famous fourteenth century scholar, who belonged to the Aranya sub-order, was called Vidyāranya

Among these Ekadandīs there have always been a few who have lived naked and spent much of their time in a lonely life in the forest They are called *digambaras* a word which is usually thought to be used only by Jains, but is still in use within Hinduism in this sense Many people still remember Bhāskarānanda Sarasvatī, who lived naked in a garden in Benares some thirty years ago He was a *digambara* of the *Sarasvatī* sub-order There are still a few digambara Ekadandīs in South India in connection with Śringerī

5 Thus far everything is clear The difficulty arises when the scholar finds that multitudes of the sannyāsīs he meets in the North are non-Brāhmans Whence have *they* come ?

I asked this question in many places but received no answer of any value until one day, in a Sarasvatī monastery in Benares,[1] and another day in a Giri monastery near

[1] The Chauṣaṣtha Monastery

Allahabad, I was told a piece of history which explains the situation fully

In the sixteenth century there were in North India thousands of Muslim *faqirs* who went about armed, took part in the wars of the time, and, when there was no regular war fought for their own hand One of their practices, as good Muslims, was to attack and kill sannyāsīs as representatives of Hinduism As ascetics, these faqirs held a privileged position and were thus protected from mob violence and also from interference on the part of the government which was then Muhammadan Thus, when sannyāsīs were killed, no one was punished while sannyāsīs themselves were prevented from taking violent measures against their enemies by their vow of *ahimsā*

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, a well-known sannyāsī scholar of the Sarasvatī sub-order who lived in Benares in the middle of the century at last went to Akbar to see whether anything could be done for the protection of the ancient order to which he belonged Rājā Birbal was present at the interview and suggested the way out of the difficulty He advised Madhusūdana to initiate large numbers of non-Brāhmans into the sannyāsī order and arm them for the protection of Brāhman sannyāsīs The Emperor agreed that armed sannyāsīs should be protected by their sacred character from government interference Madhusūdana, therefore, went and initiated large numbers of Ksatriyas and Vaiśyas [1] into seven of the sub-orders Bhāratī Vana, Aranya, Parvata, Sāgara Giri and Purī

Clearly this is a piece of history which has been faithfully preserved by tradition It fits perfectly into all that we know about the fighting times which followed and also into the facts of to-day Further our knowledge of Akbar's character and

[1] It is probably true, as the tradition strongly asserts, that Madhusūdana initiated only Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but it is clear that multitudes of Śūdras were admitted at later dates

of all that he had already done for his Hindu subjects makes the tale perfectly credible The date was probably about A.D 1565

If further confirmation is desired, we may find it in an incident in the Emperor's life, which occurred in 1567, and which is recorded by Abul Fazl and other authorities, and appears in Vincent Smith's biography, *Akbar, the Great Mogul* [1] The Emperor witnessed a fight between armed sannyāsīs of the Giri and Purī sub-orders [2] which took place at Thaneswar and greatly enjoyed the spectacle How much more piquant the incident becomes in the light of the agreement he had made to afford the sannyāsīs protection from the violence of faqirs!

6 The common name for the fighting sannyāsī was, in Sanskrit, *gosvāmī*, *gosain* in the vernacular They were also called *nāgās*, because, like the fighting yogīs and faqirs, they went naked The naked life would seem to be the more possible for them, because of the existence of digambara sannyāsīs

These men having been initiated in defiance of the ancient rule which restricts *sannyāsa* to Brāhmans, the seven sub-orders in North India which received them have since been held to be impure The southern sub-orders of these names still remain pure Another result of their illegitimate position and irregular life was that they did not attempt to live up to the ideal of Brāhman sannyāsīs, but contented themselves even when living quietly as ascetics in monasteries, with the *sādhu* rule of life They freely accept money and are quite ready to use a fire [3]

7. At first, doubtless, armed sannyāsīs used their arms to defend Brāhman sannyāsīs, but soon, like the *yogīs*, who

[1] P. 78

[2] Mr. Smith failed to recognize the names of the sub orders under their Persian disguise.

[3] This explains the practice of Totā Purī, Rāmakṛṣṇa's guru, see my *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 191

had taken to arms long before them, large groups of them began to fight on their own account, seized lands and settled down to an easy life Some built monasteries on their lands and tried to continue the ascetic life, but many of them married and thus became hybrids

Vast numbers of ascetic warriors continued to bear arms and fight until the early years of the nineteenth century, when the British got the upper hand They gave up fighting, though many retained their arms for a long time, and a few monasteries may be found to-day on the walls of which swords and shields, spears and matchlocks still hang In the autumn of 1922, when on a visit to Jaipur, a friend escorted me to a beautiful old Jain temple which stands amid the ruins of Amber Deserted by the Jains, it is used by a group of nāgā sannyāsīs as a monastery, and on the walls hang many old weapons of war

For the most part the movement did not touch South India

8 When the fighting was all over, many nāgā sannyāsīs settled down to a quiet ascetic life in monasteries. They kept up their numbers by continuous initiation Hence the vast numbers of non-Brāhman sannyāsīs in North India to-day They are necessarily recognized as quite distinct from the Brāhman sannyāsīs belonging to the pure sub-orders They are known as nāgās and live in nāgā monasteries They wear clothes in their monasteries and on all ordinary occasions, but, at the great melas at Allahabad and elsewhere, they sit about and march in processions stark naked.

Among these non-Brāhman groups, especially those of the Giri and Purī sub-orders, women also have been initiated, necessarily women of non-Brāhman caste I have seen numbers of these sannyāsinīs at the great mela at Allahabad more than once

Monasteries of all the ten sub-orders are still found in the South, their sannyāsīs being all Brāhmans, but in the North there are pure monasteries only of the Tīrtha, Āśrama, and Sarasvatī sub-orders

The saying still common in the North, that three and a half sub-orders are pure, refers to the fact that when Madhusūdana introduced non-Brāhmans into the seven groups, one half of the Brāhman membership of the Bhāratī sub-order would not have anything to do with the defilement, and, in consequence, went south to Śringerī and were incorporated into the pure Bhāratī sub-order there Thus, half the Bhāratī sub-order of the North retained its purity [1]

April, 1925

[1] Several of the statements in my account of Sankara's *dasnāmī sannyāsīs* on p 174 of my *Outline of the Religious Literature of India* require to be corrected in accordance with the facts set forth in this paper

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A HYMN IN STROPHES TO UR-NINURTA

CT 36, 28–30

This is the first published liturgical composition to Ur-Ninurta, deified king of Isin. An unpublished text from Nippur, Ni 13979 in Philadelphia, belongs to the hymns of the cult of the same king. The text has been collated and a few signs which appear in the transliteration, have been seen in addition to Mr Gadd's admirable copy. There were originally eight strophes or songs, addressed chiefly to Enlil, to whom this king attributed his warrant to reign. He was undoubtedly an usurper. See note on obverse 12. Strophes 2, 3 and 7 have antiphons. The burden of strophes 1–6 is that Enlil had sent this king to rule the land and to subdue the enemies of Sumer. The emphasis placed upon this recurring idea is a commentary on the historical situation. He felt uneasy concerning his right to the throne. With strophe 7 the liturgy turns to another aspect of the cults of deified kings, their *rôles* as husbands of the virgin goddess Ishtar, for they had been identified with Tammuz and undoubtedly usurped his place in the cult of mother earth and her dying son. There is an unusual amount of dialogue between Enlil and Ur-Ninurta and between Ishtar-Innini and the deified king in this composition.

CT 36, 28

1 [-]*mi ù-na*[ ] 1
2 [ ]-*a ni-me-lam*-
[*ma*] 2
3 -*ni-šú*[ ]*ne gu*-
lug-ga [ ] 3.
4 [ ]*sag-ga-ni mag*
ᵈ *En-lil*[ ] 4

5.	*ur-sag kalag me-en nam-ma* [ ] *LU NIN e* [ ]	5	
6.	[ ] *nam-lugal-la šu-dú-dú di-bi gí*-[nu-tuk ?]	6	adorned with royal power, whose decision *is not altered*
7.	[ ]-*MI* si-*di-e-ne*[ ]*gi-na KU-bi* [ ]	7	
8.	[*giš*-]*túg-gištug-ga-ni na-an*-[tag ?]-*ga-ni zi-dé-eš e-nam-gub*	8	Whose mind is faithfully exercised concerning his *shortcomings* [1]
9	^{d} *Ur*-^{d} *Ninurta nam-sib-zi-gál-la-šú kalam-šár-ra mi-ni-in-pad*	9	He named him the "Divine Ur-Ninurta", for shepherding of the creatures with the breath of life in all lands
10	[*ki*] *nam-tar-ri me-zid dingir-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-šú*	10	To establish the ritualistic orders of the great gods, in the place where fates are decreed,
11.	*é-kur ki-dúr kug an* ^{d} *Enlil-lá ní kuš-zi kar-šú* (?) [2]	11	to bear the awfulness of splendour in Ekur the pure abode of Anu and Enlil,
12	[*nam*]-*lugal-la šu-ni im-ma-an-túg dûn* [3]-*na-bi mi-ni-in-tud*	12	he caused his hands to receive royal power. [4] he begat him for victory
13.	*in-nin-e-ne*[ ]*nu* (?) ki-*a nam-nu-tar-ri-dé*	13	not to decree fates
14.	*an* ^{d} *En-lil-da bara-gí-si-a-na ad-mu-un-di-ni-ib-bi-gí*	14	Anu and Enlil in their sanctuary have decided in counsel
15.	*ki-šub-gú diš-ám*	15	The first strophe

[1] For *gištug-gub* = *uznên šakānu*, v. BL 8, 13

[2] Text has *LU*, as in Gadd's copy

[3] See RA. 15, 214, note on xi, Rev 26

[4] Ur-Ninurta seems to have been an usurper See OECT ii, 20, n 13 And in l. 30 he is said to have come from Susa.

16	*dingir-gal* [1] *dúg-ga-zu nig-maģ-ám a-ba-a šu-mi-ni-ib-bal-e*	16	O great god, who **shall** suppress thy **commands**, the all powerful ?
17	*a-a* [d] *En-lil nam-gal tar-ra-zu sīg-gan* [2]*-di nu-zu-a*	17	Father Enlil, the great fate, which thou hast fixed, knows not ceasing
18	[d] *Ur-*[d] *Nin-urta šul á-ág-gà-ne-ne sá-sá mu-un-zu-a-ar*	18	Unto Ur-Ninurta, the valiant, who understands the execution of their orders,
19	*nam-sib zi-gál-sar-ra du-eri-šú sag-e-eš P.A + K.AB + DU-na-ab me-en*	19	rulership forever over all creatures give thou as a gift
20	? [3]*-eri dū-dū un-gi-ni* [4] *sag-kug-ta mu-KIN-DU*	20	The building of the . of cities, the establishment of the people thou hast sent him to do
21	*kur-kur-ri á-ag-gà-bi mu-un-zu á-gal-ge-ág-e*	21	That he may know the ordering of the lands, grandly hast thou commissioned him [5]
22	*sibir-a-ni ki-bal ge-en-gam-e uš-zi* [6] *ge-be-ib-tub-bi*	22	May his sceptre subdue the hostile land, ***peace*** **(?)** ***may he establish***
23	*sig-ta igi-nim-šú kalam-ma lugal-gim šu-ge-im-ri-ri-e*	23	From the lower lands to the upper lands may his **hand** possess the Land like a king

[1] Here Enlil is clearly referred to, as in the liturgy, SBP 120, 4 = PBS. x, 300, 10, where the title is omitted So also in Thureau-Dangin, URUK, 103, 3, and in our text, Rev 7, below

[2] Cf RA 11, 85

[3] The sign is *E + GAR*, which has the value *e-ga ra* = *bit zuḫarê*, AJSL 33, 182, 244 A reading *igar ri* is possible in l. 20 above

[4] Cf OECT i, 47, 15

[5] Cf King, LIH iii, 201, 32

[6] Cf PBS x, 251, 19, Barton, ***Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions,*** No 3, i, 9

24.	***udu-gim gù ú-kùr ġa-ba-ŭr-ŭr*** [1] ***gú a-nag ġa-ba-gà-gà***	24	Like sheep may he cause all of them to receive food, for all them may he provide drink
25	*ki-šub-gú 2-kam-ma-ám*	25	The second strophe
26.	*d Ur-d Ninurta mu-sú-du-šú kalam-mà d Babbar-gim sà-ġe-ni-in* [2]	26	"May Ur-Ninurta advise the Land, like Shamash, unto far-away years"
27.	*giš-gí-gál ki-im* [3]	27	This is the antiphon
28	*dingir numu-ed a-a nig-nam-šar-ra-ge*	28	God from the beginning, father of the totality of everything [4]
29	*lugal-ra gu-zid-mu-na-an-de nam-mu-ni-ib-tar-ri*	29	the king thou hast faithfully chosen and (his) fate decreed,
30	*giš šušinak me-te kisal é-kur-ra*	30	The Susian the adornment of the court of Ekur
31	*d Ur-d Ninurta kalam-ma giš-gig-zu ní-ġe-ib-ši-te-me-en-te-me-en*	31	Ur-Ninurta may he cause the Land to reverence thy protection [5]
32	*kur-kur-ri sib-zi-bi ġe-me-en*	32	Of the lands their shepherd he is
	CT 36 29		
33	*d Babbar-gim di-si* [6] *sá-tar-ru-zu uš-ši-bi ġe-im-ši-gál-e* (?)	33	Like Shamash, knower of justice and judgement, may he establish them firmly [7]

[1] For *ŭr-ur* = *maḫāru*, v 81-7-1, 98, ii, 2, Pinches, *Victoria Institute*, 1893 For *ir-ir*, "cause to be brought"

[2] ***sà*** I take as equivalent to *sa* = *malāku* The postfixed precative *ġe-ni-in* may possibly owe its position to the rule of indirect discourse and the phrase is to be regarded as dependent upon "they say" Cf ***sá-ba-ra-da-ab-bi in in-na-an dug***, "she said, let a judgement be rendered," RA 8, 9, Obv 9 See *Sum Gram*, § 221

[3] See PBS. x, 151, n 1, PSBA 1918, 72, 32

[4] Cf Enlilbani *sib nig nam šar ra*, "shepherd of the totality of everything," *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, 3

[5] Cf AJSL 39, 178, 31, PBS x, 248, 10

[6] Error for *si-di* ?

[7] Literally, "lift up their foundation" *uššû* is clearly a loan-word. See ⟼ (*uš*) = *uš-šum*, PBS v, 102, v, 8

34.	*bara nam-lugal-la súğ gi-na-ba*	34–5	When in the chamber of royal power, whose foundation has been laid fast, thou takest up thy abode, exalt thou Ur-Ninurta above all
35	*[d] Ur-[d] Ninurta dúr-gar-ra-zu-dé* [1] *saq-an-šú ge-ni-in-ili*		
36	*é-zi-dé* [2] *me-te ge-im-mi-in-gál*	36	(Thy) sacred temple may he adorn fittingly
37	*ní-kus-zi ur-mağ nam-lugal-la-šú me-šu ge-im-túg*	37	And for rulership may he (Ur-Ninurta) clothe himself like a lion in the terror of splendour *for (the promulgation of) decrees* [3]
38	*ki-sub-gú 3-kam-ma-ám*	38	The third strophe
39	*kisal an-ka me-bi ga-ba-gub-bi*	39	" In the court of Anu may its ritualistic orders remain unalterably
40	*[d] Ur-[d] Nin-urta bád-gal-zu mà-e me-en ud-ul-du-en-šú*	40	Oh Ur-Ninurta, I am thy helper for ever "
41	*giš-gi-gál bi-im*	41	This is the antiphon
42	*erím-gál-za ud-gim KA-be-ra*	42	Thine enemies like the storm god thou shalt overwhelm
43	*me-lam-zu im-dugud-dugud-*	43	Thy glory shall cover the

[1] Cf PBS x, 267, 17

[2] Cf SBP 12, n 3, Zimmern, K L., No 5, Rev i, 36–44, 102, ii, 15. The phrase seems to be a general title of temples

[3] *me-šú* has a variety of possibilities. One expects an adverb here. *uzziš*, *aggiš*, "angrily," is a possibility, cf *me* = *uzzu*, II R 42, No 3, 4. *me šu* = *aiš*, "where ?" does not fit in with the context, PBS v, 152, x, 6 A reading *me zid*, a title, may be the correct solution, cf. OECT. i, 19, 9, *me zid-du*, in the name of a temple, and as a title, PBS. x, 180, 20.

	da-gim kur nu-še-ga-zu ġe-im-dul		land of those, who are disobedient unto thee like a thick thunder cloud
44	*-bara-gal-gal ni-ġus-e-ne*	44	The mighty in their frightfulness
45	[kur erím-]*šú* (?)[1] *gi-ás-dū-a-gim*[2] *kilib-ba-bi*	45	like a lonely crushed reed the hostile land all together
46	*ġe-im-da-sĭg-gi-ne*	46	may annihilate

REVERSE

1	*ra li NE*	1	
2	*gim zi-zi-da-zu-dé*	2	When like thou goest forth
3	*kur-ki-bal-zu sĭg-ga u-mu-e-ag*	3	accomplish thou the down fall of the land hostile unto thee
4	*uku-bi šaga*[3]*-a um-mi-du-du*	4	And their people cause thou to walk in *sorrow*
5	*Ì-si-in-(ki) uru me-gal-gal-la-za*	5	In Isin the city of thy mighty decrees,
6	*[d] Ur-[d] Ninurta ligir* (?)[4] *gú-ba-gar-ni*	6	O, Ur-Ninurta the prince assemble them
7	*dingir-gal a-a dingir-ri-e-ne-ge*	7	The great god (Enlil) father of the gods,

[1] Restoration from CT 15, 11, 9, but this implies a verb at the end construed with *šu*, and the passage is wholly obscure

[2] *kima kanê edi sallu*, SBP 48, 49

[3] Sign *GALU* + *KAR*, glossed *se e*, *ša gà*, Ni 15149 (unpublished) The combined signs are certainly identical with *GALU KAR* = *ḫabbilu*, wretch, and the ideogram has here some such sense as *ina ḫibilti* Cf *ḫabālu*, syn *tazimtu*, woe, sorrow, RA 17, 199

[4] This sign is clearly  on the tablet, and see PSBA 1913, 278 There is a difficulty about the identification, for in no case should a perpendicular stroke stand at the beginning of this sign

8	*^{d}Ur-^{d}Ninurta sib-giš-tug-ni-ir nam dú-šú nu-kúr-ru mu-ni-in-tar*	for his shepherd, Ur-Ninurta, the sagacious, has fittingly decreed a fate unalterable
9	*ki-šub-gú 4-kam-ma-ám*	The fourth strophe
10	*en (?) an-ki šu-na-gal kur-gal ^{d}En-lil-li*	The lord in whose hand is the of heaven and earth, the great mountain Enlil,
11	ra-*mu-ni an-zag-šú pa-è im-ma-an-ag*	has made his to be pre-eminent unto the boundary of heaven
12	*^{d}Ur-^{d}Ninurta nam-nir nam-sul-la am-gim gú-ge-ni-peš*	Ur-Ninurta with valour and might like a bull he has *endowed* (Saving)
13	*^{d}gir-ra ur-sag-gim me-na-an-tuk-tuk*	"Like the heroic ^{d}Girra
14	*^{d}Nin-urta en ud ug*[1] *erim-ma dumu su-gar-gi-mu*[2]	Ninurta, the lord, the fierce storm, the slayer of the wicked, the son, my avenger,
15	*ki mé gu-gu tab-zu ge-a u ge-mu-e-ti*[3]*-li*	where battle rages[4] surely shall be be thy companion, and shalt thou make an end of
16	*kur gu erim gú-bi-da-ri-eš ga-ma-ab-sal-e*	He shall scatter all the hostile lands in their totality like

[1] Probably for the ordinary word *ug* (*BAD*) = *matu*, *nâru*

[2] Semitic *maru mutir gimilli-ia*, a clear reference to a Sumerian myth similar to the Epic of Creation In the original Sumerian legend Ninurta was the avenger of his father Enlil, and conquered the dragon Zû, whereas the Semitic version substituted Marduk and Ea for Ninurta and Enlil. See my *Epic of Creation*, 17–20, and p 104, 94, where Marduk is called *mu'ir gimilli abi-šu*, and also ibid, n 1

[3] The sign is *TIL*

[4] Cf PBS x, 16, P. ii, 33.

17.	*šu-nigin kug-gà kur-ra-da* ? *an-pad -en ud-šu-uš-e gub-ba*	17	
18.	*nidaba*[1]*-zu unu-kug-gà sud-du-šú ġe-im-mi-in-gál*	18	Thy bread offerings in the holy dwelling be *for ever*
19	*sag ġe-ili ġe-zi til nu-ku-ru za-a-ám*	19	'Let the head be lifted up,' 'Let be sure,' and life unchangeable are thine '
20	*ki-šub-gú* 5*-kam-ma-ám*	20	It is the fifth strophe
21.	*nam-tar-ra* ^{d}*Nu-nam-nir en nig-zi-gal-la-šú*	21	By the fate decreed by Nunammir, lord of the creatures of the breath of life,

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22	^{d} *A-nun-na-ki dingir-gal-gal-e-ne ġe-ám-ba-ni-in-dé-eš*	22	have the the Anunnaki, great gods, spoken
23	*sag-gig ki-ku-ba gi-en-gi-ni kur-kur uš-a-sik-ki* [2]	23	to establish the dark-headed people in their homes, to give counsel unto the lands,
24	*uku ka-ur-gà-gà gìr-ni-šu gam-e*	24	to reduce the people to obedience, to crush them beneath his feet,
25	^{d} ***Innini*** *dumu-gal* [^{d} *Zu-en*] ***-na*** *nitalam ki-ág-gà-ni* [3]	25	Innini, great Daughter of Sin, his (Ur-Ninurta's) beloved spouse,

[1] Read *SUK-^{d}INNINI*

[2] Cf AJSL 39, 166, 5 Literally "to give counsel"

[3] The defied kings of the Isin period identified themselves with Tammuz, son and husband of Ishtar See PSBA 1918, 38, and Ishme-Dagan employs an identical phrase concerning himself, PBS x, 148, 5

26	*sag-ili me-gar mu-un-ŭr-ŭr* [1] *šu-ni-šú mu-KIN-GAR*	26	the exalted, who directs the decrees . . commissioned him
27	*min-na-ne-ne* [2] *ki* *ᵈEn-lil-lá-ta gul-la nam-*[mu-un]*-gub*	27	They two stand joyfully beside Enlil
28	*ba ki-ku-ta . ku ki-ba-ne gál-li-eš*	28	
29	*e lugal-ra sal* [3] *nu-BAD-e zi-de-eš na-mu-un-e*	29	
30	*ki-šub-gú 6-kam-ma-ám*	30	It is the sixth strophe.
31	*šul me-gim-šág* [4] *ilkiben* [5]*-ni še-ir-ra sag-ili i-*	31	O heroic one, that healest the limbs of her creation, the glorious, that liftest up the head of
32	*gi-li dú-gur-ru* [6] *me-te na-ám-u-nu-un-na dup-kug-gi du-du* [7]	32	thou that art adorned with sensuous attraction and pleasures of love, with the things which befit lordly power, and with a holy tablet,
33	*ᵈUr-ᵈNin-urta me-kal-kal-la-zu sá-ab-mu im-mi-ir* [8]	33	as for me Ur-Ninurta, I set my heart upon thy precious decrees

[1] For this sign, see BE 30, 12, 20 = PBS x, 186

[2] Cf *Poeme Sumerien du Paradis*, 46, 23 Probably Innini and Ur-Ninurta are meant here A similar phrase is, *ki Abbakalla ta gub ba am*, "who remains with A," MIO 3541, 3, Genouillac, *Inventaire*, ii The strophe probably refers to statues of the deified king and Innini, Idin Dagan's statue was set up in Nippur beside that of Innini See *Sumerian Grammar*, 197, 24–5, 198, 39 ff.

[3] Not *NI*

[4] Cf PBS x, 181, 29

[5] This reading is obtained by comparing the variants, *il-ki-be-en*, CT 15, 8, 29 (= SBP 12, 29), with 15, 24, 10 (= SBP 2, 10), and CT 16, 14, 28, *ilkibi(bi)*

[6] *kuzbi minûtu*, sensuous attraction and pleasure of love For *dú-gùr-ru* = *minûtu*, v PBS v, 136, v, 11

[7] Cf AJSL 39, 163, 8

[8] *šag ir* = *libba abālu*, syn. of *šag-túm-ma*, *šag-tum*, *šag-sig*. The original meaning of this Sumerian phrase is "to direct the thoughts upon",

34.	*i-be-zi-il-la-za mi-ni-in-pad-dé mu-pad-da-mu me-en*	34	"Thy darling hast thou named me," is my name [Saying],
35	*dingir-gal-e kur-zag tíl-la-ba* [1] *sú-ud-šú be-in-dirig-gi*	35	"The great god (Enlil) ha made thee most excellent unto the borders of al lands for ever [2]
36	*-kug nam-til-la dirig* [3] *mu-ud-zu sud-sud-dé*	36	To lengthen thy years anc days in the holy which abounds in life,
37.	[*a-a*] *ᵈ En-lil-li é-kur-ta á* [4]*-bi mu-un-da-an-ág*	37	father Enlil in Ekur declared the oracle
38	*sal-zi-de-eš-dúg-ga-mu*	38	whom I cared for faithfully
39	*mūš nam NE ga-ga-an*	39	
40	*na-an-kug-bi pa-è-a ka-na-ág-e ŭ-di-gim*	40	
41	*ᵈ Ur-ᵈ Nin-urta-mu kur-kur-ri ġi-li* [5] *ġu-mu-ri* (?)*-ši-ag-e*	41	he my Ur-Ninurta shal devastate the lands
42	*ki-šub-gú 7-kam-ma-ám*	42	It is the seventh strophe
43	*ᵈ Ur-ᵈ Nin-urta-mu ᵈ Mu-ul-lil-li*[ ]	43–4	"My Ur-Ninurta Enlil has faithfully *caused to have* the shepherding o the Land"
44	*nam-sib ka-na-ág-gà-kam zi-dé-eš mu-*[tuk-tuk]		

with the accusative, and the Semitic translation is construed in the same way Note *minâ libba-ša ublanni*, "why has she thought of me?" *minâ kabta ša uš-pir-da-an-ni*, "why has she turned her attention to me?" *Descent of Ishtar*, Obv 31, restored from KAR, No 1 Hence *kabta šupardû*, "to brighten the mind," "to take an interest in," is a synonym, and also construed with the accusative

[1] Cf AJSL 39, 175, 6 [2] Here Innini addresses Ur Ninurta

[3] Cf *ti la ġe-dirig*, RA 16, 70, No 4, 5 [4] Text *DA* !

[5] For *ġi-li* = *abātu*, var of *gul*, v K 3931, Obv 15, in S A Smith, *Miscel. Texts*, 11, compared with SBH 62, 29, and see SBP 242, 53 = PBS. x, 162, n 6 *ġi-li-ag* is clearly the original of *gilimma* = *šaḫluktu*, "destruction", *ġi-li-em-mà* = *egēru*, "to bind", cf *ni ġi-li-em mà-eš* = *ittangiri*, ASKT. 127, 45, *itteningiri* (?), SBH, No. 22, 12 = SBP. 124.

45 *giš-gi-gál ki-im* 45 This is the antiphon.

Another strophe followed here, but the text is broken away

S LANGDON.

DENTALS AND CEREBRALS IN SINA

Sir George Grierson's kind words about the debt he thinks he owes me have greatly touched me, I am proud to acknowledge my far deeper debt to him, a friendly discussion, the best way of reaching the truth, gives me special pleasure; he is criticizing not me but most living Orientalists He admits (*JRAS* April, 1925 p 313) that "cerebral" includes two classes of sounds (*a*) cerebral sounds (edge of soft palate), and (*b*) sounds "written locally with cerebral letters" The first are not known to exist so far as we know, India has none (ib Jan 1925 p 89) the second, called "cerebral" by most scholars, are found all over India The same sounds in languages which are rarely (as Sinā) or never (many Hindi and Lahndi dialects) locally written, are rightly attached to this class and called "cerebral by Professor Turner and other philologists Otherwise the claim of a language to cerebrals would be admitted only if and when some local patriot wrote in it

I know well the difference between letter" and "sound", but wish to avoid pedantry Strictly speaking "cerebral letter" "cerebral *t*, 'retroflex sound", and the very word 'cerebral', are pure nonsense, yet one uses these terms I try to be scrupulously fair in evidence, and as it would be most unfair to quote in phonetic matters the opinions of men whose competence lies in literature, grammar, or philology, I deprive myself of such support

Sir George refers (with approbation, alas!) to two old mistakes of mine made long ago, when, though knowing the sounds and able to distinguish them from others, just as well as now, they being my native sounds, I had insufficient

phonetic knowledge, and like other writers in similar case made mistakes in description It shows once more that without thorough phonetic training it is impossible to describe sounds correctly In my books written years ago (including Ṣinā Grammar, written 1917), the popular descriptions of sounds, their nature, and difference from other sounds may be taken as correct, but phonetic details must be treated with reserve Northern Panjabi cerebral *ṭ, ḍ ṇ ḷ*, are articulated about a third of the way along the hard palate, (Laihndi just behind, Southern Panjabi in front, tongue-tip contact for *ṛ* further forward than for *ṭ ḍ, ṇ ḷ*)

But my chief interest in Ṣinā sounds for the past seventeen years has been to establish beyond question the fact that there are two series *ṭ, ḍ ṇ, ṛ* and *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ṛ* and that they are approximately the sounds denoted by these symbols in the Panjab and U P A few people have written on Ṣinā, but only Colonel Lorimer and I have studied and described the sounds I may refer to my article *Bull Sch Or Stud*, vol III, pt IV, 1925, on "The Sounds of Ṣinā", written in collaboration with Colonel Lorimer and Miss Armstrong Aspirates are also dealt with For dentals and cerebrals see, too, *JRAS*, Jan 1925, p 92, and for the striking confirmation by 'Abdu'l Hakīm's text, ib p 91

T GRAHAME BAILEY

"NO LE" AND "RATUARA"

One of the few passages in the Tibetan 'Annals of Khotan" (*Li-yul-gyi-lo-rgyus*) which is of more than local interest relates to what is called *No-le* The passage deserves quoting in full It occurs in the story of the two princes, Ḥdon-ḥdros, who became a monk, and his younger brother, the king Vijaya-Dharma

"Then Ḥdon-ḥdros, looking in the direction of his *kalyāna-mitra*, the Paṇḍit Ārya Samantasiddhi in India, did obeisance to him with folded hands, and uttered a prayer and invited him. The Paṇḍit came flying through the sky from India,

and, arriving in the presence of king Ḥdon-ḥdros in the Li country, gave him friendly counsel as to how the Vihāra might be built 'It is not well,' he said, 'that the Thirty-three should not, in order to effect a reconciliation of the two brother princes who have not met, come in the sky and perform in the Li country "No-le" and dramatic show of how the Bhagavad Śākya-muni during his career as a Bodhisattva, accomplished arduous deeds, making surrender of his bodily members and of his children and so forth' Accordingly the gods came to San-tir in the Li country and enacted how the Bhagavad Buddha formerly accomplished arduous deeds. King Vijaya-Dharma had given orders to his ministers and subjects that no man should be there But, hearing the grand music of the gods such as had never been, one man after another failed to resist and went there Afterwards, upon the king's inquiring where all his courtiers were, the ministers explained King Vijaya-Dharma, himself unable to resist, went to the vicinity of the San-tir Vihāra, his elder brother, prince Ḥdon-ḥdros, having happened to meet him there, the younger, king Vijaya-Dharma, saluted his elder, and, kneeling on the ground with folded hands, said, 'Ārya, through ignorance of your power I have done wrong I have come to beg forgiveness of my great fault That it be not an evil thing to me, pray let me receive your forgiveness' The other on his part asked the younger's forgiveness, and, joining hands they entered the Vihāra and did *pūjā* The gods and Nāgas having performed 'No-le', [the king] approved of the building of the Vihāra and gave gifts those who had given bad advice regarding the building of the Vihāra he requited by putting them to death, and made gift [of their property] (?) On the spot where the brothers, who previously did not meet, asked pardon was built a Vihāra called Hjaḥ-mo-ka-ka-ron So first with the Pandit Ārya Samantasiddhi arose in the Li country the Hīna-yāna school of the Sarvāsti-vāda. As to the guardian deity of the Vihāra, a god named Kapila became in person its guardian. Down to the present time,

every year continuously, at noon on the seventh and eighth days of the first autumn month, a 'No-le' dramatic performance of the Tathāgata's arduous acts takes place, and the people of the country regularly come to hear the religion."

The Sarvāsti-vāda Vihāra in Khotan is that in which Hiuan-Tsang and his companions stayed during their visit to the city (*Life*, trans. Beal p. 205). Nothing, however, is related by the traveller or his biographer concerning the "No-le". Is the word a native one or is it possibly derived from the Sanskrit *nāṭaka* through some Prakrit intermediary? The introduction of the performance into Khotan in connexion with the Sarvāsti-vāda sect is of great interest when we reflect that to that sect belonged Aśvaghosa.

It is in view of the last-mentioned circumstance that I would here draw attention to a passage in the Life of Aśvaghosa, of which about ten years ago my friend Dr. K. Yabuki was so good as to dictate to me a translation from the Chinese (Nanjio, No. 1340). To Mr. Shoson Miyamoto I am indebted for a revision of the translation and for a reference to the article on *Ratuāra* in the splendid Japanese Dictionary of Buddhism by our distinguished friend Professor Takakusu. The passage reads as follows:—

"Aśvaghosa respectfully consented to obey his (Punyayaśas') instruction. Accordingly he wished to propagate the profound teaching of the Sūtras, to erect the great banner of the Dharma and to destroy erroneous views.

"He made a pilgrimage within the fort (city) of Pātaliputra to enlighten and convert the people. He produced a wonderful play, which is entitled Ratuāra. The music of that play is elegant, elegiac and pathetic, making the heart and feelings expand; in it the truth of Duḥkha, Śūnya and Anātma is expounded, that is to say, phenomenal things are like an illusion and a magic show.

"The [life of the] Triple Universe is, as it were, fettered in prison, and there is nothing enjoyable. Even if the throne of a king, the noble and the eminent are powerful and free,

yet, when Anitya (transitoriness) has come, who can survive? It is as a cloud in the air disperses and vanishes Our human body is weak and frail like a *kadalī* (plantain) Regard it as a foe and traitor we should not make familiar with it It is like a chest with a poisonous snake who does really love and caress it?

"Thus the play explained fully the meaning of Śūnyatā and Nairātmya When this play was enacted, all the players failed to understand it, and its music and harmony went entirely wrong Then Aśvaghosa took a part, in a white woollen dress, making harmony with a lute and a guitar, ringing a bell himself and beating a drum The sound and tone became pathetic and elegant, tune and melody were perfect Thereby the truth of Duhkha, Śūnya and Anātma was explained

'Thereupon five hundred princes in the city received enlightenment together, and conceived a disgust for the five desires and became monks practising the Path So the king of Pātaliputra feared that his people who should hear the play might renounce their domestic rules, and thus the realm might become vacant and deserted and his sovereignty might be destroyed So he commanded that the people of his kingdom should no more enact the play"

'Ratuāra is a Japanese equivalent of "Rāstrapāla", and the play was therefore based upon one of the Rāstrapāla stories, possibly the Rāstrapāla of *Avadāna-śataka*, No 90 One of the plays of which fragments were pieced together and published by Professor Luders (Berlin, 1911) is entitled *Śāriputra-prakarana* In case the second set of fragments is not from the *Rāstrapāla*, we must credit Aśvaghosa with the authorship of at least three plays

The Buddhist sacred drama would seem to have had a continuous life from the time of Aśvaghosa down to the present day performances in Tibet

F. W THOMAS.

SOME NOTES ON MR KEITH'S INTERPRETATION OF A MAHABHASYA PASSAGE (VOL II, p 36, BOM S S)

The passage in question is —iha tu katham vartamānakālatā Kamsam ghātavatı Balım bandhayatīti, cırahate Kamse cırabaddhē ca Balau Atrāpı yuktā Katham ? Ye tāvad ete śobhanıkā (R śaubhıkā) nāmaıte pratyaksam Kamsam ghātavantı pratyaksam ca Balım bandhayantīti Citresu katham ? Citresv apy udgūrnāh nipatitāś ca prahārā drśyante Kamsakarsanyaś ca (R Kamsasva ca Krsnasva ca) Granthikesu katham ? Yatra śabdagranthagadumātram laksyate Te 'pı hi tesām utpattiprabhrty āvınāśād rıddhīr vyācaksānāh sato buddhıvısayān prakāśavantı Ātaś ca sato, vyāmiśrā hi drsyante, kecit Kamsabhaktā bhavantı, kecid Vāsudevabhaktāh Varnānvatvam khalu pusyantı Kecid raktamukhā bhavantı, kecit kālamukhāh

In his latest book on Samskrt Drama Keith makes the following remarks in interpreting the above passage He says —

"The traditional rendering in India of the statement is recorded by Kaiyata, more than a thousand years later it is frankly obscure, Professor Lévi renders it as meaning that the śaubhikas are those who teach actors, representing Kansa, and so on, the mode of recitation, a version which is doubtless very difficult

"The only legitimate doubt in the passage is that regarding the exact mode of performance of the śaubhikas the word *pratyaksam* in the text insists that it is done before the eyes of the audience, and we may justly assume that the śaubhikas performed manual acts"

The obscure nature of the commentary has for its basis the assumption that we know more of Patañjali s stage than Kaiyaṭa and that we are better able to understand Patañjali than Kaiyata The use of the causative alone will be enough to convince one of the impossibility and absurdity of any suggestion that Śaubhikas performed manual acts But on the other hand it necessitates the conviction that Śaubhikas

used some persons as their agents in the performance of t various acts And this idea is clearly indicated by the gre grammarian Bhartrhari in his *Vākya-padīya*, vol ii, p 17 III Kānda, 7-5 (Benares S S) —

" Śabdopahitarūpāmś ca buddher visayatām gatān pratyaksam iva Kamsādīn sādhanatvena manyate "

The word *sādhanatvena* is expressive of the agents' d tinctiveness from the Śaubhikas Here Bhartrhari clear means that those who acted were merely agents Helārā comments upon the above as —evam krtānukaranenādyē (mahānayānam ?) Kamsavāsudevānukārena sādrśyāt tadrūp tvopapattih

Here the word *krtānukaranena* could be taken to suggestive of the fact that some persons actually acted t parts of Kamsa and Vāsudeva, and this may be taken determine the exact nature of the performance This al sets at rest a possible doubt whether the Śaubhikas—as t later meaning of the term suggests—performed an act conjury (*indrajāla*), and there were no real actors If had been so, the word *krtānukaranena* would be useless, a the commentator could well have conveyed his meaning *Kamsavāsudevānukārena* alone And Kaiyata only express what one could conclude from a study of the above co mentaries, and as an intelligent commentator, he assigns status to the Śaubhikas—that of teachers to those who act What he says is only an expanded form—with ellipses suppli —of what Bhartrhari and his commentator Helārāja have sai and, further, all the other later commentators like Bhatt Dīksita support him in his suggestion, and Kaiyata, in fa quotes the verse of Bhartrhari above cited. So there no room for the opinion that his comment is obscure, and th Śaubhikas performed manual acts

To come to the word *pratyaksam*, it serves a more use purpose than is supposed to by Keith It accounts f and justifies, the use of the present tense, while the use the past alone would be consistent in describing a past acti

If the audience did not see the performance of the acts, the present tense would be ungrammatical and it would have nothing to do with the performance of the Śaubhikas

In another place it is suggested by Keith that Granthikas divided themselves into parties This is far from what is actually meant A reference to the commentaries and the passage concerned will prove the absurdity of the suggestion For instance, Haradatta in his commentary on the *Kāśikā*, called the *Pada-mañjarī*, vol i p 539 Ben S S remarks about Granthika s thus —" Ye pi grantham vācayantah Kamsavadham ācaksate kāthikā nāma te py utpattiprabhrty āvināśāt Kamsādīn varnayanti, te pi varnyamānāh śrotīnām buddhisthāh pratyaksavad bhavanti, cittam api *tesām* tad-ātmakam iva bhavati, ata eva vyāśritāś ca bhavanti nānā-paksasamāśrayo vyāśravah

In the above passage the word *tesām* has for its antecedent *śrotīnām* and not *kāthikāh* It is the faces of the hearers that change colour at hearing the incidents of the story so vividly pictured before them by the reciters, and it is the hearers that feel pity and pleasure during the narration of the incidents Keith finds support for his opinion that the hearers could not be supposed to identify themselves as supporters of Kamsa or Vāsudeva on the assumption of the impossibility of Indian literature showing any pity towards the wretched uncle Kamsa Perhaps he forgets for the moment the feeling of the audience in the Trial Scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, quite in contrast to the position occupied by the Jews in the Middle Ages There the feeling goes with Shylock, the harsh Jew, and the feeling as generally expressed by critics is that " he is more sinned against than sinning Here also, however cruel Kamsa might have been his cruelty was after all the result of the desire for self-preservation, which even Lord Krsna could not be said to be free from Moreover, Krsna slays his own uncle—his mother's brother—and no worse sin could ever be conceived of, and it is uncritical to suggest that none of the hearers could feel for Kamsa when his

murder by his nephew is narrated, and in the annals of no history has it been conceived that the reciters of stories take the part of the personages in the story they recite. It should also be borne in mind that there could be no more than one reciter at a time, and that the use of the plural here is to indicate the social custom and belief of the times—that the *Mahābhārata* was a sacred story, and hearing it narrated was thought to absolve the hearers from their sins, and that there were many people who made it a means of livelihood to read the story in public places.

Incidentally a doubt with regard to the reading *rddhīr* may be cleared. Keith finds fault with Luders as having changed the word *buddhīr* into *rddhīr* to suit his (Luders') own interpretation that the Granthikas did not divide themselves into parties. But on the other hand, the reading accepted by Nāgeśa and other commentators after him could be taken to support Luders, and there is no evidence, external or otherwise to support the reading supposed by Keith. It may also be pointed out that it would be a little bit of anachronism to attribute to Patañjali a knowledge of Bharata's *Nātya-Śāstra*.

In another place he remarks: "We cannot absolutely prove that in Patañjali's time the drama in its full form of action allied to speech was present, but we know that all its elements existed, and we legitimately and properly accept its existence in a primitive form." Patañjali seems to think otherwise. While referring to Granthikas he says (to translate literally):—"in the case of Granthikas there are seen only the book, the sound, and assemblage of people." The word *mātram* is very significant here. He finds only certain things in the case of Granthikas, while there is some other additional element in the case of Śaubhikas—and that is evidently in this case acting. Patañjali evidently presumes that in the case of Śaubhikas there was acting together with the sound and assemblage of people. This presumption is supported by his own words in another

context (vol ii, p 253 N S Edn) "Yadārambhakā rangam gacchanti natasya śrosyāmah" Here the Nata is referred to as one who is heard Now the question may arise whether the sound referred to was only music or speech If we read the passage under discussion together with the sentence just cited, the inevitable conclusion would be that the sound was speech If it had been music alone, Natas would be referred to only as dancers, but not as actors Here they are said to act the binding of Bali and the killing of Kamsa, and consistency requires that, if they made any sound they spoke Even if this were seriously objected to, the music element by itself will not be out of place The major part of Samskrt Dramas consists of pure and sweet music Anyhow, that action allied to musical speech existed in the Drama of Patañjali's time could be clearly established, and so if it is premised on other grounds that Drama of any kind existed in Patañjali's time, it can be safely said that it was in its full form and not in a primitive form

K G SUBRAHMANYAM

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, VOL I

In my recent review in this *Journal* (1924 pp 315 foll) of that portion of the first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* which is concerned with Ancient Egypt, I find that on pp 320–1, I have wrongly ascribed an error to Dr Hall through misunderstanding the footnote on p 266 of the *History*. I took "*Het-insi*", which is here spoken of as being in "the portion of the Nile Valley of which Heracleopolis was the centre", to be a faulty rendering of the Egyptian name for Heracleopolis itself, *H(t)-nn-nswt* On reading through this portion of the book again, unfortunately after the review had been printed, I found I had overlooked the footnote on p. 268, which makes it quite clear—and anyhow, I ought to have recognized the fact—that Dr Hall had in mind quite a different town, *Ht-nswt* (or as he renders it

Het-insi, "House of the *Insi*"), which actually did exist in this region I hope that Dr Hall will accept my apologies for having made this mistake

Ht-nswt is, to my knowledge, mentioned in only two Egyptian inscriptions, the *Coronation Inscription of Horemheb* and the *Piankhi Stela* In the former, lines 12–14, it is related how Horus lord of *Ht-nswt* " went in jubilation to Thebes with his son in his embrace, to introduce him into the presence of Amūn, in order to assign to him his office of king ", in the latter, line 4, *Ht-nswt* appears in a list of Middle Egyptian towns on the east bank of the river, which opened their gates to the victorious Nubian Pharaoh They are *Ht-bnw* (the capital of the eighteenth Upper Egyptian nome, perhaps = Hipponon of the Greek writers),[1] Teuzoi (a town in the nineteenth nome) [2] *Ht-nswt*, and *Pr-nb-tp-ihw*

But Dr Hall's note on p 268 of the *History* needs I think, some modification In it he identifies *Ht-nswt* with the modern Atfîh (Aphroditopolis), of which, however, the Egyptian name was almost certainly the just-mentioned *Pr-nb-tp-ihw* [3] Possibly Breasted is right in locating *Ht-nswt* in the eighteenth nome and identifying it with Alabastronopolis [4] Anyhow it cannot be Atfîh, if, as is almost certainly the case, the identification of *Pr-nb-tp-ihw* with that place is correct

AYLWARD M BLACKMAN

The *Mokattam* for 7th April, 1925, announces the discovery by the Rev Paul Sabāt of an old MS containing the ***Jamharat al-Ansāb*** of Hishām b Muhammad al-Kalbī, and ***al-Tījān fī Akhbār Qahtān*** of 'Abd al-Malik b Hishām b 'Abdallāh. The former is mentioned in the lists of Ibn al-Kalbī's works, of which the best account is to be found in Ahmad Pasha Zakī's appendix to his edition of the ***Kitāb al-Asnām***, Cairo, 1914 The latter claims to be by the well-known historian who has preserved for us in abridgment Ibn Ishāq's ***Life of the***

[1] See Breasted, *Anc Records*, iv, 818, note *e*

[2] Ibid, note *f*. [3] Ibid, note *h*. [4] Ibid., note *g*.

Prophet Treatises by authors who come so early in the history of Arabic literature will be very welcome, though the Arabian pedigrees have scarcely survived the criticism of Robertson Smith, and it would be unwise to expect very much from Ibn Hishām which would throw light on the history of S Arabia

Perhaps it may be observed that throughout the Pasha's list of Ibn al-Kalbī's works نوافل is incorrect for نواقل which applied to tribes means "migrants

D S M

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES

ADUMU, ADUMMATU

The identification of Adumu, Adummatu, with Jauf the Dūmat al-Jandal of Arab geographers the classical Dumætha, confidently reasserted recently [1] was first proposed to my knowledge, by Emil Forrer [2] Were it correct, Sennacherib conquered an isolated oasis in the heart of the southern Syrian desert, "the last oasis in Syria or the first in Arabia" [3] Sennacherib's campaign, as has been remarked by Streck [4] belongs to the period between the battle of Ḫalulie and the destruction of Babylon it may be dated with some confidence to the year 690 B C, with Forrer [5] Yet it is not mentioned in the Bavian inscription, which relates the destruction of Babylon, and it may rightly be concluded that the operation was a small punitive campaign directed against the king and queen of *(mat)Aribi* who had fought against Sennacherib at Ḫalulie, and fled back to their own territory The fight is reported in an inscription of Sennacherib,[6] which doubtless proceeded to recount

[1] *JRAS* 1925, 293-4
[2] *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, 64
[3] D G Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, 159
[4] Asurbanipal, 217 [10]
[5] *MVAG* 1915, No 3, 33
[6] *VAS* i, No 77, Rev, 22-7, referred to in *JRAS* 1925, 294.

the capture of the fugitives by a general of Sennacherib,[1] probably a governor in Syria or Palestine The territory known to the Assyrians as *(mat)Aribi* lay south-east of Damascus, and included Trans-Jordania, or the greater part of it In Ashurbanipal s time Edom and neighbouring districts were part of the kingdom of Uaite', king of *(mat)Aribi*, Qidri (Kedar) was a distinct, though allied, principality, and Natnu of Nabaite who controlled the Nafūd (and, presumably Jauf), was not allied with either[2] It is therefore improbable that in Sennacherib s time the territory of the king and queen of *(mat)Aribi* included Jauf, it is still more improbable that any Assyrian force reached the place in 690, when the main army was engaged in the struggle with the Babylonians On the other hand, there is no sound argument against the assumption that Adumu is one and the same place as Udumu Edom The description of Adummatu (certainly identical with Adumu) as "in the midst of the desert" is compatible with a location east of Jordan[3]

The view that Nabonidus marched to Taimā—if Tema' be Taimā which seems most probable, but not absolutely certain,[4]—via Jauf, is not tenable The identification (following Forrer) appeared in the manuscript of my book, the correction of this error was due to Professor Musil, whose authority in these matters is unquestioned A glance at the map and a perusal of the accounts of the routes by travellers should be convincing proof that no considerable army[5]—and Nabonidus must have had a large army—could possibly march or ever has marched by such a route The extreme difficulty of conducting an army across much better ground than the Nafūd is described at some length in the inscriptions

[1] So Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 89

[2] Ashurbanipal, Rassam Prism, vii, 82—viii, 71

[3] Cf Sargon, *Annals*, 98

[4] See Preface, *Babylonian Historical Texts*

[5] The razzia of Khālid with a small force against 'Ukaidir in A H. 9 from Tabūk was considered a great exploit, see Yāqūt, ii, 626 I owe the reference to Mr Fulton

of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, it is not probable that such an enterprise would be described merely as "a distant journey"[1] in the case of Nabonidus If the *Adumu*, *Adummatu* which Sennacherib captured is Jauf, then *Adummu* is not to be restored in Nabonidus Chronicle, i, 17 The Persian Verse Account implies quite clearly[2] that Nabonidus did not return to Babylon between the restoration of the temple of the Moon-god at Harran and the campaign to Tema', but that he sent Belshazzar back as regent For an army whose objective was Taimā, the best route from the Lebanon, where it had assembled,[3] was the old pilgrim route, as has already been pointed out[4] This led down east of the Jordan straight to Taimā at one time[5] To deflect from that route to Jauf would double the distance and more than treble the difficulty of an already arduous task The estimate of four days for the journey[6] from Jauf to Taimā is a serious under-estimation Euting and Huber, travelling under favourable circumstances, took 6½ days to reach Tabūk from Taimā and that is roughly half the distance from Taimā to Jauf, and better ground If an army exhausted by the march postulated succeeded in establishing a new centre of Babylonian power at Taimā for a decade, then the exploit approached the miraculous In short, some very weighty proof that this was the route adopted is necessary before the view is at all acceptable Should it be argued—wrongly, as I think—that Nabonidus started from Babylon, then Jauf again could not have been passed on that route, the line of march, which must necessarily have followed the line of the best water supply available, would not approach that oasis, but pass far south of it

[1] Verse Account, ii, 21
[2] ii, 18–24
[3] *Nabonidus Chronicle*, i, 11
[4] *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 77
[5] Euting, *Tagbuch*, ii, 147
[6] A common-place of the Arab geographers

It is pleasant to find the view already advanced[1] that Nabonidus went to Taimā in order to gain control of the trade routes adopted and restated[2]

NABONIDUS' SICKNESS

Two broken lines of the Verse Account of Nabonidus read (i 17–18) *-šu ittekiršu šedu* [*utukke*] (pl) *sabit ahiti* The statement[3] that the first line is to be translated "the protecting genius was hostile to him" hardly "an evil demon altered him" is not correct The restoration of *utukke* in the second line suits the traces of the end of the sign, and is demanded by the phrase *sabit ahiti*[4] That *šedu* here is the "bad *šedu*"[5] is sufficiently proved by the verb The distich in any case is to be treated as a whole, the first line cannot be detached from the second, and the two half lines clearly relate to a supposed demoniac seizure. Whether *ittekiršu* be translated "was hostile to him" or "altered him" seems a matter of indifference so far as sense is concerned The verses are in fact another version of the sickness of Nabonidus reported in Nabonidus Chronicle, i, 14, if, as has been suggested,[6] the illness ascribed to the *qat utukki* was epilepsy, then "altered him" is the better translation

ABUBU

This word always means "flood", whether it was pictured as a monster, as suggested by Thureau-Dangin,[7] is by no means certain In the texts it is frequently called "a weapon",[8] and it may well have been depicted as some

[1] First by Dougherty in *JAOS* xlii, 305, the article was not known to me in 1924, when writing *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 81–2

[2] *JRAS* 1925, 294–5.

[3] Ibid, 295

[4] Cf [*namtaru*] *puridišu issabat*, Campbell Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, ii, 100, 24, and similar phrases.

[5] Maqlu, vii, 124 et freq

[6] By C J Gadd, in *Oriental List* for April–June, 1924, confirmed by text No 32, 3, in Clay, *Pierpont Morgan Library*, vol. iv.

[7] *Huitième Campagne*, 58*

[8] *Creation Epic*, iv, 49 et freq.

kind of weapon on objects where it was pictorially represented. The very confident translation of *abubu* as "dragon"[1] may mislead those interested in the mythology of the dragon

ANU AND ADAPA, EA AND MUMMU

A "correction" of the translation of two lines of the Verse Account, ii, 2–3, has been put forward[2] They read —

la iptiqu (ilu)Ea Mummu
ul idi zikiršutma (ilu)Anim Adapa

So the text It is proposed that the second line should be read *ul idi zikiršuma šut Anim-adapa*(d), and the whole translated "They have not fashioned Ea-mummu, the name of Anu the adapa(d) is not known" "Anu the *adapa*(d)" is not explained, and makes nonsense of the passage A reference to v, 18, of the same text, *azkar (ilu)Anim (ilu)Enlilla ša iksuru Adapa*, shows that the writer conceived of Adapa and Anu in the only way in which Babylonian scribes ever speak of them, as a (deified) man and a god, not a monstrous and apparently meaningless combination The very violent emendation of the scribe's text is therefore not worth discussing[3] Similarly Ea and Mummu must be the distinct characters known to us, the parallelismus membrorum of the distich does not permit of the interpretation of *Mummu* here as an epithet The sole ground for the "correction" seems to be the erroneous belief that *iptiqu*, since it is presumably in a principal not a subordinate clause, is necessarily 3rd pers pl In fact, it is 3rd pers sing with the ending of the *energicus* represented by *-u* for *-a* This is not frequent, but appears in texts of all periods, e g —

Šamăs [t]akbiat pika likallima inaka liptiqu padanam pihitam [Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic[4]]

[*Ume u*]*rikuma uzzašu inuhu*[5] [Creation Epic, ii, 7]

[1] *JRAS* 1925, 295 [2] *JRAS* 1925, 295

[3] The text is well written and accurate, it is possibly the original version and not a copy. See *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 27

[4] Jastrow and Clay, *Old Babylonian Gilganesh Epic*, pl vi, 258–9

[5] Translated by some as a subordinate clause with conjunction understood, but the preceding *-ma* precludes this

Pa'e ultu kirib (mat)Elamti Kl innabtuma isbata šepe(du) šarrutia [Ashurbanipal Annals [1]]

It is therefore necessary to construe *Mummu* in v. 16, as an accusative in apposition to *ša*, which accords perfectly with what we know of the mythology. That GIŠ ḪAR, *usurtu* does not mean "plan" but refers to some cult object is certain from ritual and other texts [2]. The "correction" of the rendering of v. 16, to "The (divine) plans of Esagila, the plans which Ea-mummu made" is incorrect.

A slight error in the copy of ii. 6, has led to another erroneous suggestion. The fifth sign, copied as GIŠ, should read *ap*, as in transliteration. With *aplaḫ* for *apallaḫ* compare such forms as New Babylonian *tarkas*.

SIDNEY SMITH

CHINESE PRINTING IN THE TENTH CENTURY

In his interesting account of the 雷峯 Lei-fêng or 黃妃 Huang-fei Pagoda at Hangchow in the April number of the *JRAS*, p. 285, Mr. Moule tells us that when it collapsed in September of last year, "all sorts of treasures" were found among the ruins. One of these treasures has now reached the British Museum. This is a block-printed paper roll, 6 ft. 9 in. long by 2⅛ in. wide, which was inserted in the brickwork of the Pagoda at the time of its construction in A.D. 975. It begins with a dedicatory inscription in three columns, rather badly mutilated, of which twenty-two characters are legible, those in brackets being conjecturally added by myself:—

天下兵[馬大元帥吳越]國王錢[俶敬寫寶篋印經一]卷捨入西[關]塼塔永充供養乙亥八月日紀

"Ch'ien [Shu, Commander-in-chief of the] Cavalry of the Empire and Prince of the State [of Wu Yueh, reverently caused

[1] *Rassam Prism*, vii, 56–7. It is impossible to transliterate *innabtamma*, since in other passages of the Annals this *tu* varies with the other form of *tu*. For this -*u* see also King, *Magic*, 30, 13; Driver, *Letters*, 33, 8.

[2] See *JRAS*. 1925, 46, 57, et freq.

a copy of the Pao-ch'ieh-yin sūtra, in one] roll, [to be prepared and] inserted in the Brick Pagoda at the Western [Gate,] in order that it might serve forever as a worshipful offering Recorded on a day in the 8th moon of *i-hai* (Sept.–Oct., 975)."

Ch'ien Shu was the fifth and last ruler of Wu Yueh, a large principality corresponding roughly to the modern provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and northern Fukien, with its capital at Hangchow. It was founded by his grandfather Ch'ien Liu 錢 鏐 after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, and remained practically independent until 978, when it was again merged in the re-united Empire under the House of Sung. It was the Lady Huang, a consort of the Prince, who is said to have been actually responsible for the erection of the Pagoda, and whose name was given to it.

After this inscription comes a woodcut which doubtless represented Buddha delivering the sūtra in the presence of his disciples; it is unfortunately so mutilated that only one or two truncated figures are discernible. Enough of the title remains to make the identification of the sūtra an easy matter; it is No. 957 in Nanjio's Catalogue, 一切如來心秘密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經, or in Sanskrit, Sarva-tathāgatādhishthāna-hridaya-guhya-dhātu-karanda-mudrā-dhāranī-sūtra, translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (705–774). The first portion of the text has been somewhat damaged by exposure to damp, but its condition improves as it is unrolled, and most of it is perfectly clear and legible. At the very end there is again some deterioration, and the characters of the concluding title are in a fragmentary state. The whole roll consists of four numbered sheets of brownish-yellow paper, of which the first measures 1 ft. $6\frac{7}{10}$ in. in length, each of the next two 1 ft. 9 in., and the last 1 ft. $8\frac{3}{10}$ in.

The style of printing differs markedly from that with which we are familiar in the long roll, dated 868, and other printed specimens from Tunhuang of about the same period. In these, the flowing curves and sweeps of the calligraphist's brush are more or less closely imitated; indeed, in some cases it is

hard to distinguish print from manuscript. The characters in the present roll are not only much smaller (averaging rather less than one-fifth of an inch in height) but may be described as neat and compact rather than elegant. They show a certain stiffness of execution which makes it obvious at the first glance that they are printed, not written, yet the general effect is pleasing and by no means inartistic

The roll has been tastefully mounted on white silk-covered paper with the title 西關黃妃塔藏經 Mr Wang Yun 王芸 a friend of the former owner, has added a coloured sketch of the old Pagoda as it stood until last September on a hill overlooking the West Lake He has also copied out Ch'ien Shu's inscription alluded to by Mr Moule, with several variations from the text given in 淨慈寺志 *Ching tz'ŭ ssŭ chih*, xiii 16, and has appended the following historical note "This pagoda dates from the *i-hai* year, the eighth of the *K'ai-pao* period in the Sung dynasty [A D 975], when it was erected by Ch'ien Shu, the grandson of Prince Wu-su 武肅 of the State of Wu Yueh Ch'ien Shu, whose style was Wên-tê 文德, was the younger brother of Prince Chung-hsien 忠獻, and was himself canonized as Prince Chung-i 忠懿 He yielded up his territory [to the House of Sung] in the third year of *T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kuo* [978] In the first year of *Tuan-kung* [988] he died at the age of sixty, and received the posthumous title of Prince of Ch'in 秦 The pagoda stood throughout the Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, down to the *chia-tzŭ* year in the present cycle [1924], a period of 950 years in all In a hole in its brickwork there was hidden this *Pao-ch'ieh-yin* sūtra

"Note by Wang Yun of Shan-yin 山陰 [Shaohsing] in the third month of *i-ch'ou* [1925]"

Ch'ien Shu's biography will be found in 舊五代史 *Chiu wu tai shih*, cxxxiii, 12, and 新五代史 *Hsin wu tai shih*, lxvii, 6–7, and a much fuller account in 宋史 *Sung shih*, ccccl xxx, 1–9.

LIONEL GILES.

A CONFLATE STORY IN TABARI

Under the date 241 (A D 855–6) Tabari (iii, 1426) tells how some Muslim prisoners were ransomed from the Greeks Omitting unessentials his story is this

The empress Theodora, the mother of Michael, sent an ambassador Jurjis to ask ransom for the 20,000 Muslims who were in her hands Mutawakkil sent Nasr ibn Azhar to find out if there were so many captives After the departure of Nasr, Theodora asked the captives to embrace Christianity 8,000 did so, the remaining 12,000 were massacred by the orders either of the empress or of a eunuch The caliph wrote to the governors of the frontier provinces that Shanîf (el Khâdim) had arranged the terms of the ransom with Jurjis The Muslim captives were released at the River Lamus in Greek territory, they numbered 785 men and 125 women

This story presents several difficulties It is strange that the empress should make the first move for the release of the prisoners If the Muslims who were not converted were killed, whence came the 910 who were set free? The embassy of Nasr has no essential connexion with the course of events

Bar Hebræus, in his Syriac Chronicle, tells of two separate occasions when Mutawakkil ransomed prisoners from the Greeks

On p 156 (date doubtful) he says that the caliph sent Nashîf (probably read Shanîf), a eunuch, to Theodora, who held 20,000 captives He flattered her and she set free 8,000, and explained that the other 12,000 had turned Christian After the ambassador had gone these 12,000 were killed, lest they should apostatize This was done at the orders either of the empress or of a eunuch

On p 158 (A H 246 (A D 860–1)) he says that the caliph sent Nasr ibn Azhar as ambassador to Michael with rich presents As the emperor was still a child, he did not himself speak to Nasr; his uncle spoke for him The result was that 2,000 captives were released, among them 20 women and 10 boys Those who had been baptized were taken to the frontier

and given their choice of going or remaining Two goldsmiths from Africa and many others preferred to stay.

The two stories of Bar Hebræus do not contradict one another His reference to the empress in the first negotiations and to Michael's uncle in the second fits in with history If the date A H 246 is correct, Michael was 23 years old, but it is quite in accordance with his character that he should have left the business of state to others

So it appears that Tabari has confused two events and combined them into one

A S TRITTON

"BADAUN" OR "BADĀYŪN"?

We are indebted to Mr Richard Burn for confirmation of our use (in the Akbar-nāma and Bābur-nāma translations) of the form Badāyūn Mr Burn, having seen this form adversely criticized in our *Journal*, tells us it is "quite correct", that the old name of the place has been found on an inscription, that he thinks this is noted in the *Provincial Gazetteer* and that the ancient name was *voda mayuta*

ANNETTE S BEVERIDGE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

HINDU POLITY A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA IN HINDU TIMES By K P JAYASWAL, M A (Oxon) 2 vols (in one), xxxii + [1], 219, [1], 277 pp Calcutta, 1924

Mr Jayaswal is to be congratulated upon the publication of a long meditated work, of which the MS appears from the preface to have experienced misadventures such as do not usually threaten the lucubrations of scholars We may also congratulate the students of ancient Indian institutions : for in addition to an unusual vigour of mind Mr Jayaswal, as a trained legal practitioner and theorist, brings to bear upon the history of the Indian state a more concrete realization of the value-in-use of terms than is natural to a scholar as such It was this that enabled him in his first publication to direct upon the political *Samghas* (aristocratic or republican governments) of ancient India the light obtainable from the procedure of the Buddhist ecclesiastical organization In more recent years he has delivered, as Professor at Calcutta (1917) the Tagore Law Lectures on *Development of Law in Manu and Yājñavalkya* (the appearance of which is awaited with interest), while in the sphere of pure scholarship he has found time amid his professional occupations to publish many striking articles, and also a new Sanskrit text on politics (the *Rāja-nīti-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, c A D 1300–25), and to lend powerful support, as Hon Secretary and Editor of an exceptionally valuable journal, to the work of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Hindu Polity in its two volumes deals with (i) Vedic Assemblies and Hindu Republics, and (ii) Monarchy and Imperial Systems. In the first of these Mr Jayaswal is occupied in working out the ideas which he formerly adumbrated. After a brief discussion of the Vedic terms

samiti, *sabhā*, etc, he comes to his *pièce de résistance* in dealing with the Hindu "republics" (*gana* and *saṃgha*), of which he gives a very full account Here he introduces several new distinctions, based upon a careful scrutiny of texts, and he provides a far fuller list of the states in question than has hitherto been recognized, and sets up fresh criteria of date His scrutiny of Pāṇini and his commentators has led to several happy identifications, such as that of the Kāśikā's *Glaucukāyanas* with the *Glauganikai* or Glausai of Arrian, that of *Maucukarṇika* with *Mousikanos*, that of *Vasāti* with Ossadioi His comparison of the *Pitinikas* of Asoka with the *Pettanikas* of the Pali canon is also of much interest Regarding the internal constitutions and procedure of the *Ganas* and *Saṃghas* he has much to say, and there are also interesting particulars concerning the functioning of double kingship, e g among the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis In regard to the Śibis we may now take account of the exact location furnished by the Shorkot inscription published by Professor Vogel in *Epigraphia Indica* (xvi, pp 15 sqq)

It would not be Mr Jayaswal if there were not some things (such as the explanation of Asoka's *aparānta* as — "states inside" the empire, *abhihāra* = "war", or the treatment of an Edict of Asoka) which are rather audacious On the other hand, the insistence upon the sense of allegiance, rather than "devotion", in *bhakti* seems justified, and the equivalence of the Saṃghas' *lakṣana* with the later *lāñchana* (pp 42–4), "animal crest," is happy (cf Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 151 n) Appendix C contains a forcible reply to the scholars who assign a late date to the *Kauṭalīya-Arthaśāstra*, in relation to which I myself regard the general terminology and outlook as important considerations

In the second part the most original chapters are those which relate to "the Jānapada or the Realm Assembly" and "the Paura or the Assembly of the Capital City" There is a good collection of passages containing the two terms, and we may freely admit that in some cases they may imply an

official personage entitled *Paura* (= *nāgara*) and one entitled *Jānapada*, further there must have been ways in which the *paura* people and the *jānapada* people could deliberate or act together But the evidence for regular constitutional bodies with these titles seems far from conclusive In this part of the work Mr Jayaswal seems concerned to stress the constitutional character of Indian royalty (which in general may be freely admitted) and the formal checks upon autocratic action Too much authority is conceded to the *Śukranīti-sāra*, a text of late age It was the ethos of Indian government and popular conceptions rather than particular restrictions, though the forms were beyond question observed, that limited the self-will of the rulers [1] For the rest, it is quite certain that as theories or preconceptions, both a divine status of kings and also a social contract (often thought to be a specially Buddhist idea) were familiar from very early times Concerning the functions of ministers at different periods Mr Jayaswal adduces a number of new points, e g in regard to the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the use of the prefix *Mahā-*, and so forth He has also some good observations on the royal *pratijñā*, or coronation vow, and a probable postponement of the ceremony until the king's twenty-fifth year of age As regards the famous theory of state ownership of the land he produces some very telling passages from the legal literature

Sufficient has been said to show that we have in *Hindu Polity* a stimulating and important work, including many original observations in detail Mr Jayaswal is by no means one of those writers who leave a subject as they have found it We may pardon a slight tendency to modernize or idealize the institutions of his country, where our own not less genuine admiration may have partially different grounds

F W THOMAS

[1] It is well pointed out (vol ii, p 3) that the Kharavela inscription alludes to a derivation of *rājā* from √*rañj* " please ".

Indica. Reviewed by L. D. Barnett

1. INDO-EUROPÉENS ET INDO-IRANIENS L'INDE JUSQUE VERS 300 AV J.-C Par L DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN. (Histoire du Monde, publiée sous la direction de M E. CAVAIGNAC Tome III) 9×5½, 345 pp. Paris De Boccard, 1924

This volume falls into two parts The first is introductory, surveying the present state of our knowledge as regards the Indo-European languages in general, the Indo-European people with their conjectural habitat and culture, and the Indo-Iranian group considered from the standpoint of language and religion with their relations with the West Then comes the first half of a history of India, to be completed in a further volume The present pages deal with pre-Mauryan India, reviewing in five chapters Indian ethnography, castes, and classes the history of the Aryan languages of India, "faits historiques ou semi-historiques" (eastward advance of brahmanic culture age of the Vēda, political geography in the time of Buddhist sources, the Purānas, date of the Buddha), and the history of beliefs and speculations from the Vēda to Buddhism (Vedic gods, sacrifice, Brāhmanas, Upanisads, transmigration ascetic doctrines, and schools, *bhakti* religions of Rudra-Śiva and Visnu Krsna, with the *bhakti* cult of early Buddhism)

The work is one of high merit Apart from its wealth of references to relevant literature, which gives it a special value and reveals the foundations of solid labour upon which it is built, it is a notably able and enlightening survey Ranging over enormous areas, the author brings to bear upon all of them the dry light of a keen and well-informed criticism. Sometimes, it must be admitted, he does not treat his theme with perfect decision, and often he modestly contents himself with quoting the verdicts of other scholars (the admirable M Barth especially is laid under contribution) instead of giving them in his own words. But the work never sinks to

the level of a compilation, it is throughout informed with an understanding and illuminative erudition, conveyed in the author's wonted vigorous and graceful style.

Following the sage's advice νᾶφε καὶ μεμνᾶσ' ἀπιστεῖν, Professor La Vallée-Poussin finds much ground for scepticism in current theories. He throws doubt on the commonly accepted dates of the Ṛg-vēda, of the Sūtra-literature, of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and of the original Buddhism, as well as on the alleged contemporaneity of the Buddha and Ajātasattu, etc. (pp. 109 f., 115, 172 f., 216 f.), on the "wedge-theory" of the Aryan invasion (p. 136), on the purity of Aryan blood in the Panjab (p. 137), on the possibility of knowing the ethnic type of the Vedic Aryans (p. 138), on the Cambridge History's explanation of the origin of castes (p. 164), and on many other matters. But the cold water that he throws upon them is wholesome, "frosty, but kindly": true science cannot fail to benefit by it. On the other hand, he gives us much that is positive; his surveys are often singularly illuminative, his observations pregnant with keen insight.

It is only natural that there should be inequalities in such a work. Thus the sections on gilds and on the language of the Vedic hymns are sketchy and hardly adequate.[1] The printing also leaves something to be desired, and not all the printer's errors have been corrected. Finally, fortune has been unkind to the author in postponing to the completion of his book the amazing excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, which have opened up a new chapter in Indian history, and thrown an unexpected light upon some of the facts noticed by him (e.g., on p. 94). But there is so much that is useful and instructive in the book that we need not dwell upon very minor shortcomings.

[1] Attention may be called to a slight misunderstanding on p. 198, where it is stated that the letter *b* is often substituted for *v*, and the mode of writing itself reveals its lateness, for in *nāgarī* script *b* is only a *v* furnished with a diacritic mark. As a matter of fact, the older scripts, both **Brāhmī** and **Kharōṣṭhī**, have entirely different characters for *b* and *v*, and so have the Southern alphabets.

2. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1921-2 Edited by D BRAINERD SPOONER, O B E, PH D, F A S B $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, iii+iii+242 pp, 40 plates Simla Government of India Press, 1924

A melancholy interest attaches to this Report, for Dr Spooner *multis flebilis occidit* and we still mourn the loss of his kindly personality and scholarly energy It is notable also as being the first of the consolidated reports issued under the new regulations by which the hitherto separately published Progress Reports of the various Circles have been suppressed, and their matter embodied together in a joint statement issued under the editorship of the Director-General of Archæology

The present volume has no tale of thrilling discovery to unfold Good progress has been made in conservation, in spite of the dislocation of work caused by the Reforms, our readers will be particularly interested in the note by Mr F H Andrews on the technique of the delicate frescoes brought from Chinese Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein and on the ingenious treatment applied by him for their preservation The sites explored yielded a fair amount of proceeds Jamalgarhi has proved particularly fecund in early sculptures besides revealing a new type of monastery and an unusually fine *stūpa*-plinth has been found at Sarnath, while epigraphic evidence at Paikore establishes the hitherto unproven surmise of an invasion of Bengal by Karna of Cēdi

3 THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL By F J MONAHAN With a preface by SIR JOHN WOODROFFE, B C L $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xi+248 pp, 6 plates, 4 maps Oxford University Press, 1925

The object which the late Mr Monahan had in view in writing his *Early History of Bengal* was to present a picture of the political and social conditions and art in Bengal during the Maurya period (using the term to include the Śunga period as well), and he has accordingly given us an account of what

the classical authors have to tell us about the Gangarides and Prasii, a chapter on the history of Candragupta Maurya, a sketch of Maurya institutions as recorded in the Kautiliya Artha-śāstra (which he regards as dealing with "social conditions and institutions which prevailed in the Maurya period, and especially in the regions nearest the centre of the Maurya dominion, namely, Bihar and Bengal"—a somewhat dubious proposition) and in the writings of Greek authors, three chapters on Bindusāra, Aśōka, and the latter's inscriptions, with translations, and finally a survey of the art of the period Somewhat in the strain of Bentley's well-known remark on Pope's translation of Homer, we must observe that this is hardly to be called a history of Bengal The author in his preface anticipates this objection by pointing to "the known fact that, during the Maurya period Bengal and Bihar were in close political association, and the strong probability that similar political and social conditions obtained in both countries", and he tells us again (p 205) that the Greek evidence would lead one to suppose that "most, if not all of what is now Bengal was regarded as part of the home provinces in Aśoka's time" This, we would respectfully remark, is highly speculative, and therefore to construct a picture of society in Bihar (on rather doubtful authority) and to publish it under the title of a *History of Bengal*, seems to us somewhat of an error of judgment For the rest, the book contributes little that is new[1] There are some minor inaccuracies in printing, perhaps the worst are "Copālal" for "Gopāla" (p 8), and "Toksasīla" for "Taksaśilā" (p 205)

4 A HISTORY OF THE DECCAN By J D B GRIBBLE Edited and finished by Mrs M PENDLEBURY Vol ii, $9\frac{1}{2}\times 7$, viii+272 pp, 12 plates. London Luzac and Co, 1924.

This volume carries the history of the Hyderabad from the

[1] The attempt on p 205 to locate Aśōka's Tōsali on the east of the Ganges must be pronounced unsuccessful, and the review of Mauryan art does not convince us that Sir John Marshall's views need any substantial revision.

accession of Āsaf Jāh down to the death of Sir Sālār Jang in 1883, and among other matters covers some important developments in the relations of H H the Nizam with the British Government, which Mr Gribble had studied with especial care Unfortunately, however, death prevented him from finishing the narrative of the Berar Trust, where his knowledge would have been most valuable, and it has therefore been completed by his daughter, Mrs Pendlebury, from his notes and articles in the *Pioneer* and *Nineteenth Century Review* These circumstances must partly disarm the criticism which the book provokes, especially by its deficiency in literary grace, its irritating carelessness in the transliteration of Indian words, which are usually given in the crudest out-of-date spelling and varied with reckless inconsistency (not to mention misprints), and its lack of an index and even of a table of contents In spite of its shortcomings it will be of use

5 THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA By STANLEY RICE $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 256 pp London J Murray, 1925

How and why is it that at the present day Asia is seeking to emulate and if possible to surpass the West in material power and political self-realization? This problem Mr Rice has set himself to solve in the present work, sketching the stages by which first Europe established itself in Asia in a position of admitted supremacy, and then by a turn of the tide the legend of European superiority burst and Asia began to confront Europe as a rival with a final chapter in which he endeavours to forecast the future He handles the subject with considerable skill and much knowledge, especially of Indian conditions There seem, however, to be gaps in the presentation Much of the ferment in Asia appears to be connected with external propaganda—the Pan-Islamic movement initiated by the late Sultan 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd, the Pan-Turanian agitation, the preaching of British and Continental politicians, and finally Communism and Bolshevism—and on these points Mr Rice has very little to say

6 STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M A, D Litt Vol ii 8¾×5¾, iii+ii+431 pp Calcutta, 1925

With this volume the work of Dr De *explicit feliciter*. Its predecessor was devoted to a survey of the schools of Sanskrit poetics in their historical relations, he now subjects to a methodical and notably able review their systems and theories Naturally he begins with Bharata, thence he passes to the "Alamkāra-school" represented by Bhāmaha, Udbhata and Rudrata, who occupied themselves with the external embellishments of poetry and accordingly conceived the Ars Poetica as essentially a sort of *raisonné* Gradus ad Parnassum, paying little regard to the question as to what constitutes the inwardness of poetry, then he deals with Dandin and Vāmana, who base their systems mainly upon the characterization of the *rītis* or styles, objectively considered, next he considers the theories of those who took up and investigated the theory of *rasa* originally formulated by Bharata as present in drama, then comes under consideration the "Dhvani-school"—the author of the *Dhvanyālōka-kārikās* and his commentator Ānandavardhana—which sees the essence of poetry in suggestion (*dhvani*), and after them Abhinavagupta, who besides other achievements in this study has the merit of proving to the satisfaction of most later writers that the *rasas* are the only æsthetic basis of poetry, as well as reactionaries like Bhatta Nāyaka, Kuntala, Mahima Bhatta, the nameless author of the section on Alamkāra in the *Agni-purāna*, and Bhoja The "New School", Epigoni all more or less addict to the *dhvani* doctrine, and comprising Mammata, Ruyyaka, Viśvanātha, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Hēmacandra, the Vāgbhatas, Jagannātha, and innumerable imitators and commentators are then reviewed Two chapters treating of the later writers on *rasa* and the manuals of poetical education conclude the work

Dr De's comprehensive and accurate review raises some points of peculiar interest to students of æsthetics It is a

singular fact, for instance, that Bhāmaha, though acquainted with Bharata's doctrine of the *rasas* almost ignored it in his general conception of poetry, regarding the latter as something essentially apart from *rasa* the "succulence" or emotional element conveyed in drama Evidently he conceived drama and poetry as fundamentally distinct—a view from which most later authors wholly dissented But when we ask what constitutes poetry, we note that, with the possible exception of Jagannātha none of the Hindu theorists has given us a finally satisfactory definition It may be asked whether the West has been more successful

7 CATALOGUE OF THE BENGALI AND ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE By the late J F BLUMHARDT, M A $11 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ iii + 21 pp Oxford University Press, 1924

CATALOGUE OF THE ORIYA MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE By the late J F BLUMHARDT, M A $11 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ iii + 24 pp Oxford University Press, 1924

These two fascicules, beautifully printed and prepared with the accurate scholarship characteristic of the late Professor Blumhardt, are the first instalments of a projected catalogue of MSS of Indian vernacular literature contained in the Library of the India Office The MSS here described are few in number, amounting to about eighty in all, the great majority of them belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, as Mr Blumhardt frankly admits none of them is of great importance But they contain some good specimens of standard literature, which should be useful to students, and a few interesting and rare tracts There are in these fascicules a few misprints, for which the author's lamented death is responsible, but otherwise the technique is excellent

8 DAS ŚRAUTASŪTRA DES ĀPASTAMBA Achtes bis funfzehntes Buch ubersetzt von W CALAND

(Verhandelingen der Kon Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afdeeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks, deel xxiv, No 2) 10½×7. 468 pp Amsterdam. Koninklijke Akademie 1924

The first part of this translation, comprehending books 1–7, was published at Gottingen in 1921 as part of Gr 7 of the *Quellen der Religions-Geschichte* but since then, as Dr Caland plaintively tells us in his preface, conditions have made it impossible to complete the work in that series, and the Academy of Amsterdam has therefore come to the rescue, thereby laying all students under a deep obligation We have now the translation of books 8–15, and we hope soon to see the great enterprise completed by the publication of the remaining books, with the indispensable equipment of a full index These long-drawn prescriptions of ritual lore are indeed, as literature, dreary in the extreme, but they are far from being an unprofitable subject of study, for not only do they throw light upon many phases of Brahmanic mentality in moral and religious life,[1] but they are also valuable documents for the study of comparative religion and the history of civilization

The books here translated deal with the rules for the *Cāturmāsya* ceremonies, the *agniṣṭōma*, the *pravargya*, and various minor rituals Dr Caland's treatment of his peculiarly difficult theme is, as usual masterly Not only does he accurately translate Āpastamba's text, but he also furnishes in his notes valuable explanations [2] and references to sources and germane works The work is thus a great storehouse of

[1] A curious instance of "amorality" occurs in the present book, p 25 (viii, vi, 21), where the officiant asks the lady of the house how many paramours she has (a similar catechism occurs in other rituals, and we believe that a call to confession of this kind is still made on certain occasions in the South, sometimes with remarkable results)

[2] Incidentally we venture to suggest an answer to one of the problems left unsolved by the note on ix, xiii, 14 (p 101) The "Tendenz" of the *sūtra* seems to be that the *hōtṛ* in this lustratory rite is a Bhārgava because Bhṛgu is traditionally connected with *prāyaś-cittas* and other "white magic", cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, p 7 ff

ritual lore, which when completed and indexed will be of immense utility

9. ĀCĀRYA-ŚRĪ-SIDDHASĒNA-DIVĀKARA-PRANĪTAM SAMMATI-TARKA-PRAKARAṆAM ŚRĪMAD-ABHAYADĒVA-SŪRI-NIRMITAYĀ TATTVA-BODHA-VIDHĀYINYĀ VYĀKHYAYĀ VIBHŪSITAM Vol 1 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ xix+166+1 pp Ahmadabad Bombay printed 1923

Some time ago we called attention to the good work done by the Gujarāt-purātattva-mandira or Historical Society of Gujarat, and we have again a pleasing reminder of this in the present handsome volume issued in their series of texts under the able editorship of two notable scholars, Pandits Sukhlāl Sanghvī and Bechardās Dośī It is the first instalment of a classical work of Jain doctrine the famous Siddhasēna Divākara's *Sammati-tarka* consisting of 167 Prakrit *āryā* verses, together with Abhayadēva's Sanskrit commentary The whole publication when complete is to comprise four volumes, the first three containing the text and commentary and the fourth a Gujarati translation of the former, appendices, introduction indexes etc The commentary is of immense bulk (the present volume, of 166 pages, deals only with the first verse of the text) and sets forth the orthodox arguments for Jain doctrine as against other schools in a most exhaustive and methodical manner its numerous quotations rendering it a valuable mine of information for students of medieval Indian philosophy

10 THE DHAMMAPADA A collection of verses Translated from Pali by F MAX MULLER (THE SUTTA-NIPĀTA translated from Pali by V FAUSBOLL) Second edition revised (Sacred Books of the East, vol x) $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, lxiii, 99, xvii, 212 pp London Oxford University Press, 1924

The value of the late Max Muller's translation of the *Dhamma-pada* has long been recognized, and the book, with its able introduction, has taken its place as a standard *paccaya*

in the outfit of the student of Buddhism. Its merit is well matched by that of Fausboll's rendering of the *Sutta-nipāta*, which was combined with it to form vol. x of the S.B.E. The present reprint of these translations, which reproduces without change the second edition of 1898, may therefore be welcomed. At the same time it may be asked whether it would not have been fairer to the memory of these two scholars if their books had been revised and brought up to date. During the last twenty-six years considerable advances have been made in the study of the subject, and they would have heartily rejoiced to see the fruits of these incorporated into their works by some competent hand.

11. NĀSAKETARĪ KATHĀ. An Old-Rājasthānī tale. Edited with notes, a grammar, and a glossary, by CHARLOTTE KRAUSE. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xi + 124 pp. Leipzig: Drugulin, 1925.

The story of Nacikētas belongs to a class of literature which has had a vogue from very ancient times, and which includes works by authors so diverse as Parmenides (on whom Professor Diels has contributed a notably brilliant monograph), Dante, and Hauptmann. The idea of a visit by a living man to the world of the dead, with its big didactic possibilities, has been particularly attractive to the Hindu mind, as is shown by the popularity of the Nacikētas-legend, which first appears in the Katha Upanisad, and later has been worked up in Puranic versions, whence is derived the Rājasthānī tale now edited with much ability by Dr. Krause.

The text published by her is of small literary merit; but as a document of Rājasthānī speech it is very interesting, and her work is a valuable contribution to the study of the rather mixed language of the region whence it comes. She inclines to assign it to the Mārwārī dialect-group, and observes that "it seems to be closest akin to the Thali as spoken in the territory of Jaisalmer." That it is connected with the Mārwārī area is clear, but a more precise ascription is impossible owing to the uncertainty of the manuscript-

tradition, the codex used was written by a Jain in Samvat 1786, and shows traces of interpolation, which is natural owing to the peregrinatory habits of the Jains, and their greater tendency to mix dialects. It is therefore not first-hand evidence [1], but it is nearly so, and therefore is well worth the careful treatment which it has received from its editor. We hope that she will continue her studies in this quaint *mélange* of speech. The material is ample. Apart from the printed literature, which is mostly Jain, and largely modernized and mixed with Gujarātī, there are plenty of manuscripts, including several in the Tod Collection belonging to the R.A.S., which would repay the critic's labour.

There are some misprints in the book, though not many, thus on p. 29 (vii, 50) **मोनारी** is given for **सोनारी**, on p. 36 **पिषै** for **विषै**, and on p. 65 **आवसो** for **आवसी**. The statement on p. 7 that "the substitution of *gy* for *jñ* agrees with Modern Gujarātī" is misleading, for the same substitution is found throughout almost the whole of Northern India. The same one-sidedness of treatment appears in several articles of the vocabulary. Thus **कठण** is glossed merely by "[Gu.] difficult", implying that it is a Gujarātī *tatsama* from Skt. *kaṭhina*, but it might equally be used in Hindi and other vernaculars. Again, **किकर** is explained by "[Gu. **किकर**] *kiṃkara*", and **षबर** by "[Gu. **खबर** f.] a news", suggesting that Gujarātī was the only, or at least the chief, source of these words; but *kiṃkara* is a common *tatsama* and *khabar*, a Persian word of Arabic origin coming through Hindōstānī, is found almost everywhere in Northern India. An error may be noted in the explanation of *vaḍi* on p. 54: *vaḍi* is an abbreviation for *bahula dina*, as *śudi* is for *śukla dina*. The vocabulary is not quite complete (e.g., *ratha* is not glossed in it, and *atīta* ought to be noted as being a *tatsama* from *atithi*), and it contains a few slight inexactitudes, such as the derivation of *vidha* from

[1] An example of first hand evidence (unluckily a very brief one) is the little *bhāsā sambandha* of Sthiratattva's record which I have published in the *B.S.O.S.*, vol. iv. Another is the Dantēwārā inscription, *E.I.*, xii, 242.

vidhi instead of from *vidhā*, besides those already mentioned. But these are minor blemishes

12 GEDICHTE AUS DER INDISCHEN LIEBESMYSTIK DES MITTELALTERS (KRISHNA UND RĀDHĀ) HERAUSGEGEBEN VON HERMANN GOETZ UND ROSE ILSE-MUNK. 9×6, xxvi+177 pp, 12 plates Asia Major Leipzig, 1925

This book contains first an introduction on the Indian mysticism and especially the erotic mysticism of the Rādhā-Kṛsna cult, then translations of a number of extracts from the poems of leading *bhaktas*, [1] and finally notices of poets, explanatory notes, bibliography, and twelve good plates illustrative of the legend, mostly at the Kangra school of art, one of which is in colour The introduction, in spite of some rather hasty generalizations, is thoughtful and interesting The translations, of which some are in rhymed verse and some in free metre, are well executed, though somewhat lacking in the glowing warmth of the originals, Vidyāpati supplies the greatest number of them Altogether the book is a neat and handy anthology, which will be useful to students not only of this literature but likewise of the pictorial art associated with it

13 NACHTRAGE ZUM SANSKRIT-WORTERBUCH IN KÜRZERER FASSUNG VON OTTO BOHTLINGK Bearbeitet von RICHARD SCHMIDT Lieferung 1-3 14×10, 144 pp Hannover H Lafaire, 1924-5

The need of a supplement to Bohtlingk's Dictionary has become increasingly evident for many years past, as the number of newly published Sanskrit texts has steadily grown, and Professor Schmidt deserves our gratitude for the courage and skill with which he has set about this herculean task His collection comprises not only the articles in Bohtlingk's own

[1] These are Sūra Dāsa, Haraknāth, Vidyāpati Thākura, Candi-dāsa, Jayadēva, Kēsava dāsa, Umāpati, Mōda Nārāyana, Harivamśa, Gōvinda-dāsa, Cakrapāni, Bhañjana, Karām 'Alī, Jayānanda, and Ramāpati, with two folk songs As some of these poets belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the title of the book is slightly inaccurate

supplement, amounting to about 14,450, but likewise some 12,000 compiled by himself, the most fertile source being Sōmadēva's *Yaśas-tilaka*, that it is well done is only what is to be expected from a scholar of Professor Schmidt's well-deserved reputation

There are, however, some articles which we venture to think are hardly necessary For example, many adjectives and participles compounded with prefixed *a-*, such as *a-duhkhin*, *a-klpta*, etc, are so obvious and so common in all stages of the language that it is surely needless to record every instance of their occurrence On the other hand the value of the collection would have been greatly increased if Professor Schmidt had included in it a selection of rare words found in inscriptions, which, especially in Southern India, offer a goodly harvest to the lexicographer

14 CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON By ANANDA K COOMARASWAMY, D Sc (Part IV Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts) 11¾×8¾, 71+1 pp, 39 plates Boston Cambridge (Mass) printed, 1924

Students of Indian art have reason to be grateful to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and to Dr Coomaraswamy for this handsome volume, which comprises firstly a summary of Jain doctrine, of the traditional life of Mahāvīra and other Jinas, of the legends of Kālakācārya and Śālibhadra, and of Jain cosmology, notes on the Jinas' *samavasaranas* and the eight *mangalas* etc, a few words on Jain literature, a survey of the methods of Jain painting, and a select bibliography, and secondly a description of the thirty-two Jain MSS, paintings, and drawings in the Museum, followed by thirty-nine good plates illustrating them The Jain collection of the Museum, though small, is a good one, some of the MSS belonging to the fifteenth century, and their paintings are mostly excellent specimens of their kind Jain pictorial art has a peculiar interest and value of its own, and though it is

impossible for us to share Dr Coomaraswamy's enthusiastic admiration for it as "the direct expression of a flashing religious conviction the most spiritual form known to us in Indian painting, and perhaps the most accomplished in technique (a description which seems to us totally at variance with the facts) ", he has done good service in calling attention to its real merits and giving us such excellent illustrations of it

The descriptions of the MSS leave something to be desired on the philological side The common character used to mark the ending of paragraphs is read by Dr Coomaraswamy as *b* and interpreted by him to mean *bemi*, others understand it as *ch*, and neither view is right There are some slips in the transliteration and interpretation of the text On p 67, for instance, there are three errors in almost as many lines, there is no god "Sūriyāthā ", nor is Paēsi the same as Prasēnajit, and "Pāvāsisuthe" should be "Pāvāsisutta", while the description of MS No 9 *ibidem* omits to signal the presence of Malayagiri's well-known commentary The term 'Nandināgarī' is applied by Dr Coomaraswamy to denote a variety of Northern Dēvanāgarī, quite wrongly, see Buhler *Pal*, p 51 As the work, however, is a contribution to the study of art rather than to philology, these flies in the ointment do not spoil its savour

15 CEYLON ITS HISTORY, PEOPLE, COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES AND RESOURCES Compiled and published by Plâté Limited 9×6, 119+125 pp, 4 col plates, 1 map Colombo, 1924

This work, being a gazetteer, is not primarily addressed to scholars, but it is so good of its kind that scholars who are concerned with latter-day conditions in Ceylon will find it very useful It is replete with information, among the contributors being Messrs L E Blazé (General Survey of Ceylon), G A Wille (Political Institutions), J Mervyn Fonseka (Laws), E Reimers (The Portuguese and Dutch in

Ceylon, and the Ceylon Civil Service from 1798), F F Martinus (Establishment of the State Church, Village Observances, Historic Ruins), L J B Turner (Kandy a historical sketch), C. Brooke Elliott (Travel in Ceylon), C F Whitaker (The Tea Industry, The Rubber Industry, Trade and Commerce), C Drieberg (Coconut Cultivation), H L De Mel (Plumbago), and F A Stockdale (Agriculture), while in pt iii, "People of Ceylon," we have an alphabetical "Who s Who ?" of leading citizens and officials The illustrations are excellent

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Reviews on Arabic and Persian Subjects by R. A. Nicholson

1 CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF THE BŪHĀR LIBRARY Volume II CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS By SHAMS-UL-'ULAMĀ M HIDĀYAT ḤUSAIN, Ph D $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 619 pp Calcutta Imperial Library 1923

The Búhár Catalogue, of which the first volume (comprising the Persian MSS) was published in 1921 is making rapid progress, and, to judge from the present instalment, the work is being carried out with care and thoroughness Dr Hidāyat Ḥusain has not only catalogued the Arabic MSS , nearly five hundred in number giving all the necessary bibliographical and biographical information , he has also examined and studied their contents to a considerable degree, and in the case of those which have not been described elsewhere he has supplied full details as to the subject-matter It is not his fault that the collection, on the whole, is uninteresting None of the MSS seems to be earlier than the eighth century A H , and the majority are quite modern Tradition, theology, and jurisprudence, both Sunnite and Shí'ite, are strongly represented , moreover this section includes several rarities The credit due to the author is increased by three indexes—titles of works, personal names, and classified subjects—and is not impaired by a few errors, among which we have noted some curious slips in transliteration, e g Mihdī for Mahdī

2 Histoire de la Campagne du Sultan Suleyman I^er contre Belgrade en 1521. Persian text with French translation By Felix Tauer Facultas philosophica Universitatis Carolinæ Pragensis, *Prácez vědeckých Ústavů*, vii, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 192 pp Prague F Rivnac, 1924

During 1921–2, while examining historical manuscripts in the Constantinople libraries, M Tauer discovered some fragments of a contemporary Persian history of Sultan Sulaymán I, and made a copy of the portions relating to the campaigns of Belgrade and Vienna From internal evidence it appears possible that the anonymous author is either Khoja Nishánji Jelálzáde Mustafá († A.H. 975) or his brother Ṣáliḥ († 973), both of whom are well known as historians M Tauer has now edited the narrative of the Belgrade campaign from two MSS giving the (lithographed) text of one and the variants of the other In his translation, which is primarily intended for students unacquainted with Persian, the florid style of the original is severely trimmed, but nothing of historical value has been left out The footnotes show how far this chronicle differs from the accounts of the same events given by Ferídún Bey and others and discuss many obscure problems connected with the identification of the names of places and persons

3 Sírat Saif ibn Dhī Jazan Ein arabischer Volksroman Von Rudi Paret $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 120 pp Hannover Heinz Lafaire, 1924

The romance of Saif ibn Dhí Yazan is mentioned by Lane as one of the stock pieces in the repertory of the professional Cairene story-tellers (*'Anátira*), though he adds that in his time it was no longer recited, probably owing to the scarcity of copies A printed edition in seventeen parts appeared at Cairo in 1901, and from this text Herr Paret has drawn up a summary account of the contents, omitting no matter of importance, but passing over the numerous poems (which contribute hardly anything to the narrative) Saif, the

Yemenite prince who towards the close of the sixth century A D delivered his country from the Abyssinian yoke, is here transformed into a Moslem paladin Marvellous adventures, in which sorcerers, giants, witches, etc, with all their apparatus of supernaturalism play an extensive rôle, follow each other in bewildering succession, hence the romance, though worthless as literature, is a rich mine for students of folk-lore Certain episodes, e g the tale of Munyatu l-Nufús, are derived from the Thousand and One Nights, not *vice versâ* as Lane seems to have thought possible It is clear that the *Sírat Saif*, in its original form, was put together in Egypt (Cairo), and Herr Paret assigns it tentatively to the fifteenth century The main argument in favour of this date is the antagonism running through the whole romance, between the Moslem Arabs, typified by Saif, and the Negroes and Abyssinians who are represented by his opponent, King Saif Ar'ad Since, according to Maqrízí, the Abyssinian King, Saifa Ar'ad (A D 1344–72), waged war against the Moslems of Upper Egypt, the author or authors of the romance might readily make use of his name as neither they nor their audience cared a whit about chronology In that case, the romance was probably composed within a comparatively short time after the death of Saifa Ar'ad, if, however, his name was borrowed from Maqrízí or another source, and was not suggested by the still surviving recollection of his anti-Moslem activity, the date of composition may well have been somewhat later It is to be hoped that Herr Paret will continue and develop his researches in this promising field The worst fault of the present book is its brevity, but room has been found for notes, indexes of names of persons and places occurring in the Arabic text, and a bibliography

4. BAGHDAD DURING THE ABBASID CALIPHATE By G LE STRANGE $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxi + 381 pp, 8 maps and plans Oxford University Press, 1924

First published in 1900, Mr le Strange's study of the history

and topography of Baghdad had long been out of print, like the visionary bird which is "still heard of, never seen", it would mock even those who fancied they were on the point of acquiring it The photographic facsimile is offered at a reasonable price, and there should be many new readers for a book which, owing to the solidity of its learning and the excellence of its construction, remains, after a quarter of a century, the standard work on Baghdad

5 THE MUFADDALĪYĀT Edited for the first time by C J LYALL Vol III INDEXES TO THE ARABIC TEXT, compiled by A A BEVAN, M A, F B A E J W Gibb Memorial, New Series, III, $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, 360 pp London Luzac, 1924

This volume completes Sir C J Lyall's edition of the *Mufaddalīyāt*, of which the two previous volumes were published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford (1918–21) Before his death, Sir Charles had entrusted Professor Bevan with the preparation of the Arabic Indexes, which of course he regarded as indispensable, but it seems that he had not made any definite arrangement for their publication, and the authorities of the Clarendon Press were unwilling to bear the expense Fortunately the Trustees of the E J W Gibb Memorial took a different view, and the Index volume now appears with a note in which they express their indebtedness to Professor Bevan for having contributed substantially to the cost of production

There are four Indexes (1) Rhymes, (2) Persons, Tribes, etc, (3) Places, (4) Selected Words The second and fourth are especially valuable In the former we find under each name full references (except in certain specified cases) and also guidance as to the nature and importance of the passages in which the names occur The Glossary contains references to more than 7,000 words, as a rule, the meanings or applications are given as well and grammatical constructions are indicated where necessary In compiling it, Professor Bevan

has wisely adopted "the principle of mentioning whatever seemed to me likely to interest the student of Arabic, thus the list includes not only rare words but also some well-known expressions, for example religious terms, names of articles of commerce, etc, since their occurrence in very early texts is often historically important" If the present writer ventures to say that the work cannot be judged by ordinary standards, it is because he happens to be one of many whom Professor Bevan, without sparing himself in any way, has made the beneficiaries of his critical scholarship and unsurpassed knowledge of the older Arabic language and literature This Glossary, together with the Glossary to the *Naqá id* and the article in the Browne Presentation Volume entitled "Some contributions to Arabic Lexicography", forms a foundation on which the future compilers of a *Thesaurus Linguæ Arabicæ* may build with confidence, and which they should endeavour to emulate The Indexes, admirably printed by Messrs Brill are followed by a few pages of addenda to all the three volumes

6 DIE FRAU IM SASANIDISCHEN RECHT Von CHR BARTHOLOMAE Kultur und Sprache, Band x $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ 20 pp Heidelberg Carl Winter 1924

The materials for this interesting lecture are drawn from two sources (1) the *Mádigán-i hazár Dádistán* (The Book of the Thousand Judgements) by Farrokh, a Sásánian jurist, which is the sole work of its kind that has come down from that period (ed by Modi and Anklesaria, 1901–12), (2) the *corpus juris* of Jesubokht, originally composed in Pehlevi but extant only in an eighth century Syriac version (ed and transl by Sachau, Syrische Rechtsbucher 3, 1914) The former book is by far the more authoritative, and it supplies much information concerning the women of the upper classes in Sásánian times As there was no codified law, the old custom of reckoning woman as a chattel easily gave way in practice to institutions which allowed her a large measure of independence

education, and culture For instance, the daughters of the house were not obliged to accept the husbands approved by their fathers or guardians, and such refusal entailed no legal penalty Though unlimited polygamy was permitted, only the rich could afford it one wife was the rule, as it is amongst the Parsees of India to-day As regards inheritance and divorce, Sásánian women enjoyed privileges which have not yet been restored to their descendants under Islam, though it is also true that in some respects the state of things which the Arabs swept away was worse than rotten

7 THE KHILAFET By Professor MOHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ 97 pp London Luzac 1924

'Le khalifat est mort vive le khalifat' is the burden of this tract for the times which, as Mr Yusuf Ali states in his foreword, the author proposes to issue in Arabic, Urdu, French, and other Continental languages as well as in English Opening with an account of the abolition of the Ottoman Khilafet, he argues that while the action of the Angora government, though deplorable, was justified in the circumstances and was indeed the necessary result of the recent dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, it has laid on all good Moslems the duty to determine, not whether, but only how and in what form, the Khilafet shall be restored Here, no doubt, he speaks for a great number of his co-religionists, of whom many will, nevertheless, disagree with the particular views advocated in these pages A highly coloured historical prologue, which depicts the early Caliphs as "perfect men", Ali being the hero and Mu'áwiya and 'Amr ibn al-'Ás the villains of the piece, leads up to the conclusion that the Moslems should elect as Khalífa "a man who will be only the spiritual head of Islam, will have nothing to do with politics, whom all Islamic communities will recognize as the focus of the spiritual brotherhood, and whose orders will be directed to the sacerdotal, moral, educational, religious, and spiritual welfare of the Islamic Fraternity throughout

the world" The author says frankly that "there will be no **harm** in establishing the Khilafet on the model of the Papacy", **and** he has outlined a system of administration The new **Caliph** is to have a Supreme Council, consisting of theologians, **philosophers** scholars, and scientists Its members, elected **by** the religious organizations in the Moslem countries, will **be** the chiefs of their respective departments, e g Religion, Education and Research, Propaganda and Missions, and in the future they alone will be eligible for the office of Caliph We have no space to discuss the details of the scheme which Professor Barakatullah works out on this basis He is an able writer and manifestly sincere, but his appeal to Moslem sentiment would have been more effective if, instead of ignoring the obstacles in the way of the proposed reformation, he had attempted to show how they might be overcome

8 AN ABRIDGMENT OF AL-BAGHDÁDÍ'S CHARACTERISTICS OF MUSLIM SECTS (AL-FARQ BAYN AL-FIRAQ) By 'ABDU 'L-RAZZÁQ AL-RAS'ANÍ Edited by Professor PHILIP K HITTI $9\frac{1}{2}\times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 205 pp Cairo Hilál Press 1924

Since the Cairo edition (1910) of the *Farq* of Baghdádí († A H 429) leaves much to be desired as regards accuracy, Professor Hitti of the American University of Beirut has done well to publish a hitherto unknown abridgment, which he found in the Library of the Dháhiriyya College at Damascus This is dated A H 647, and forms part of a *majmú'a* written by the hand of the epitomizer himself, a certain 'Abdu 'l-Razzáq b Rizqi lláh b Abí Bakr b Khalaf al-Ras'aní (of Ra's 'Ayn) Towards the end, unfortunately, the epitome is even more defective than the unique Berlin MS of the *Farq* but on the whole its text is considerably more correct In other ways, too, Professor Hitti's edition illustrates the maxim *πλέον ἥμισυ πάντος*, for it contains a short but excellent introduction in Arabic as well as critical and explanatory notes in the same language, which include helpful references to Shahristání, Maqrízí, Jurjání, and other Oriental writers,

while the works of Western scholars are not neglected altogether, it seems very suitable for its purpose, namely, to serve as a textbook in colleges or universities for those who are beginning the study of Islam, whether they be Moslems or not

9 ARABISCHE ALCHEMISTEN, I KHĀLID IBN YAZĪD, II ǴA'FAR AL-ṢĀDIQ By JULIUS RUSKA 10×7¼, 247 pp Heidelberg Carl Winter, 1924

That the origins of Arabian alchemy go back to the early Umayyad period is a belief which is embraced by Mohammedan writers in general, though Ibn Khaldún characteristically rejects it on *a priori* grounds, and they are agreed that Khálid, the younger son of the Caliph Yazíd b Mu'áwiya, was the first of his race to study this exalted science and compose alchemical books, while the second great pioneer is, in their opinion, no less a personage than Ja'far al-Ṣádiq, the sixth Imám of the Shí'ites, to whom many still extant treatises are ascribed Under Professor Ruska's searching examination this theory crumbles away It would be difficult to summarize his arguments, which are necessarily technical in nature, but his main conclusions will hardly be disputed Khálid may have been interested in alchemy, beyond that possibility there is nothing but legends invented by the idealizing imagination, and writings fabricated by the antiquarian curiosity of a later age With regard to Ja'far al-Ṣádiq, the transformation of the pious recluse into a master of alchemy and magic is proved to be equally mythical, he was the Imám descended from 'Alí and, as such, was endowed with all the occult sciences It follows that Jábir b Ḥayyán cannot have been Ja'far's pupil, and that those works attributed to Jábir in which Ja'far appears as Jábir's teacher, are forgeries These results clear the way for an advance on scientific lines Incidentally Professor Ruska throws much new light on details, but the importance of his book lies in the thoroughness with which he has demolished the pretensions made on behalf

of the two "pioneers" Henceforth the history of Arabian alchemy begins with Jábir b Ḥayyán It should be added that at the end of Part II Professor Ruska gives the text (from MSS at Gotha and Rampur) and translation of a treatise entitled *Risálatu Ja'far al-Sádiq fi 'ilmi 'l-saná'at wa'l-hajar al-mukarram*

10 MAQRIZÍ, EL-MAWÂ'IZ WA'L-I'TIBÂR FÎ DHIKR EL-KHITAT WA'L-ÂTHÂR Edité par M GASTON WIET Vol IV, Fascicule second (deuxième partie, chap lxxvii–xciv) 14¼×11, vii+196 pp Cairo Imprimerie de l Institut Français d Archéologie Orientale, 1924

The handsome edition of Maqrízí's *Khitat* which already fills several volumes in the *Mémoires de l Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, is advancing steadily, though the end is not yet in sight This portion, corresponding to pp 250–85 in vol i of the Búláq edition (A H 1270), includes an important and difficult chapter on chronology, and the editor acknowledges his obligations to MM Gabriel Ferrand and Paul Pelliot for the help which they have given in restoring the text The last-named scholar contributes an illuminating appendix "sur la chronologie des Khitâ et des Ongours" Indexes and lists of *addenda et corrigenda* complete the volume

11 BEITRAEGE ZUR MAQAMEN-LITTERATUR Heft 4 Maqāmāt el-Ḥanafī und Ibn Nākia, ediert von O RESCHER 8½×6, 280 pp Stambul, 1914

Dr Rescher is such an indefatigable editor and translator of Arabic texts, that anyone who is not a bibliographical expert must toil after him in vain This particular series comprises at least eight fasciculi, and three of the four which I possess are translations No 5 Hamadhání, No 6 Zamakhsharí, and No 8, Suyútí (six *maqámát*) As they were printed in limited editions—from 60 to 100 copies—they are practically unobtainable Is it too much to hope that Dr. Rescher will publish the list of his writings that

have appeared in a separate form? This would be a boon to those who wish to complete their sets as far as possible, and a surprise to those who are not already acquainted with the extent and value of his work in Arabic literature The present fasciculus contains (1) the *Maqámát* of Abu 'l-'Alá Ahmad b Abí Bakr al-Rází al-Hanafí, (2) a *Maqáma* by Sharafu ddín Mahmúd b 'Umar al-Intákí, (3) The *Maqámát* of Ibn Náqiyá, (4) *al-Maqámat al-Mawlawiyya al-Sáhibiyya al-Safawiyya* (5) *al-Maqámat al-Dujayliyya* by 'Uthmán Efendi al-'Umarí al-Mawsilí, (6) a *Maqáma* by Shihábu'ddín Ahmad b Abi 'l-Barakát al-Suwaydí, (7) *al-Maqámat al-Zariyya* by al-Sayyid Nasru lláh al-Husayní, (8) a *Maqáma* by al-Sayyid Ḥasan b Muhammad Amín al-Ḥusayní al-Ḥá'irí, (9) a book on the names of the wolf by al-Ḥasan b Muhammad al-Sagháni (10) *al-Maqámat al-Durriyya* by al-Sayyid 'Umar b Ibráhím b al-Ḥusayn al-Rasaní

12 THE TRADITIONS OF ISLAM, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HADITH LITERATURE By ALFRED GUILLAUME, M A 9×6, 184 pp Oxford Clarendon Press 1924

الفضل للمتقدم, but Professor Guillaume has no need to claim the benefit of priority The first English book "dealing with and explaining a great branch of Muhammadan literature which stands beside the Quran as a source of Muslim belief and practice" commends itself It is marked by good sense and sound judgment, it is sympathetic without being uncritical, and it presents a clear and orderly outline of the subject from various points of view in less than two hundred pages Gaps there must be, and no one will find fault with the author for having ignored the Shí'ite collections and drawn his material from the orthodox canon Though the work owes much to Goldziher and others, it is anything but a compilation, on almost every page one feels the freshness that only a direct acquaintance with the sources can give.

The first three chapters sketch the historical evolution of Ḥadíth from the earliest times to the end of the third century of the Hijra, when the canon was closed This synopsis is excellently done Professor Guillaume s observations (p 75 *seq*) on the importance of the *ijmá'* as an instrument of reform and development in Islam are particularly welcome to the present writer, who read them soon after he had stated similar views in an address to the Cambridge University Muslim Association The *ijmá'*, which asserts the principle *vox populi vox Dei*, can in the last resort overthrow any barriers that stand in its way, those who despair of the future of Islam really believe that Moslems have not the will to reform themselves, or the power to reconcile conflicting currents of opinion In the fourth chapter, Muhammadan methods of criticizing the Ḥadíth are illustrated, and the author then proceeds "to gather under headings some of the salient and some of the more interesting traditions", including many borrowed from Christianity, while the final chapter is devoted to the traditions which portray the person and character of the Prophet Of the two appendices one explains the Moslem theory of the Caliphate, and the other (reprinted from this *Journal*) gives a translation of Bukhárí s *Kitábu l-Qadar* There are some respects in which the book might be improved Full references, to the *Mishkát* at least would greatly enhance its value to students The author says that traditions quoted from this collection can easily be found under the appropriate chapter headings, but in many cases the heading is uncertain, and however that may be, exact references will always save the reader's time, not to speak of his temper I have not tested the renderings of Hadíth except in one instance (p 140, ll 3–4), where the words "a punishment which will leave the wise man with understanding of the enigma seemed obviously unsuitable With shou'd, of course be "without '

A number of mistakes, especially in transliteration, are

noted below in order that they may be corrected in the next edition Some of them occur more than once

P 18, 4 from foot read "*mādiya*" P 51, n 2, 6 from foot, "the Qutb or Ghauth" P 70, n 1, 4 from foot, "muwalladūn" P 75, n 1, "*yansukhu*" P 86, 3, "*ba'du 'l-muntahili 'l-hadith,*" and 4, "*'asinā*" P 86, 7 from foot, "*muttasil*" P 87 3 and 26, "*munqati*" P 87 27, "*mu'dil*" P 87, penult, "*mudtarib*" P 89, 9, "*ta'n*" P 90, 20, "Iyās" and "Juzai" P 90 8 from foot, "*'amal*" P 101, n 1, "*qadari-llāh*" P 115, 19, "Musailima" P 116, 19, "Abú Lubāba" P 124, 2 "*mudillu-l-nāsi*" P 128, 22, "Sahl" P 134, 2, "*Fadā ilu sayyidi*" P 134 n 1, "*wa-khurāfātu*" P 137, 6 "Salama s" P 154 n 3 (*b*), "Abū Wahb" P 155, n 3 "*munkaru-l-hadīth*" P 158, 1, "*Kitābu-l-Wafā*" P 161 10 "'Ubāda, and 12, "A immatu" P 172, 16 "Iyās

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THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY By S LANGDON, M A $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 227 pp Oxford Clarendon Press, 1923

The text of this edition has been formed on the evidence of all the extant tablets or fragments of tablets concerned with the Babylonian "Epic of Creation" Their places of publication may be ascertained by reference to pp 60–4 of the Introduction where also the sources of the text are indicated A number of tablets unpublished at the time of the book s going to press are taken into account on p 214

The transcription has been executed with the utmost care, only one inaccuracy having caught the eye of the present reviewer in Tablet II, 31 *ma-ḫar-ra* should be read *ma-aḫ-ra*, as also in III, 24 and IV, 30 The fact that the editor was in Mesopotamia when the final proofs were issued from the press accounts for the appearance of a number of printer's errors Hyphens have fallen out in *uš-ma-al-la* (I, 135), *pu-uḫ-ra* (II, 125), *ma-ag-ša-ri* (III, 52), *ub-šu-ukkin-na-ka*

(VI, 140), *sa-gi-šu-nu-ma* (VII, 10), and *is-su-ḫu* (VII, 34), *unišê* appears for *u nišê* (VI, 113), and *e-til-luina* for *e-til-lu ina* (VII, 76) For *ú-še-ši-* [*ka-aš-šu*] is to be read *ú-še-ši-* [*ba-aš-šu*] (III, 42), for *gim-rau-su-nu*, *gim-rat-su-nu* (III, 102), for the determinative *maṣah*, *mašak* (IV, 38), and for *ṣami-e*, *šami-e* (VII, 16) In *uš-taš-ša-ša-a* (I, 137) the first *-ša-* is to be deleted All the important variants are recorded at the foot of the page The accents employed to distinguish different signs of like phonetic value are in accordance with the system adopted by the editor in the sign-list appended to his *Sumerian Grammar*

The translation, which is placed, line for line, opposite the transcription, is a most faithful rendering of the Babylonian original As such, it is necessarily very literal To criticize the style of the English is to say the least, impertinent For the Professor has not set out to produce an elegant paraphrase for the benefit of *littérateurs*, but rather an accurate and trustworthy translation, the essential requirement of the serious student, in which task he has admirably succeeded He has occasionally seen fit to coin new words, but since these cause no difficulty to the intelligent reader, no exception can be taken to their employment Generally speaking, a consistently *verbatim* translation of a difficult text is of far greater value than a mere paraphrase, which is too often resorted to by an incompetent translator as an expedient for disguising his failure to appreciate the *nuances* of the original

The Commentary consists in a very exhaustive series of notes, both philological and exegetical, running parallel with the text, so that constant reference from one part of the book to another is avoided Its value cannot be overrated, inasmuch as it not only elucidates the editor's own views, but furnishes a key to all the available material that is required for an independent study of the text The abbreviations employed in the numerous references are explained on pages 2 and 3 Index B is a concordance

of the words commented upon, as well as of the more important words and idioms in the text that have been insufficiently documented in the lexicons

The Introduction contains a history of the text and a very useful analysis of its contents It also fully deals with the tablet recounting Bel's descent into the lower world and subsequent resurrection, the text being given in transcription, with a fully annotated translation (pp 34–49)

In spite of the many criticisms of Professor Langdon's work that have appeared since its publication, he well maintains his ground at nearly every point against which the critics have directed their attack In no instance has his interpretation been shown to be absolutely wrong, although the feasibility of alternative theories must occasionally be admitted It is significant indeed that some of his brilliant conjectures have actually been confirmed by the discovery of new material The professor now holds the view that *si-ma-a-šu* in Tablet VI, 143, means not "his fate", but "his name", reference being made to *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, p 202, col ii, l 1, where *si-mu-šu* clearly stands for *šumušu* Mr G R Driver suggests that *tal-pu*, in p 42, l 42, should be read *tal-bu*, from לבה in the sense "to wrap round", which certainly makes good sense and obviates the necessity of postulating a root *alâpu* (p 43, n 6). Finally, the present reviewer desires to call attention to a very interesting construction in p 44, l 56 *šu-u-tu ša ḫi-ṭa-su*, which Professor Langdon renders ' this one whose sin is ", presents in its syntactical form a striking parallel to the Syriac ܗܿܘ ܕܫܐܕܘܗܝ ὁ δαιμονιζόμενος, ܗܿܝ ܕܕܡܗ "*die Blutflussige*", *etc*, discussed by Noldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 224* It would therefore appear that this Assyrian expression is a circumlocution for the usual *bêl ḫiṭṭi*, and so may be rendered simply "sinner" As such, it is the first recorded instance in Assyrian of a construction which has hitherto been regarded as peculiar to Syriac.

Professor Langdon's edition of the "Epic of Creation" **must** surely win the sincere admiration of all scholars who **appreciate** the difficulty of such an undertaking His genius **and** erudition have combined to produce a work that may **fairly** be described as monumental

C P T WINCKWORTH

LIEBESZAUBER IM ALTEN ORIENT By ERICH EBELING 8vo, 56 pp Leipzig Eduard Pfeiffer 1925

Professor Ebeling has here transcribed translated and edited four published texts of the Berlin Museum KAR 70, 236, 243, KUB iv, 48, with two unpublished texts from photographs They form a homogeneous group and illustrate a new aspect of Babylonian religious literature These texts prove, as no previously studied sources have done, how deeply seated in the life of Babylonia and Assyria was the worship of *Venus Vulgaris*[1] It seems incredible that a people, capable of producing art and literature in many ways so admirable, practised such inane and coarse rituals to arouse the sacred passion of love between man and woman But civilizations, usually regarded as equally good or even better possessed love charms and rituals of an equally debased character For this we have only to consult the late Greek magical texts, the pages of an Apuleius or the superstitions of European peoples in the Middle Ages[2] *O tempora O mores!*

We have here the Babylonian rituals performed by men and women to secure the affections of the opposite sex, and the *motif* is invariably based upon the lowest passions of man The apple (*hašhuru*) and the pomegranate (*nurmû*) appear among the most potent of love charms An incantation was repeated over these fruits and given to the woman to eat, then she would love the seducer If this failed, he might make a figurine of the woman out of clay, taken from both banks

[1] *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 74-86

[2] See literature in Ebeling's note, p 9

of the river The woman's name was written on its left thigh After an incantation was recited over the figurine, it was buried at the western gate, and when the woman passed over it she would love the charlatan

Ebeling has edited these difficult texts with great success, and has discovered the meaning of *niš libbi* in all its aspects. New words and new explanations abound in his texts and notes I especially note the new words, ***ušaru>mûšaru***, the technical meanings of *šudbubu*, *agāgu*, ***nagāgu kuminîtu***, for which the reader is referred to his pages Their correct meanings are unmentionable in translation Pages 14, 17, *āpil kumu-ya*, " an intercessor, one who replies in my stead," is cleverly deciphered, but Ebeling should have cited Craig, *Religious Texts* ii 11, 24—=Meek, BA x, 81, R 4, Ishtar, *bêlit a-pi-lat ku-mu-ú-a* For *nurmû*, probably pomegranate, as well as for *hašhuru* apple, Thompson's *Assyrian **Herbal*** might have been profitably consulted P 32, 11, ***katāmu***, to cover, with *tiku* neck, is certainly used in an obscene sense, and so is *magāgu* to be limp The text should be construed, *rîm šade* *liktumma tiku litti limqug*, *imeru atāna **lirkab.*** On *GAB-LAL*, wax, p 34, 22, and p 40, note on 22, see Sidney Smith, RA 21, 79, and 155 after Thureau-Dangin

P 39, note on *hubbubu*, v *huppu*, bridal chamber, and the late Hebrew parallels, *JRAS*, 1920, 569 n 4 P 40, 29, three more examples of *šupurru* were given in PBS xii, p 16. In one text *qig*-*šupurru* ' *Ibid*, below, note on *arzallu*, Ebeling's comparison with *ilsarā*, *ilrasā*, hazel nut, is not so convincing as Thompson's *'ezrartā*, medlar P 49, 32, there is a *lapsus calumi*, read *trinken* for *essen* On p 38 the author ventures to explain the plant name *maštakal* by Arabic *marathun* Syr *marathon*, Greek *μαραθόν*, late Hebrew, *maratron*, fennel Thompson, *Herbal*, 199, concludes that it is a juniper, and see *JRAS*, 1924, 452 n 7, *astralagus*, a plant which exudes a gum Whatever may be the correct identification, an aromatic plant is clearly in question, for the ordinary ideogram for *maš'akal* (never inflected) ^{šam}*IN-NU-UŠ* means

also ***supalu*****, a nard**[1] It is a love charm, and connected with **Ishtar** Note that *šamdil-bat* in KAR 94, 12, has the variant ***maštakal*** in *Maklu*, i, 46, *šamuru-an-na*, "plant of the city **of Anu**," i e Erech (?)=*maltakal*, SAI 541, and Ishtar is ***bêlit*** *šamuru-an-na*, *Dél. Per* xiv 24 *šamdilbat*, the "Venus **plant**", is then the *maštakal* plant, supposed to promote sexual powers Note Clay, *Morgan Collection*, iv, 32, 5, ***a-ri-a nam-lih***, i e, *rîhut amêlûti* *šammaš-ta-kal* The aphrodisiac virtues, universally attributed to the mandrake (mandragóra officinalis) by the ancients, would harmonize well with what is known about *maštakal*, *maltakal*, but the phonetic comparison is not very satisfactory Thompson, *Herbal*, 187 ff, has made out a case for the identification *šamnam-tar-NITAH* (which he reads *namtar-ira* after Thureau-Dangin)=*mandragóra*, the uses of this plant in medicine point to the mandrake, but here again the Greek transcription offers difficulties and sometimes this ideogram has the determinative *giš*, ' tree ' The sign *NITAH* when read *eri*, *ira* means *ardu*, slave, not *zikaru*, male which is wanted here, and *namtar-nita(h)* is most certainly the original sense It would be difficult with our present information to defend the reading *ura*=*zikaru* The sign ⊢⊏ has also the value *gir*, as var of ⟨⊏ (*gîr*), in the name of the fire god *gira* and the root *gir* actually means *gašru*, strong, KBo i 52, 10 iv R 9a, 36, Nies ii, 24, 13, and it is just possible that *namtar-gira* is the original of *mandragóra*, in which case Thompson's thesis would be confirmed But this conjecture *gîr* is not probable Philologically the equation *maltakal* > *mand(r)agal** > *mandragora* offers less difficulty than *namtar-ira*, which is a very dubious reading *gišnamtar* is explained by *pilû*, probably = Syr *pilâ*, Talm *pîlûn*, Greek φύλλον, *laurus*, *malabathrus*, laurel, a musk But Thompson identifies *pilû*,

[1] Thompson, *Herbal*, 159, equates *supalu* with Arabic *hizzāb*, "juniper," and apparently rejects the accepted equivalent, *sublû*, *šebâlâtâ*, *nard*, Low, *Pflanzenname*, 316

pillû, with Arabic *luffah*[1] = *mandrāgōrā* (Syriac, etc.). The problem remains unsettled, but Ebeling's comparisons do not take into account the comments of many scholars My own opinion is that *maštakal* is probably "mandrake", and *gišnamtar* the laurel and laurel berry

Ebeling's brochure is Heft 1 of Band 1 of *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen gesellschaft*, a new oriental society founded by Meissner, Ebeling, Weidner, and others, to promote Assyriology Perhaps they are justified in creating a rival society to the old *Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, whose publication (MVAG) is now at the end of its twenty-ninth year, and is a standard series The new series will probably be designated by MAG The reviewer wishes them well *šulum-kunu mahar ilani lu dari* But the founding of a multitude of new Assyriological series, which quickly expire, is becoming most confusing to Assyriologists Meissner's *Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen* attained two volumes and ceased Ebeling founded the *Berliner Beitrage zur Keilschriftforschung*, of which four parts of vol i have appeared Weidner has founded an excellent periodical, *Archiv fur Keilschriftforschung* now at the end of vol ii part 2 The old *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, founded by Bezold, has become exclusively Assyriological in the able hands of Professor Zimmern, and there is Weber's *Boghazkoi Studien* In England we have no periodical for Assyriology at all France has two and America three, which may be described as at least semi-Assyriological This is a deplorable situation, it can be remedied only by financial support, and it is difficult to see where this can be found

S LANGDON

[1] Metathesis of a doubled letter would be impossible, and the addition of *h* is also impossible unless a common root *palāhu lapahu* be assumed The identification rests upon the further identification of *šampilû* with *pilû*, "egg," and the resemblance of *luffāh* to the egg-plant

Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kansu from the Surveys made during Sir Aurel Stein's Explorations, 1900–1 1906–8, 1913–5 By Aurel Stein, K C I E With Appendices by Major K Mason, M C, R E, and J de Graaff Hunter, Sc D With Portfolio of Maps Trigonometrical Office, Dehra Dun, 1923

The discoveries that have earned for Sir Aurel Stein such a prominent and permanent place in the history of archæological exploration have perhaps temporarily thrown into the shade the vast amount of topographical work carried out by him and under his supervision In the volume under review, with its accompanying portfolio of maps, we find a worthy record of the survey work accomplished during his three now famous expeditions of 1900–1, 1906–8, and 1913–15

The enormous area over which these surveys ranged may be realized by a glance at the inset to the Index Map Extending over more than 28 degrees of longitude and in one part nearly 10 degrees of latitude it includes an extraordinary variety of physical features from the icy heights of the Pamir, K un-lun Nan-shan, and T ien-shan to the arid, wind-swept wastes of shifting sands in the middle with their river-fed oases and the moisture-fed pastures of Dzungaria Sir Aurel divides the areas comprised within the surveys into seven characteristic regions Owing to the space limit imposed it must suffice here to take a cursory view of the whole under two more comprehensive divisions, (1) the central areas of desert, inclusive of the lower ranges associated therewith, and (2) the great confining mountain ranges

For the student the central tracts must ever have a special interest Explorers during the past fifty years have lifted the veil that shrouded them Sir Aurel Stein has penetrated deeply ; he has probed the sands to reveal their story of the past, and has supplied us with detailed maps of all the most

important areas From the earliest historical times these deserts had an evil fame Travellers like Fa-hsien, Yuan Chwang, and Marco Polo all describe the terrors of the "Desert of Lop" Fra Mauro in his *mappamondo* (*circa* 1447) marks a *Deserto di Beliam* near by Gastaldi (1561) notes that it is haunted by evil spirits that deceive and lead astray the traveller Lop-nōr itself was nearly always shown about 3 degrees north of its true position, even after the light shed by the Jesuits' surveys of the eighteenth century, until Przevalsky's discovery (1876) re-aroused interest in the old "Salt Lake" of the Chinese geographers Sir Aurel, by his "circumnavigation of the ancient Lop sea" and surveys in that vicinity, has finally laid at rest controversies that long raged round Lop-nōr Valuable geographical knowledge has been furnished by the mapping of this area and the site of ancient Lou-lan, first discovered by Sven Hedin, and of portions of the barren, decaying Kuruk-tāgh to the north, by the discovery of a clearly marked series of dry river beds representing the southern part of an old delta of the Kuruk-darya, and by the identification of many untraced sites, and of the lines followed by the old main trade and military routes Further west, the surveys have advanced in numerous directions our acquaintance with the Taklamakān of "shifting sand" its submontane fringes and its river courses from their sources amid the snows to their terminal oases in the desert To the east again, the surveys in the Su-lo-ho basin have established several points of geographical value A trying march of 500 miles, crossing the sterile Pei-shan, from Mao-mei to the Karlik-tāgh has given us a chart of hitherto wholly unsurveyed country The exploration of the Etsin-gol basin to its terminal lakes is interesting, not only from a geographical but also from a historical point of view, as probably indicating the old route along which the Mongols advanced into Kan-su, when Chingiz Khān quartered his army for a while at Khara-khoto (Marco Polo's "Etsina"), a site first visited in modern times by Col Kozloff.

ı the Turfān area a remarkable depression has been proved ,xtending some 90 miles from east to west, and attaining ı its east central part a depth of 980 ft *below sea-level*

Throughout these central areas we notice evidence of desiccation and shifting of river courses It would be nteresting to speculate as to what extent these phenomena are due, respectively, to causes of a geological character, to deforestation evaporation and utilization of water for rrigation purposes Whatever part each of these causes may have played the sands having formed and deepened he upper layers became mobile and subject to the control of the fierce winds from the N E and E N E prevailing at certain seasons of the year and the topographical history of specific areas seems to prove that the shifting has tended argely in the same direction

Arduous and even hazardous as many of the desert journeys were, severer trials, involving two serious injuries to Sir Aurel imself, were undergone amid the snows and glaciers of the great mountain ranges where large tracts of hitherto unknown ountry have been disclosed to our knowledge Perhaps he most interesting work was done in the western K un-lun around the head waters of the Yurung-kāsh and Kara kāsh and the Zailik valley with its old gold-pits and in the three northern ranges of the central Nan-shan

The Memoir explaining the maps leaves nothing to be desired it has been prepared with characteristic completeness and attention to detail Discussions by experts of the value of the triangulation and height observations form appendices Special value must be attached to the full Index of Local Names, in view of Sir Aurel s exceptional knowledge of Oriental languages and his known accuracy It is to be hoped that it will be used as a basis of spelling by future cartographers and writers The ordinary reader is not unnaturally perplexed when he finds a place called Hami on one map marked as "Chamul" or "Khamil" on others, or An-hsi written "Ngansi" or 'Nainshe", or Yārkand

represented by "Carcan", or even "Iachen"! The photographic views at the end of the volume are remarkably good.

The forty-seven map sheets, each covering two degrees of latitude and longitude, on a scale of nearly 8 miles to an inch, in which have been incorporated a surprising wealth of detail, show an immense advance on all previous maps of these regions, and have been reproduced by the heliozincograph process in a manner that does the highest credit to the Survey Office at Dehra Dun.

No one can fail to be impressed by the magnitude of the work achieved in such comparatively short periods of field work with an exiguous staff and in the face of exceptional physical difficulties. The result is due to Sir Aurel's rare grasp of topographical details, power of methodical organization, tact, and tenacity of purpose, as well as to the devotion and zeal with which he was served by his assistants deputed by the Surveyor-General of India. Among the most pleasing features of his pages are the generous terms of praise in which Sir Aurel refers to the splendid services of these men, so often performed under conditions of extreme hardship. It is gratifying to know that they were fitly rewarded.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

DIE HEBRAISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN DER NATIONAL BIBLIOTHEK IN WIEN. By A. S. SCHWARZ. xx + 272 pp., 9 plates (two coloured), folio. Edition limited to 300 copies. Leipzig: Verlag Karl Hierseman, 1925. £11.

The progress which Hebrew bibliography and cataloguing of Hebrew Manuscripts has made during the last century is best seen when comparing the first rather meagre lists of Hebrew Manuscripts found in the old Imperial Library of Vienna with the new sumptuous catalogue of Schwarz. The number of MSS. has risen in the course of those years to about 200. No attempt had hitherto been made to create a Hebrew paleography. The writers lived in distant parts and at different ages, and the history of Hebrew manuscripts

has in consequence been difficult to trace It is therefore of no mean importance to obtain from the hand of an expert an extremely minute and detailed description not only of the contents but also of the writing, the state of the manuscript in detail, the watermarks, a new means of ascertaining the age of a manuscript that has no date, the names of the writers and copyists, and also the names of the owners or the marks of the Censor, each of these contributing to the elucidation of the history of the manuscript in question The author of this catalogue devotes therefore some space to a minute description of the manuscripts with all the details mentioned before He arranges these MSS in groups and what gives to this Catalogue its extreme importance and value is that the author not only reproduces in full the introductions and important passages but that he has also made a study of each of the texts with ample literary references He has also compared the MS with the printed editions and noted differences wherever they occur Further, he has referred to manuscripts found in other libraries We have thus in each case a kind of compendium of extreme interest to the student who will realize not only the real value and character of the manuscripts of the National Library in Vienna but also in what relation they stand to the other texts scattered among the various Libraries of Europe The indices of titles authors writers, and owners, have all been added and thus assist the student in every way

It is only by means of such a work that the highest Desideratum will in time be fulfilled that at last a real Bibliotheca Hebraica will be forthcoming containing not only the list of the printed editions but also a list of the manuscripts wherever they be found, and finally if possible, a list of works still extant only in manuscript

The book is beautifully printed and a word of praise must therefore be given to the well-known printing office of Drugulin in Leipzig, who have maintained their high standard No less praiseworthy is the magnificent reproduc-

tion of the nine plates by the firm of Max Jaffe of Vienna. The large size of these plates has no doubt determined the size of the book, which has become somewhat unwieldy. One cannot help regretting the almost prohibitive price of this work, but in spite of this it is a most valuable contribution to the study of Hebrew literature, and the author must be thanked for his painstaking, careful, and scholarly work

M. GASTER

THE RELIGION OF THE MANICHEES Donnellan Lectures for 1924 By F C BURKITT $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, viii + 130 pp., 3 plates Cambridge University Press, 1925 6*s* 6*d*

In recent years renewed attention has been paid to Mani and his teaching Many books have been written, all tending to illustrate the history of Manichaeism and the sources whence Mani had derived his inspiration Even the information, which has hitherto been trickling down from the writings of the Church Fathers, and those found in Arabic compilations like the Fihrist Alburuni and Sharastani, have not given a clear conception of that movement in spite of intense persecution it was able to maintain itself in one form or another for more than 1,000 years, and deeply influenced heretic movements in Europe stretching from the Balkans to the South of France such as the Bogomils, Cathars, and Albigenses

Among the recent writers who have made a special study of Manichaeism can be mentioned Kessler, O G v Wesendonk, Scheftelowitz, and to some extent Reitzenstein The discovery of fragments of genuine writings in Turphan in Persian and Turki, as well as some stray fragments in Aramaic, have thrown a new light upon this remarkable religious movement More especially the Penitential Prayer of Confession, which von le Coq published in 1911 in the pages of our Journal, greatly contributed to a better understanding.

Now, thanks to Professor Burkitt, the results derived,

notably by von le Coq and Muller, by the decipherment of those fragments have been admirably summarized and presented to the reader in such a manner that one obtains now a better insight into the fundamental principles which lay at the basis of this new syncrotistic religion And whilst one could not doubt now the influence which Pardesan, and especially Marcion, may have had upon Mani, still the question remains open how much he may have been indebted to anterior speculations, especially those found in the Mandaen system, to which it shows a very great resemblance in many of the fundamental points

Concerning the five elements which practically take the place of God, a reference might have been made to Bousset s exhaustive treatment in his "Hauptprobleme der Gnosis "

Professor Burkitt s work is a most valuable contribution towards the understanding of that ancient heresy which so deeply affected the Church and has exercised such a great influence upon the minds of the people of the West for so many centuries

A word of praise may be added for the extremely important illustrations inserted in the text

M GASTER

TANGGU MEYEN AND OTHER MANCHU READING LESSONS Romanized text and English translation side by side By M FORBES A FRASER $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, vii + 184 pp London Luzac & Co, 1924

In this work Mr Fraser has provided the student with a variety of interesting Manchu texts in the Roman character accompanied by a phrase to phrase translation in English and copious explanatory notes The "Preface" furnishes some information about the Tanggu Meyen—the Hundred Chapters—which form the first part of the work, and this is followed by an "Introduction" which treats of the Manchu alphabet and pronunciation, and this again by some "Notes

on Grammar" The text and translation are satisfactory in every respect, and there are very few errors and omissions. On the other hand, both the introduction and the notes on grammar are disappointing, a considerable portion of the former being devoted to a rather unnecessary criticism of Wade's system of transliteration of Chinese and the latter containing merely a few notes about certain verbal forms. Nowhere is anything said about vowel-harmony, which plays so important a part in the language, and the student is left to find out for himself the arrangement of words in a Manchu sentence after being informed that, like Japanese, the Manchu language is synthetic in the extreme With regard to the transliteration, Mr Fraser could well have indicated by diacritic signs or otherwise some important distinctions which one finds in the Manchu script, for instance in the writing of the syllables *ku*, *gu*, *khu*, according as they are from the vowel-harmony point of view "broad" or "narrow" The *gu* in *tanggu* (hundred) is clearly "broad" on account of the *a* in the other syllable of the word, but how about the *gu* in *guchu* (friend)? As a matter of fact it is "narrow" but there is nothing to show it beyond the actual Manchu writing as the *u* in the syllable *chu* is "common"

P E O'Brien-Butler

Chinese Art An introductory review of painting, ceramics, textiles bronzes sculpture jade, etc (Burlington Magazine Monographs) 12¼ × 10, 62 + 18 pp, 80 plates, 3 maps London B T Batsford, Ltd, 1925

This attractive volume, containing a series of essays by thoroughly competent writers and a wonderful array of illustrations, shows that it is possible to produce a satisfactory art book at the moderate price of 25s It will be no great consolation, however, to publishers in general to know that this feat can be accomplished with the help of some fifty

pages of advertisement and the resources of an important magazine, but the public will doubtless take the fullest advantage of their unusual good fortune.

The sub-title tells us that the book is an introductory review of Chinese painting, ceramics, textiles, bronzes, sculptures, etc., and the brief space allotted to the various writers limits their essays to general introductions. But it is surprising how deep an insight into a large subject can be given in eight or ten pages written by those who have really mastered it.

Mr. Roger Fry leads off with some general observations on Chinese art and its reactions on the Western mind. Like all Mr. Fry's writings they are interesting and suggestive. As he views the subject chiefly from the Western standpoint, we can forgive his strange version of Ch'ien Lung's name, but we remain unconvinced by his comparative analysis of Eastern and Western sculpture. Giotto may have thought of his reliefs in terms of cubes but we doubt if the Chinese sculptor of the beautiful Buddhistic figures selected for illustration was conscious of the influence of ovals or cylinders or any such dimensional units. Dr. Siren's deeper study teaches us that his forms were dictated rather by certain well-defined conventions which had matured in India. We wonder too, if the old Chinese artists had an equivalent for the sadly overworked word "rhythm", and if its attainment was really one of their chief pre-occupations.

Chinese painting is succinctly dealt with by Mr. Binyon in seven delightful pages in which he discusses the styles of the grand periods. Less than a page suffices for the Yuan and later dynasties, though we gather that almost all our "old masters" are copies or studies made during this time. Nevertheless, Mr. Binyon has managed to collect a peculiarly attractive set of illustrations, including several pre-Yuan pictures chiefly from the Stein collection.

Mr. Rackham's rapid survey of Chinese ceramics could hardly be bettered. He has packed a vast amount of informa-

tion into a short essay which is none the less pleasantly fresh and readable Mr Perceval Yetts contributes a really admirable introduction to the study of ancient bronzes. It is by far the best and most scholarly exposition of the subject which has yet appeared in our language, and it is rounded off with a comprehensive bibliography Chinese sculpture, as we know it to-day is an obscure subject, though not very extensive Dr Oswald Siren has managed to cover the ground fairly completely and to give us, what we sadly needed an idea of the evolution of the art in its successive stages He has the advantage of first-hand acquaintance with his material and his plates include many important objects which are illustrated for the first time Mr Kendrick is the least troubled by want of space In his sketch on textiles he is able to chat pleasantly about the trade relations of China and the West the ornamental details of his illustrations and other quite relevant matters from which his colleagues are for the most part debarred by the mass of material to be handled Mr Winkworth on the other hand, has the impossible task of dealing with jades enamels and lacquer in four pages His ' macedoine of minor arts ' is chiefly compounded of old jades on which he makes some useful observations

Speaking generally the standard throughout the text is very high as was only to be expected from such a syndicate of talent, and the illustrations chosen with conspicuous taste and discernment are satisfactorily rendered The latter include eleven colour plates, most of which are very well executed The tables of dates, maps, and lists of symbols and marks form a valuable appendix though the marks are uncomfortably small and in many cases far from clear. Finally, the editor is to be congratulated on having had such an accomplished sinologue as Mr Yetts to exercise a general supervision of the publication.

R. L. H.

The Later Ceramic Wares of China Being the blue and white, *famille verte*, *famille rose*, monochromes, etc of the K'ang Hsi, Yung Chêng Ch'ien Lung and other periods of the Ch'ing Dynasty By R L Hobson, Keeper of the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography, British Museum 11½ × 9 xxiv + 155 pp 76 plates London Ernest Benn, 1925

"The *Later Ceramic Wares of China* is the natural sequel to the *Wares of the Ming Dynasty* and it carries the story of Chinese pottery and porcelain down to our own times, completing the trilogy which started with the *Early Ceramic Wares of China*' These are the opening words of Mr. Hobson's succinct preface to his beautiful volume He further very truly states "In setting out such information as the collector will require on the Manchu porcelain we are covering familiar ground There is little scope here for original research and we can only aim at bringing the subject-matter up to date and making certain necessary emendations" The reader must therefore not expect new and startling information on the subject of Chinese porcelain but must be very grateful to Mr Hobson for compiling such a complete and scholarly record—a record too which is illustrated by unusually beautiful plates No fewer than twenty-six are in colour and seem to glow with the exquisite tints of the porcelains themselves By far the greater number of objects shown are in private collections and therefore inaccessible to the general public—except by means of these illustrations

The opening chapter deals with the subject from an historical and general point of view, detailed studies of the different periods and classes follow and then Mr Hobson touches on the *European influences on Chinese Porcelain*, *Chinese Ceramic Shapes*, *Pottery of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, the *Designs on Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* and the all-important *Marks*

The volume is dedicated to Mr Leonard Gow, to whom the author expresses himself as especially indebted for invaluable help

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES ŒUVRES DE HENRI CORDIER, Membre de l'Institut Publiée à l'occasion du 75e anniversaire de sa naissance 7½ 5½, viii + 151 pp, 1 plate Paris · Paul Geuthner, 1924

It seems almost incredible that Professor Cordier should have had time even in seventy-five years merely to copy out the books, pamphlets articles, and letters whose titles here fill 129 closely packed pages And the wonder grows as one turns over the leaves and notices the wide range of subjects, and realizes the vast amount of study and research which he behind the simple titles For besides learned magazine articles, here are books of 500 pages books of four or five volumes, and above all the great *Bibliotheca Sinica*, which by itself is enough for any ordinary life's work It is no doubt as a bibliographer that Professor Cordier is supreme and he has done no small service to students by adding a bibliography of his own work.

MISSION PELLIOT EN ASIE CENTRALE 1 Les Grottes de Touen-houang Tome VIe, grottes 146 à 182 et divers [Plates 321 76] 13 × 10, 56 plates Paris Paul Geuthner, 1924

Each succeeding album of these extraordinarily interesting and well-produced plates makes us more impatient than before to see the following volumes of descriptive letterpress and also, we may hope, brings the appearance of those volumes definitely more near

A C MOULE.

Reviews on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier

THE WORD OF LALLA THE PROPHETESS Done into English Verse from the Lalla-Vakyani or Lal-Wakhi and annotated by SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE 9 × 5¾ xiii + 292 pp Cambridge University Press 1924

The *Lallā-Vākyāni* edited some years ago by Sir George Grierson and Dr Barnett, form an important contribution to the knowledge of the Kashmirī language as well as to that of the peculiar form of Śaivism which developed there a long time ago This Śaivite system during the fourteenth century had a most enthusiastic adherent in Lallā popularly known as Lal Ded, a *yogini* who roamed about in the scantiest of dress, dancing and singing in rapturous stanzas the praise of Śiva Her sayings are still looked upon in Kashmīr as being not only the words of a holy woman a prophetess but also as containing much moral value and they are very frequently quoted by the present-day Kashmīrīs

To the western mind part of these little quatrains do undoubtedly appeal as being of a lofty and inspired nature, though other ones may leave us quite cold Notwithstanding this, it was certainly a happy idea of Sir Richard Temple to try to convert the sayings of Lallā into a book of English verse conforming as far as possible to the original a task which appears to present almost insurmountable difficulties The present writer, not being an Englishman himself, in no way feels entitled to form an opinion upon these verses from a purely literary point of view but there cannot be any doubt that they render, almost perfectly, the sense of the original and to do this it has undoubtedly been necessary sometimes to enlarge the number of stanzas by converting a single quatrain of Lallā into several English verses

Sir Richard Temple has affixed to his translation a number of what may well be called separate treatises on subjects necessary for the understanding of this rather mysterious poetry In an introduction, he deals with what is known concerning the person and work of Lallā, her biographical notices being,

as is generally the case with Indian literary persons, of the scantiest nature Then follows a chapter of nearly a hundred pages, entitled "The Sources of Lallā's Religion", which is, in reality, a survey of the whole religious development from the period of the Rigveda up to quite modern times Various scholars may not see their way to agree with Sir Richard on this point or that but they will all agree upon the usefulness of possessing this outline of Indian religious movements from an authority whose lifelong connexion with India and thorough familiarity with the conditions prevailing in that country must needs give to his opinions a quite unusual weight

Then follows another quite extensive chapter dealing with the theory and doctrine of Lallā's religion which does really mean an exposition of the Trika system of Śaivism The learned author is chiefly indebted to Mr Chatterji and Dr Barnett for the materials dealt with here In the preface, Sir Richard has warned the general reader that this chapter does not form easy reading and it is, in fact, somewhat difficult It is however of undoubted value to the student of Indian religions and Śaivism in particular, to have this exposition which is couched in less technical a style than the very able one of Mr Chatterji

Altogether Sir Richard Temple's latest work forms most interesting reading and will undoubtedly attract the curiosity of the general public Many scholars will perhaps find it somewhat hard to share in his vivid enthusiasm for the entire work of Lallā but no one will be able to withhold his admiration for the vast learning displayed throughout the work and the energy with which the author has devoted himself to his very difficult task

TRADE ROUTES AND COMMERCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By M P CHARLESWORTH $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xx + 288 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1924

The history of the commercial inter-relations between the

forms one of the most difficult and at the same time one of the most intensely fascinating subjects that can offer themselves to the scientific investigator The vastness of the subject is immense, and the sources from which to draw information are so manifold that no scholar will be found who is apt to master them all single-handed A brilliant light on the immensity of these topics is shed by the startling discoveries in Central Asia perpetrated chiefly during the last twenty years by men like Stein, Grunwedel, von Le Coq and Pelliot discoveries that probably only represent the first steps on the way towards a better knowledge of the time-honoured intercourse between the East and the West

Mr Charlesworth, a young and enthusiastic classical scholar has tried, within the scope of some 300 pages to draw up a review of the trade routes by which was carried out the commerce within and without the Roman Empire when at its height—roughly during the two first centuries of our era And it may be admitted at once that the author has succeeded in accomplishing his not very easy task in a most happy way, and has presented us with a volume which does not only make pleasant reading, but at the same time strikes the reader as being thoroughly scholarly and up to date Mr Charlesworth has sought his materials, as needs must be in the first hand from classical sources, but his acquaintance with other works of reference which deal with the information to be gathered from Semitic, Indian Chinese etc literature is wholly adequate, and one will scarcely miss amongst the works quoted by the author, many that would be of first-hand importance to his subject Such are, perhaps, certain publications on Central Asia that have not attracted his attention, as the works of Dr Laufer—if only to mention that inexhaustible mine of valuable materials, the *Sino-Iranica* But even if something of that sort has been omitted, this has caused no serious damage to the work of Mr Charlesworth

The present writer must, of course, confess to his complete

inability of sifting and judging the evidence from classical sources and could only feel able to form some sort of opinion on the chapters dealing with "The Sea Route to India and Ceylon" and "The Overland Route to China and India" A somewhat closer scrutiny of these chapters seems to reveal that they are generally on a level with the other ones and reproduce, in an able and reliable way, the information of which we are at present possessed That very important work, the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, the date of which must undoubtedly be somewhere about the reign of Nero, seems to merit a renewed investigation by Sanskrit scholars, and might perhaps be brought to afford us some clues for Indian dates Admirable as is, in most ways, the work of Mr Schoff, it is scarcely quite reliable when dealing with purely Indian matters, where the author's information is apparently second-hand And probably the work of Isidore of Charax, as well as the notices collected by Maes Titianus, might afford us some materials for Oriental history if only we could read them properly, when, e g, Isidore had to proceed to Kandahār in order to meet the Chinese traders while the envoys of Maes went on to Taschkurgān, this does probably reflect some political change on the eastern outskirts of Iran of which we are not now aware

There is a curious little slip on p 65, where the author speaks of honey being exported from India, for this honey is, of course, the honey from the reed called *sacchari*" (*Periplus*, § 14) The date of the Tamil poems speaking of the ship-faring Yavanas is at least very uncertain, nor does the classical name of cinnamon ' seem to present itself as being derived from Tamil - the common name of the spice being there *karuvāppattai* though there is no reason to doubt that the names of rice and ginger and even pepper have been ultimately fetched from that language

The present writer understands this to be Mr Charlesworth's first work upon the subject He is to be warmly congratulated upon his success, and it is to be hoped that he will find leisure

to go further into researches that he has so brilliantly inaugurated He also seems to have been particularly happy in extracting, from his Greek and Latin authors, short quotations on the different countries with which he has been dealing, nobody would, at the present moment, hesitate very much in locating the "loquax et in contumelias praefectorum ingeniosa provincia", nor would, perhaps, the panegyrist of Constantine find much difficulty in repeating even now his words about the "fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia".

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE PAINTINGS, STATUES, ETC, IN THE INDIA OFFICE By WILLIAM FOSTER, C I E Fifth edition $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$ xx + 126 pp London, 1924

The first edition of this catalogue was, according to the preface, published just thirty years ago, and comprised 204 items, while in the present edition the figure stands at about three times that sum

Catalogues generally make more or less dull reading, but that scarcely applies to this one which is full of highly interesting matter and information that will prove very useful to the student of the later history of India Sir William Foster's admirable familiarity with these subjects is too well known to need any recommendation, and we must be deeply grateful to him for having undertaken the not altogether easy task of being our guide through the art treasures of the India Office

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY Editor, E O WINSTEDT, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford

Vol IV, Pt I, contains Welsh Gypsy Folk Tale No 24 by Dr John Sampson, with note by Professor W R Halliday, and German Gypsy Songs by Engelbert Wittich

T G B

OBITUARY NOTICE

M. Henri Cordier

[The following obituary notice, which appeared in *The Times* of 12th May, 1925, is reprinted here with the writer's permission.]

Although the name of Henri Cordier was almost as well known among scholars in England as in France, his death on 16th March of this year passed unnoticed here. In this country he is best known as the man who was entrusted with the important task of preparing new editions of Sir Henry Yule's two great masterpieces, "Marco Polo" and "Cathay and the Way Thither". In view of the astonishing progress made in the field of Central Asian research since the first appearance of these books, thanks to the discoveries of Stein, von le Coq, Pelliot, and others, it was no easy matter to find a competent editor. But in Henri Cordier exactly the right man was available and he carried out his task in a manner worthy both of the subject and the memory of Sir Henry Yule.

Though Cordier spent eight years in China, he never claimed to be a Chinese scholar, for his studies all lay in the direction of bringing together and analysing the vast materials for the history, religion, and culture of China and the Far East, contained in the writings of mediaeval and modern European scholars and travellers. There were no limits to his industry, and the long list of his contributions to sinology and other subjects bears witness to an almost incredible literary activity extending over a period of 55 years. A complete list of all his books, articles, and reviews, which was published on the occasion of his 75th birthday, comprises no less than 1,147 entries.

Of the many works he published the most important was his "Bibliotheca Sinica", a bibliographical dictionary of

works relating to the Chinese Empire, which began to appear in 1881. The last fasciculus, which was published in 1924, brought the number of entries up to 4,439. This great work of reference, which is indispensable to all students of the Far East, will always remain the chief monument to Cordier's memory. It is only to be regretted that at the time of his death the all-important index was incomplete.

At gatherings of Orientalists Cordier was always a prominent figure, and when he attended the Centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1923 he seemed, in spite of his age, as full as ever of intellectual vigour and enthusiasm. No man during the last half century did more than Cordier to further and encourage Chinese researches. It was he who originally inspired the great French sinologue Edouard Chavannes to take up Chinese; it was he who with Schlegel in 1890 founded the now famous journal T'oung Pao; and there can be few students of things Chinese who are not under some obligation to this great scholar, who was always ready to place the fruits of his vast learning at the disposal of all inquirers.

Henri Cordier was born in New Orleans, U.S.A., on 8th August, 1849. In 1852 he landed at Havre. After studying both in France and in England he went to China in 1869, where he remained till 1876. While there he became honorary librarian to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai. In 1881 he became lecturer on the history, geography, and legislation of the Far East in the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris. Apart from the many distinctions he gained in his own country he was made, in 1893, an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and in 1921 was elected foreign corresponding member of the British Academy.

E. D. R.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The anniversary meeting of the Society was held at the rooms on 12th May, with the Rev Professor Margoliouth in the chair After the report of the council had been read by the secretary Mr Perowne the honorary treasurer, presented the accounts Taking the items in detail he showed that there had been almost all the way round an increase in the receipts, while the expenditure for the most part showed decreases The net result was a balance on the general account of £972, which apart from £30 which should be credited to capital account was available either to expend for the purposes of the Society or for investment They believed that the corner had been turned of the post-war difficulties which confronted such societies as theirs and that they could look for a progressive if slow increase of the funds available for their work He regretted the loss of the assistant secretary, Miss Phillips, who had been compelled to leave them for family reasons, but added that they had a successor who came to them with good credentials

REPORT OF COUNCIL, 1924-5

The Society has lost by death two Honorary Members, the Right Rev Bishop Casartelli and Professor H Cordier, and the following twelve Members —

Professor Bonucci	Mr C M Macartney
The Right Hon Lord Curzon of Kedleston	Mr McDouall
	Mr J B Mudaher
The Right Hon Sir Mortimer Durand	Dr Hopkyn Rees
	Dr D B Spooner
The Rev J R Hill	The Raja of Travancore
Mr Pringle Kennedy	Mrs Bullock Workman

One hundred and one Members have resigned or otherwise ceased under the Rules to be Members of the Society.

The following nine Resident Members have been elected .—

Mr. S F Atkins
Mr J F L de Silva
Col Sir Armine B Dew
Mr H Dodwell
Miss Le Rossignol
Mr G R S Mead
Mr I Schweiger
Mr S Smith
Mr J S M Ward

The following ninety-two Non-Resident Members have been elected —

Saiyyid Md A H H Abidi, M A L T
Sheikh Abul-Fazl
Mr H U Afsar B A
Mr B L Agarwala, M A, LL B
Mr N L Ahmed, M A
Mr R Ahmed
Mr S A Ahmed
Mr S K Banerji, M A
Mr A C Basu
Mr D R Bhandarkar
Mr N K Bhartiya, B A
The Rev P O Bodding
Mr S K Bose
Mr L H Chand
Mr S C Chatterjee
Mr S K Chatterjee
Mr H Chatterjie
The Rev G Y Chitnis
Mr B S Darbari
Maulvi A R Dard, M A
Mr S S Dave
Capt C C Davies
Mr D Dayal, M D
Mr R P Dukhi
Pandit L Dutt, B A
Mr K C Dutt
Mr R Dwivedi, B A
Miss E D Edwards
Babu D K Ghosh
Mr J D Gupta
Mr L C Gupta B A LL B
Payr Capt H A Gyles
Mr A Hamid-Khan
Dr W M Hardy
Sayed A Hassan-Sahib
Mr H M H H Khan
Miss E Hull
Mr L A K Iyer
Mr B R Jain B A LL B
Mr I M L Jain B A LL B
Mr S P Jain
Professor A Jha
Dr G Kato
Babu R Kishor
Mrs Latta
Mr P Lawrence
Professor Liebich
Mr J P Macdonald
Sardar S R Mahorkar
Mr J van Manen
Mr N K Majumdar
Khan Bahadur T Malak
Mr R B L Mathur, B A, L T
Mr T P Meenach-Sundaram
Mr R J Moses
Mr H N Mukherjee
Mr M M Mukerji
Dr R Muller

Rai Sahib Pandit S Nait
Mr A Nardin-Singh
Pandit P Nath
Mr M L A Q Nizami
Mr A H M Nizamuddin
Baron M Freiherr von Oppenheim, Ph D
Mr V G Paranjpe M A, LL B, D Litt
Mr N K Pillai
Mr G W Place
Professor W Popper
Munshi A A Quraishi
Mr R A Qureshy
Mr H C Rai
Pandit J L Raina
Dr M A Ramachandran, M B, B S
Mr B L Rao
Mr H Md Raza-Khan
Mr D T Rice
Syed T H Rizwi
Mr S C Roushan, B A
The Hon Mr M Sagar
Mr S P Sagar
Mr K L Sahu
Mr B A Saletore
Mr M A Samad, M A, B L
Rev P Sbath
Mr P C Sen
H H The Raja L Sen of Suket
Mr W T Shan
Mr S R Sharma, M A
Mr N M P Tewari
Mr E H G Thomas
Dr R R Undugodage
Dr P L Varma M D

The total number of new Members now stands at 102, but the Members lost to the Society by death, resignation, and removal amount to 115 The total of the Society as a whole is 955 Last year it was 967

The number of subscribing Libraries and Booksellers is 195 against 176 last year

Finance

The Hon Treasurer s Report shows for 1924 an income of £3 385 8s 7*d* and an expenditure of £2,661 1*s*

For 1923 the income was £3,126 1s and the expenditure £2 947 3s 3*d*

All the offices on the second floor are let

The thanks of the Society are due to the Hon Solicitor (Mr A H Wilson), the Hon Auditors (Mrs Frazer and Mr L C Hopkins), and the Official Auditors (Messrs Price, Waterhouse & Co)

The following nine Resident Members have been elected —

Mr S F Atkins
Mr J F L de Silva
Col Sir Armine B Dew
Mr H Dodwell
Miss Le Rossignol
Mr G R S Mead
Mr I Schweiger
Mr S Smith
Mr J S M Ward

The following ninety-two Non-Resident Members have been elected —

Saiyyid Md A H H Abidi, M A L T
Sheikh Abul-Fazl
Mr H U Afsar, B A
Mr B L Agarwala M A, LL B
Mr N L Ahmed, M A
Mr R Ahmed
Mr S A Ahmed
Mr S K Banerji, M A
Mr A C Basu
Mr D R Bhandarkar
Mr N K Bhartiya B A
The Rev P O Bodding
Mr S K Bose
Mr L H Chand
Mr S C Chatterjee
Mr S K Chatterjee
Mr H Chatterjie
The Rev G Y Chitnis
Mr B S Darbari
Maulvi A R Dard, M A
Mr S S Dave
Capt C C Davies
Mr D Dayal, M D
Mr R P Dukhi
Pandit L Dutt, B A
Mr K C Dutt
Mr R Dwivedi, B A
Miss E D Edwards
Babu D K Ghosh
Mr J D Gupta
Mr L C Gupta, B A LL B
Payr Capt H A Gyles
Mr A Hamid-Khan
Dr W M Hardy
Sayed A Hassan Sahib
Mr H M H H Khan
Miss E Hull
Mr L A K Iyer
Mr B R Jain B A LL B
Mr L M L Jain B A LL B
Mr S P Jain
Professor A Jha
Dr G Kato
Babu R Kishor
Mrs Latta
Mr P Lawrence
Professor Liebich
Mr J P Macdonald
Sardar S R Mahorkar
Mr J van Manen
Mr N K Majumdar
Khan Bahadur T Malak
Mr R B L Mathur, B A L T
Mr T P Meenach-Sundaram
Mr R J Moses
Mr H N Mukherjee
Mr M M Mukerji
Dr R Muller

Rai Sahib Pandit S Nait
Mr A Nardin-Singh
Pandit P Nath
Mr M L A Q Nizami
Mr A H M Nizamuddin
Baron M Freiherr von Oppenheim, Ph D
Mr V G Paranjpe M A, LL B, D Litt
Mr N K Pillai
Mr G W Place
Professor W Popper
Munshi A A Quraishi
Mr R A Qureshy
Mr H C Rai
Pandit J L Raina
Dr M V Ramachandran M B B S
Mr B L Rao
Mr H Md Raza-Khan
Mr D T Rice
Syed T H Rizwi
Mr S C Roushan, B A
The Hon Mr M Sagar
Mr S P Sagar
Mr K L Sahu
Mr B A Saletore
Mr M A Samad, M A, B L.
Rev P Sbath
Mr P C Sen
H H The Raja L Sen of Suket
Mr W T Shan
Mr S R Sharma, M A
Mr N M P Tewari
Mr E H G Thomas
Dr R R Undugodage
Dr P L Varma M D

The total number of new Members now stands at 102, but the Members lost to the Society by death resignation, and removal amount to 115 The total of the Society as a whole is 935 Last year it was 967

The number of subscribing Libraries and Booksellers is 195 against 176 last year

Finance

The Hon Treasurer's Report shows for 1924 an income of £3,385 8s 7d and an expenditure of £2,661 1s

For 1923 the income was £3,126 1s and the expenditure £2,947 3s 3d

All the offices on the second floor are let

The thanks of the Society are due to the Hon Solicitor (Mr A H Wilson), the Hon Auditors (Mrs Frazer and Mr L C Hopkins), and the Official Auditors (Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co).

Presentations to the Society

The following Members have presented copies of their works —Professor Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Dr M Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, Sir G A Grierson *The Prakrit Dhatr Adesas* and a *Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*, Sir Wolseley Haig, *The History of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar* Dr Takakusu, a revised edition of the *Chinese Tripitaka*, Sir Lucas King, his translation of *Saidi's Badāyi*, and Mr S D Lal *The Glories of Rajasthan* Books journals and pamphlets have been given by Mr H G Cholmeley, Miss Elliot, Mr A G Ellis, Mr W R Gourlay The Persia Society, Miss Sylvester Samuel the Vajirañāṇa Library, Bangkok, Sir A T Wilson the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Professor S D Oldenburg

Mr Beveridge has paid for the binding of various volumes and Khan Bahadur Mirza Muhammad has presented a Persian MS entitled *Majma 'ul Furs* and Sir A T Wilson two Arabic MSS entitled *Fikh al-Lughah* and *Sharh al-Mujiz*

Lectures

The following lectures have been delivered many of them being illustrated with slides

"Some Religious and Social Customs in Modern Egypt with special reference to Survivals from Ancient Times" by Miss W Blackman

"The Origins of Arabic Poetry" by Professor D S Margoliouth

"Indian Tales in Jewish Literature" by Dr M Gaster

"The Growth of Indian Village Communities," by Dr L D Barnett

"Kish, its Topography and recently recovered Antiquities," by Professor S Langdon

"Memorial Temples in China," by Mrs Ayscough

"The Treasure Tombs of Luxor," by Dr A M Blackman

"Some New Lights on the Marathas and their Origin," by Mr R. E Enthoven

Books Published by the Society

The Oriental Translation Fund has re-issued *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, by Mr T Watters, and the Prize Publications Fund, in conjunction with the Government of India, has published a *Grammar of the Shina (Sinā) Language*, by Dr T Grahame Bailey

The Journal

It is a matter of satisfaction to the Council that there has been a great increase in the sale of the Journal during the past year

Centenary Supplement

The Society has issued a volume of 291 pages containing 24 papers selected from among those communicated at the Centenary Meeting in July, 1923 It is illustrated with 19 plates and the papers are arranged under the following sections — (1) Far Eastern (2) Semitic, Sumerian, Hittite, and Egyptian (3) Indian (4) Islamic

This volume was issued as a supplement to the Journal and was presented to every member of the Society and to all the delegates who were present at the celebrations

Special General Meeting

A Special General Meeting was called on 9th December, 1924 to admit the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as an Associate Society under Rule 103

The Triennial Gold Medal

The Council unanimously decided that the Medal should be presented to the Rev A H Sayce on account of his long and eminent services to learning

Other Matters

During the past year Lord Chalmers was elected Master of Peterhouse and a Trustee of the British Museum, Sir William Foster was knighted at the Birthday Honours, and Dr F W Thomas has been made a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences The Campbell

Memorial Gold Medal was presented to Sir George Grierson at the general meeting of 10th June, by the President, on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Recommendations of Council

The President, Lord Chalmers having retired under Rule 29, and Sir George Grierson having resigned his seat on the Council owing to reasons of health the Council unanimously recommend their election as Honorary Vice-Presidents Under Rules 26 and 29 the Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Maclagan as President of the Society

Under Rules 30 and 32 Dr M Gaster and Professor A A Macdonell retire from the office of Vice-President and the Rev T Grahame Bailey Dr L Giles Professor S H Langdon, Mr F E Pargiter, Sir E Denison Ross and Mr W Perceval Yetts from the Council

The Council recommend that Mr L C Hopkins and Professor S H Langdon be elected Vice-Presidents and that Mr C O Blagden Captain G L M Clauson Mr A S Fulton, Dr M Gaster, Sir J H Stewart Lockhart Professor A A Macdonell Professor R L Turner and Mr C Winckworth be elected ordinary members of Council Under Rule 31 Dr F W Thomas Mr E S M Perowne and Mr E G Ellis retire from the offices of Hon Secretary, Hon Treasurer, and Hon Librarian respectively The Council have pleasure in recommending their re-election

The Council recommend Mrs Frazer and Captain G L M Clauson as Hon Auditors and Messrs Price, Waterhouse & Co as auditors for the ensuing year

Dr Pinches, moving the adoption of the report, said there were many societies which would regard them as being in an enviable position, especially in view of the statement which they had heard from Mr Perowne The number of additional members elected year by year would be sufficient if only they could persuade those who desired to retire to refrain from doing so They regretted that Lord Chalmers was retiring

from the position of president They would miss his genial presence, but hoped that at some time in the future he would resume his position as head of the Society (Cheers.) Dr Pinches expressed his satisfaction that the greatest living Assyriologist was to be honoured that afternoon by the presentation of the gold medal He regarded Dr Sayce as one of the most lovable men he had ever met, and they all rejoiced at the high level of success at which his life of study and research had been lived The Society was to be congratulated on the excellence of the officers by which it was served and which was an important element in the degree of prosperity it had reached

Mr C E A W Oldham seconded the report

Dr Margoliouth expressed his regret at the absence of both the outgoing and the incoming presidents and that on this account it fell to his lot to take the chair as senior vice-president They were aware that by a rule which was adopted before Lord Chalmers accepted the office, a time limit of three years had been set, and consequently they were called upon to elect a new president Had they known at the time that they were to have the services of Lord Chalmers, they might not have adopted that rule for these services had been so conspicuous that they would gladly have had him continue in the presidency When he accepted the position the Society was contemplating arrangements for celebrating its centenary, the success of which was due far more than to any other cause to the interest taken by Lord Chalmers in the arrangements, to his energy to the wisdom of his suggestions, and it might be added to his munificence (Cheers) Lord Chalmers had laid the Society under a lasting debt of gratitude, and the council recommended his election to be an honorary vice-president in recognition of his conspicuous services They also made a similar recommendation with regard to Sir George Grierson, who, to the great regret of the council, announced that his health prevented him attending any more council meetings His name, owing to his long and prominent

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
Resident Members .	314	5	0			
Non Resident Members	943	12	4			
10 Non Resident Compounders	68	2	0			
2 Resident Compounders	88	4	0			
1 Student's Subscription		10	6			
				1,414	13	10
Rents Received				645	0	0
Grants—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
" Hong Kong	25	0	0			
" Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
" Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
				400	0	0
Sundry Donations . .				24	3	0
Journal Account—						
Subscriptions . .	428	4	0			
Additional Copies sold	333	15	4			
Pamphlets sold .	10	11	9			
				772	11	1
Dividends				38	17	6
Interest on Deposit Account	12	8	9			
" Post Office Savings Bank Account	2	17	11			
				15	6	8
Centenary Volume Sales				16	14	4
Commission on Sale of Books				20	10	6
Income Tax Recovered .				3	18	8
Sale of Drinking Cup				100	0	0
Centennial Entertainment Fund				20	17	0
Sundry Receipts				6	15	6
Balance in Hand 31st December, 1923				458	5	7
				£3,943	12	2

Funds

£454 16*s* 9*d* 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929 47
£125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series)
£350 Funding 4 per cent Stock 1960–90

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1924

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent, Income Tax, House Duty, and Land Tax	531	12	5			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	50	3	6			
Gas and Electric Light, do	56	2	5			
Coals and Coke, do	25	9	2			
Telephone	11	7	9			
Cleaning	5	13	0			
Insurance	33	9	5			
Repairs	84	5	6			
Sundries	20	16	2			
				818	19	4
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				20	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				783	4	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				38	17	10
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	775	10	9			
Postage	68	4	4			
				843	15	1
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE	69	14	2			
Less—Receipts for Books Sold	62	18	6			
				6	15	8
AUDITORS' FEES				5	15	0
ENTENTE AND CENTENARY HOSPITALITY FUND				28	5	8
POSTAGES				45	0	4
SUNDRY PAYMENTS—						
Teas	16	1	9			
Parcels and fares	1	13	1			
Lantern Operator	12	12	0			
Cheque Book	1	0	0			
Sundries	6	0	3			
				37	7	1
BUTTON MEMORIAL FUND				32	10	0
INVESTMENT £350 4% FUNDING LOAN				309	18	6
BALANCES IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1924—						
Lloyds Bank, Current Account £217 8s. 4d.						
Deposit Account £650 0s. 0d.						
	867	8	4			
Post Office Savings Bank	105	4	4			
				972	12	8
				£3,943	12	2

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

April 2, 1925

L C HOPKINS,
For the Council.

C FRAZER
For the Society.

N E WATERHOUSE,
Professional Auditor.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts

1924		£ s d	£ s d
Jan 1	Balance . . .		398 2 10
	Sales . . .	131 16 2	
	Interest on Deposit	7 0 3	
			138 16 5
			£536 19 3

Payments

1924		£ s d	£ s d
	Binding Vol XI, 50 Copies .	4 7 6	
	" " XX " .	4 1 9	
	" " XXIII " .	4 12 10	
			13 2 1
	10 per cent to General Account on Sales, 1923		11 12 6
	Storage and Insurance of Quire Stock .		2 10 9
	Transfer to Monograph Fund		2 19 10
Dec 31	Balance carried to Summary		506 14 7
			£536 19 3

Monograph Fund

Receipts

		£ s d	£ s d
Jan. 1.	Balance		41 8 4
	Sales	42 1 1	
	Transferred from Oriental Translation Fund	2 19 10	
			45 1 2
			£86 9 6

Payments

	£ s d
Printing and Binding Vol XIX .	84 0 6
10 per cent to General Account on Sales, 1923	2 9 0
	£86 9 6

Summary of Special Fund Balances

	£ s d
Oriental Translation Fund	506 14 7
	£506 14 7

	£ s d	£ s d
Cash at Bankers—		
On Current Account	156 14 7	
" Deposit Account .	350 0 0	
		506 14 7
		£506 14 7

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Jan 1	Balance		43 19 0	Dec 31	Balance— Represented by £64 6s 8d 5 per cent War Loan, 1929 47	64 9 6
	Transferred from General Fund		20 10 6		Cash at Bank	3 4 4
	Dividends Received and Re-invested		3 4 4			
			£67 13 10			£67 13 10

Entente and Centenary Hospitality Fund

Jan 1	Balance		99 9 6	Dec 31	Balance at Bankers on Deposit . . .	130 2 9
	Transfer from General Fund		28 5 8			
	Interest on Deposit		2 7 7			
			£130 2 9			£130 2 9

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance .		129 15 0		10 per cent on Sales, 1923, to General Account	4 19 0
	Sales . .	68 18 11		1924	Grant towards Publication of Vol VIII . .	75 0 0
	Dividends . .	18 0 0	86 18 11	Dec 31	Balance Carried to Summary	136 14 11
			£216 13 11			£216 13 11

Gold Medal Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance		52 8 4	Dec 31.	Balance Carried to Summary .	62 3 4
	Dividends		9 15 0			
			£62 3 4			£62 3 4

PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL

		£ s d				£ s d
Jan. 1	BALANCE	12 11 6			REPORTING MEETING, 1923	1 15 0
	DIVIDENDS	20 15 4			TEA, PRINTING AND POSTAGES	4 7 6
					PRIZE BOOKS	5 0 0
				Dec 31	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	22 4 4
		£33 6 10				£33 6 10

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	136 14 11	CASH AT BANKERS—	
GOLD MEDAL FUND	62 3 4	On Current Account	221 2 7
PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL	22 4 4		
	£221 2 7		£221 2 7

TRUST FUNDS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund)

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Medal Fund)

£645 11*s* 2*d* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools Gold Medal)

£40 Conversion 3½ per cent (Public Schools Gold Medal)

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock Investments and Bank Balances

L C HOPKINS, for the Council
C FRAZER, for the Society
N E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

April 2 1925

[illegible] MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts

1924		£ s d	£ s d
Jan 1	Cash Transferred from General Account		32 10 0
	Dividends		1 2 0
			£33 12 0

Funds

£49 0s 10d 3% Local Loans Stock

Payments

	£ s d	£ s d
Cost of Medal		32 10 0
Balance at Bank on Current Account		1 2 0
		£33 12 0

JAMES G B FORLONG FUND

Receipts	£ s d	£ s d
Balance at 1st January, 1924—Cash at Bank on Current Account		204 13 7
New South Wales 4 per cent	31 3 6	
South Australian Government 4 per cent	31 9 10	
Bengal Nagpur Railway .	31 6 2	
3½ per cent India Stock	31 0 0	
East India Railway Co .	34 12 3	
5 per cent War Loan 1929–47	12 13 10	
3½ per cent Conversion Loan	18 19 10	
		191 5 5
Income Tax Recovered .		49 1 0
Sale of Books . . .		12 1 1
		£457 1 1

Payments	£ s d	£ s d
Lectures		68 5 0
Grants for Research—School of Oriental Studies .		98 14 0
Bursaries		10 10 0
10% on 1923 Sales to General Fund		1 10 6
Proportion of Fee for Recovery of Income Tax		4 15 0
Cash at Bankers—Current Account, 31st December, 1924 .		273 6 7
		£457 1 1

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock
£1,015 16s 3d South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".

£1,005 14s 7d New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62.
£1,143 6s 3d India 3½ per cent Stock
£253 18s 4d War Loan, 5 per cent, 1929–47.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and we certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

L C HOPKINS, for the Council.
C FRAZER, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

2 2, 1925

record of achievement, was very precious to the Society, and every part of its operations profited by his interest and energy They would not, therefore, abandon the hope that he might, in spite of his present retirement, still resume his activity on the council (Cheers)

Sir Edward Maclagan, who had been nominated to fill the place vacated by Lord Chalmers, was well known as an administrator He was Lieut -Governor and then Governor of the Punjab, and previous to that held the position of Secretary to the Government of India in the Education Department He was a scholar as well as an administrator It was a great pleasure to him (the speaker) to nominate Sir Edward, as he had had the honour of his acquaintance ever since he was a scholar at Winchester It could be said that from a schoolboy he had won the respect the confidence, and the affection of those with whom he had had to deal (Cheers) They were confident that the affairs of the Society would prosper under his direction

The lists of both honorary and ordinary members had sustained serious losses by death There were two names in the latter which could not be passed over in silence Their ears were still ringing with the eloquent tributes paid in Parliament and elsewhere to the qualities and achievements of Lord Curzon of Kedleston as Minister of the Crown statesman and administrator His published writings and in particular his monumental and exhaustive work on Persia justified them in reckoning him among Orientalists His Viceroyalty of India, notable for many achievements, was memorable for the care which he bestowed on the archæological remains and monuments of the Peninsula In this connexion Dr. Margoliouth quoted the words of the late Mr. Vincent Smith, than whom he said none was better qualified to appraise that side of Lord Curzon's life A notice of the military, diplomatic, and literary achievements of Sir Mortimer Durand from the pen of Sir Percy Sykes appeared in the *Journal* last year For ten years from 1911 Sir Mortimer

served the Society as director The obligations under which he laid the Society, to whose journal he was a contributor, would not be easily forgotten by his colleagues There was one other name which he would wish to add to those whose loss they deplored, though he was not a member of the Society In Charles Fox Burney the country had lost one of its foremost Hebraists and Semitic scholars, an enthusiastic archæologist, and a mind of rare originality

Reference to the list of new members in the report showed that of 88 some 15 were in Europe and the rest were resident in Asia They welcomed the co-operation of their fellow students in India and elsewhere in the East, but those who lived in remote countries were unable to attend their meetings, take part in their debates, or join their committees, and they could wish not that the number of those who joined from India were less, but that the number of accessions from England were more The Great War had not diminished, but had vastly increased the interest of this country in Asia, the politics of Palestine, Transjordania, Mesopotamia, and the Arabian peninsula occupied much space in the newspapers, and there was far more familiarity with the places and personages of those regions than there had ever been before The Society had no place for political and religious partisanship but for those who desired to form opinions on those subjects it provided a historical basis hence there was reason for hoping that the consequences of the War would bring them a large accession of membership from persons in this country It was also hoped that the interest which the Press displayed in their centenary of 1923 would help in the same direction Neither of those hopes had as yet been adequately realized He felt there must be a considerable public whom they could attract if they knew the way, and some members of the council were devoting thought to this matter and hoped to suggest some expedients He expressed the thanks of the Society to Miss Sykes for her service during the past year, and made particular reference to the work

devolving upon her in connexion with the centenary supplement

The report was carried, and on the motion of Mr Grant Brown, seconded by Major Gilbertson the recommendations of the council for the election of officers were accepted

PRESENTATION OF THE TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL

After a brief adjournment Professor Margoliouth again took the chair, and said they now met for the purpose of doing honour to Dr Sayce The triennial gold medal of which he was to be the recipient was instituted in 1897 in connexion with Queen Victoria s Diamond Jubilee, and this was the tenth occasion of its being presented They were particularly grateful to Lord Birkenhead that he had so kindly followed the precedent set by two former Secretaries of State for India, Lord Morley and Mr Austen Chamberlain, in consenting to present the medal He did so at short notice , and in view of the many important claims upon his time and thought, it might be assumed that as an Oxford man he had the feeling of which Pindar wrote when he said that the business of Alma Mater should be preferred even to the most serious engagements

Dr A E Cowley outlined the long and varied activity of Professor Sayce, and mentioned that his first article appeared in 1870, when cuneiform research was only in its beginnings He brought to the work a wonderful linguistic insight and a sure intuition of what was or was not possible to the Oriental mind Cuneiform studies had always remained his chief interest, and to-day he was as eager to deal with the latest discovery and as capable of solving its difficulties as at any time in the last fifty-five years But they had been by no means his only interest Largely owing to his labours the Babylonian and Sumerian languages were now well known , and he had been in the forefront of the battle with all the other languages which used the cuneiform system of

writing—Elamite, Mitanni, Vannic, and Hittite His decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions (published in the *JRAS*) was one of his most remarkable achievements, and now forty-three years later he was preparing a new edition of the texts in the light of recent discoveries Only this winter, too while travelling in Morocco, he had been compiling a dictionary of cuneiform Hittite, and no sooner was he back in Oxford than he set to work on some newly found Hittite hieroglyphic texts With this most baffling problem his name must always be associated, for he was the first to show its importance and the first to make a real contribution to its solution Being from the first a fine classical scholar, he had specially interested himself in the influence of Asia Minor on the West To the study of Carian graffiti, of Phrygian epitaphs, of Lydian texts from Sardis, he had made valuable contributions from the stores of his wide learning, bringing together things new and old, not often found at the command of one mind Moreover his aim had always been to make his results accessible to intelligent persons who were not specialists to show their bearing on other branches of learning and on the progress of humanity generally The aim of the R A S had always been to interpret the East to the West In this no man had achieved more than Sayce, and the Society rightly delighted to honour him, as many other learned societies had done already By his generous encouragement to younger men and his ever ready help to lesser scholars he had gained for himself a living memorial in the hearts of men—their deep and sincere affection

Lord Birkenhead, who was warmly received, said he addressed himself to the task which lay before him with a very complete realization of his own intellectual inadequacy for the purpose He confessed he was acquainted only with the elements of the Vannic grammar, and that he would be very unwilling to give a considered judgment on a matter of Hittite hieroglyphics (Laughter) He could only say with one in Virgil ***non equidem invideo miror magis*, and as**

he traced the extraordinarily varied career of the eminent scholar whom they were honouring, he could discover only one point with which his mind had marched side by side with that of Dr Sayce He had the advantage and the education many years ago of reading a work from his pen upon Herodotus Having given a fugitive hour to a classic subject which might well engage the life of most men to acquire, Dr Sayce passed on restlessly and insatiably to great new linguistic studies of high intellectual consequence He was not there to-day, of course—it would be absurd if he pretended it—to attempt any valuation of the extraordinary exertions and achievements of him whom they were honouring He must go to experts like their chairman and like Dr Cowley for any due sense of the depth and variety of the intellectual exertions of Professor Sayce What he did know was that he and other scholars like him rendered services to this country which were hardly ever adequately measured and never adequately rewarded by their contemporaries

He would describe to them, with the responsibilities that he had to bear, what he conceived to be the real value of those services at which Dr Cowley hinted though he had not fully developed the idea It was once said by a famous writer "East is East and West is West A great truth underlay this distich, though not the complete truth, because access to the mind and the discoveries and the sophistications of the West was certainly not denied to the East Their comprehension in almost all the main fields of learning was open to the cleverest and most enterprising minds of the East After all, Macaulay was largely responsible for that result, be it good or bad – a point too complicated for him to argue that day But the reading by the West of the incalculable minds of the East was an infinitely more difficult task It had been given to a few gifted Englishmen more than to any others in their day and generation to understand closely and with sympathy the mentality of the East Some, like Sir Richard Burton, had achieved that learning along the path

of adventure Others, like Dr Sayce, had achieved it no doubt by adventure also, but mainly by an extraordinary gift for acquiring a mastery of Eastern languages and dialects, by an incredible degree of industry, and still more by a natural sympathy with the peoples, languages, and histories of ancient, long-dead civilizations To this comprehension they had devoted laborious years Statesmen came and went, Secretaries of State for India came and went, while scholars of the character and quality of Professor Sayce remained. The work which he and men like him did could not be contributed by any statesman or by any Secretary of State, for it depended in the first place upon an intellectual quality which was only given to one man in a generation Moreover, this quality had to be allied to aptitude for the particular tasks undertaken, to sustained and enormous industry and to physical health All these rendered Professor Sayce a most admirably equipped intellectual instrument for the tasks which he had discharged and which other men could not perform even if they were granted twice the life their venerable guest had enjoyed It was to him a source of great pleasure, as himself an old Oxford man, to have the privilege of expressing to Professor Sayce the appreciation of them all of his great services and to present to him a small material emblem of their gratitude, representing as it did the highest honour which it was in the power of the Society to bestow. The principal object of the Society was to establish warm and sympathetic understanding between the nations of the East and the nations of the West, and in asking Professor Sayce to accept the gold medal he assured him of their goodwill and their admiration of the great work he had done in the promotion of this aim He stood before them in unimpaired mental vigour and they were warranted in the hope that it might be possible for him to enrich still further by his researches the field of human knowledge (Loud cheers)

Professor Sayce, in reply, said he found it very difficult to find words in which to express his thanks and also his

profound appreciation of the honour which had been conferred upon him by the Society In fact, in the language of the Bengali Babu, he felt himself covered with blushes from head to foot (Laughter) In the evening of life it was, as they might imagine, with grateful feelings and at the same time with humility that he received these too flattering appreciations of the small services he had done by contributions to scientific study and research in certain fields He felt that the number of papers articles, and books with which he had flooded the world had been overmuch but what they had been kind enough to say that day made him believe there had been amongst them certain contributions of value to the study of Oriental subjects (Cheers) He felt he was born at a lucky time, just when excavations were at last being begun in Oriental lands, and when above all scientific archæology was beginning to take the place of the old crude methods One of the earliest books of his boyhood he remembered was the travels explorations and discoveries of Layard, which was to him most fascinating and he dared say had a good deal to do with the shaping of his future studies and sympathies It was in 1847 that the memoir by Rawlinson was published in the *Journal* of the Society which laid the foundation of all future cuneiform research and it was in the following year, 1848, that also in the *Journal* Hincks published a paper in which for the first time the study of cuneiform script and language was extended beyond the range of the Vannic texts to Persian inscriptions It was his privilege to come into contact either by correspondence or personally with all the leading figures of what was the heroic age of Assyriology In this connexion Dr Sayce mentioned his relations with Edwin Norris, Rawlinson, Fox Talbot, Oppert, George Smith, Delitzsch, and other early workers in Assyriology. He mentioned that one morning when he was in his room at Oxford, then a young tutor, there was a knock at the door and in came a young German who said "Can you tell me where Mr Sayce lives?" He answered

"I am he" The reply was, "I want the Mr Sayce who has written an Assyrian grammar" "Well, I am that gentleman" The visitor introduced himself as the son of Delitzsch, and said that he had come to present him with the first publication of his father on the animal names of the Assyrians. He afterwards said that he could not believe when he went into the room that he was before the person whom he was seeking, for he had always supposed that he would find him a venerable old gentleman with a long white beard (Laughter)

He recalled these experiences to show that his recollections went back to the period when cuneiform studies were still in their infancy, and when the heroic age of cuneology, if he might coin such an expression, had not yet come to an end Since then it had extended its domain and was still extending it and threatened to bring a large proportion of the ancient world within its range It was throwing light upon various problems surrounding the culture of earlier civilizations both in the East and West Some of the discoveries now being made were of a revolutionary character and were tending to change entirely our conception based on many of the assumptions and beliefs which had been held with regard to the origin of civilizations Among these later discoveries was one which was to him of especial interest as bringing India into contact with the cuneiform world In the North-west of India, first at Harappa in the South of the Punjab, and then at Mohanjo-Daro some 400 miles away in Sind, Indian excavators working under the directions of Sir John Marshall, had laid bare two cities which displayed evidences of a very considerable culture going back to a period long before the establishment of Buddhism In those cities had been found amongst other things certain engraved and inscribed seals bearing inscriptions in a hitherto unknown pictographic script, and notably animals, especially the ox. These inscribed seals were practically identical with the proto-Elamite tablets discovered by De Morgan at Susa.

The graphs were in many cases the same, indicating that the same language must have been spoken in Elam in the West and in North-west India They were coming to date the approximate time of the Susan placques as belonging to what was known as the three dynasty period viz about 2300 B C and it would seem that at that period there was close intercourse between North-west India and Elam This was an extraordinary result of exploration and brought India within the domain of our cuneiform studies in the most unexpected way In the Far East in China, there had been some related discoveries which were now under close investigation, and it would seem that even in the Neolithic period there was intercourse not only between the Near East and the Middle East, but also between them and the Far East All these new vast openings for research were before them and the coming generation of Orientalists were in a position to follow up the fascinating fields of investigation which these discoveries had opened He wished once more to express his profound thanks for the honour done him and for the kind words said regarding his work (Loud cheers)

Sir George Lloyd said he had been asked to voice their sentiments of profound gratitude to Lord Birkenhead for finding time to go there that day There could be no doubt that they were very fortunate in that country in having captured for the benefit of India so great an intellect and so vast an experience as that which Lord Birkenhead possessed They rejoiced to see him being gradually drawn out from the arid area of legal affairs into the area which interested them all so profoundly and which covered the whole of the East He thought they had not laid sufficient stress upon one of the effects which they hoped Professor Sayce s work might have He hoped that in the study of his work there might be found for young men at our universities a wider inspiration to take part in the romance of Eastern archæology and the art of the East to a wider extent than had been the case in the recent past. He would like to see more young men fired

with the ambition to find in the East scope for careers of enterprise and endeavour

Lord Birkenhead said in reply that there was no occasion for passing him a vote of thanks He went there with great pleasure to offer the homage of middle age to the work of a ripe and venerable scholar If it would be any comfort to Professor Sayce he could assure him that his little daughter (the Hon Pamela Smith) informed him that she had learned many things from the speech with which the learned professor had delighted them (Laughter)

The Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, the all-India Society of Orthodox Hindus, has conferred upon our Hon Secretary, Dr F W Thomas, the title of *Vidyā-vāndha*

Lecture

In April Mr R E Enthoven read a paper entitled ' Some New Light on Marathas and their Origin He commenced by giving reasons for distrusting Risley's theory of the Scythic origin of the Marathas After summarizing the historical evidence bearing on the early history of Marathas, attention was next drawn to the value of social customs in tracing the origin of the Deccan occupational castes The recently identified *devaks* or marriage guardians, numbering over 130 were described in some detail As an undoubtedly pre-Aryan system of marriage restriction, the *devaks* of the Deccan could be accepted as indicating the Dravidian origin of the Marathas in common with certain occupational castes closely allied to them After discussing certain recent investigations into the connexion between the Reddis of Madras, the Rattas of the Deccan, and the Marathas of the Deogiri period, the lecturer closed by summarizing the directions in which further inquiries would assist in establishing the origin of the Maratha tribes and castes.

Gifts

Mr W Perceval Yetts has presented his book *Chinese Bronzes* and also several parts of the *China Review*, the twenty-five volumes of which are now complete

Asiatic Society of Bengal —A large number of parts of *Bibliotheca Indica* to complete sets in the library

The following eleven members were elected in June

Professor Ram Chandra B A	Mr M L Sasan, F C I
Rev Dr A B Das	Pandit B N Sharma, M A
Professor M K Mudaliyar, B A	Pandit P L Sharma
Mr A M Mukherjee, B A	Mr B N Tondon
Mr A C Mukherjee, B A	Mr H M Wise
Mr H B Nanda	

The *Mokattam* of 19th May announces that the Literary Section of the Cairene Library is contemplating a new edition of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* with some vocalization and interpretation of difficult phrases The cost which is estimated at £E4,000, is to be defrayed by Alī Bey Rātib son of the late Rātib Pasha The original edition in twenty parts bears date 1285 (began April 24th, 1868) a twenty-first part was collected from MSS by R Brunnow and published by Brill 1305 (began 19th September 1887) the Indices to the whole, edited by Guidi, bear date 1900 A new edition of the whole appeared in 1323 (began 8th March 1905) corrected by the Sheikh Ahmad Shanqītī who however, left a great number of misprints, the improvement noticeable in this edition is inconsiderable A correspondent of the *Mokattam* of 21st May mentions a number of emendations made by Muhammad Mahmūd Shanqītī and Ahmad Pasha Zakī, collected into a volume by Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawād Asma'ī, which he hopes will be utilized by the new editors, collation of the anecdotes and verses with other printed works would furnish a great number of variants, which would add seriously to the bulk of the work The beautiful typography and scholarly

accuracy which are characteristic of the productions of the Cairene Library will undoubtedly render this third edition a great improvement on its predecessors The munificence of 'Alī Bey Rātib is justly eulogized in the newspaper

The Burton Memorial Lecture

The first Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered by the Arabian explorer Mr H St John Philby, C I E, at a meeting of the Society held at the hall of the Royal United Service Institution on 16th June, when there was a large attendance

The president, Sir Edward Maclagan, said that it was his privilege before calling on Mr Philby to address them, to present to him the first medal which had been awarded under the terms of the Burton Memorial Fund The Fund was started with the help of a committee which included a number of influential and distinguished persons The patron was the Duke of Connaught, the chairman Sir Richard Temple, and the deputy chairman Sir Percy Sykes The committee were greatly indebted in particular to the honorary secretaries, Dr Grenfell Baker a personal friend of Burton's and Mr N M Penzer and to the honorary treasurers Sir Frederick Kenyon and Mr R Campbell Thompson The restless and inquiring spirit of Sir Richard Burton led him to travel in many countries, but it was more especially in connexion with the Middle East and with Arabia in particular that his fame was established It was therefore fitting that the first meda' should be awarded to Mr Philby (Cheers) He had spent the greater part of the last ten years in Arabia or in countries in close proximity thereto, and he had published a most fascinating and useful book on the country under the title of *The Heart of Arabia* They had in Mr Philby a gentleman who resembled Sir Richard Burton not only in his enterprise as an explorer but also in a very remarkable knowledge of the languages of the East That useful publication ***Who's Who*** showed that Mr Philby's recreation was "Oriental languages". (Laughter) In this and many other respects much of the

mantle of Sir Richard Burton had fallen on the shoulders of Mr Philby It was to the speaker a matter of great satisfaction that it should fall to him to present the medal, for Mr Philby was a fellow member of the Indian Civil Service and commenced his career therein in the Province, the Punjab, with which he himself was closley connected He hoped that the Punjab would continue to develop and turn out men of the enterprise and ability of Mr Philby

The medal was then presented amid applause

Mr Philby expressed his deep obligation for the honour done him in making him the first recipient of the Burton medal They were assembled not in his honour but that of Sir Richard Burton of whom he would rather speak The centenary of his birth fell four years ago and was marked by a memorial service at Mortlake, where he was buried some thirty-five years ago after a lifetime of prodigious toil and of very unusual distinction But this was the first opportunity that had arisen (largely owing to his own fault in not being able to be in London), of a memorial lecture He ventured to think that a lectureship such as this would have been appreciated much more by Burton himself than a memorial service There was fitness in discussing on that occasion the position in the Hijaz, for after a short apprenticeship in India, Sir Richard Burton first won his spurs by his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1853 In the seventies he explored Midian and, except for Palestine and Syria, which he knew as British Consul at Damascus, his personal experience of Arabia was restricted to the Hijaz Hence it was appropriate to take that country as the subject of the first Memorial Lecture designed to commemorate and encourage the activities to which he devoted his life

The recent history of the Hijaz might be said to begin with the inception of the Hijaz railway scheme by Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1904 and the appointment of Husain ibn Ali as Grand Sherif of Mecca in 1908 by the Young Turk Government. In 1916 the Hijaz emerged as an independent state

with the expulsion of the Turks from the Mecca area, but King Husain's pretensions to Arabian sovereignty immediately brought him into conflict with his Wahhabi neighbour, Ibn Saud The latter in 1919 won a decisive victory over the Sherifian forces, but did not develop it, though Mecca lay open to him Husain's ambitions were not modified by this failure and, when in 1924 he took advantage of the abolition of the Ottoman Califate by Republican Turkey to proclaim himself Calif, he roused the Muhammadan communities of the world to a storm of protest Ibn Saud, disdaining words, launched his troops at the Hijaz and had little difficulty in making himself master of the greater part of the country King Husain abdicated and though Ali still held out at Sidda, Medina and in the northern districts the history of the rapid rise decline, and fall of the Hijaz state is nearly complete

Husain's failure was due partly to faults of character traceable to a mixed Arab and Turkish upbringing - prejudices developed at Constantinople counteracting his deep knowledge of Badawin character and partly to his attempt to create a modern state on antediluvian foundations Wireless communication and aviation were imposed on a country in which domestic slavery was a recognized institution, and trial by ordeal of fire still persisted as a method of settling disputes Education and commerce were neglected, with the result of widespread discontent among the civilized population of the country while the Badawin were allowed to get out of hand owing to Husain's failure to maintain an effective police or military organization When the Wahhabis attacked him he had no army with which to defend his country

Our knowledge of the Hijaz during the past century was derived from occasional explorers such as Burckhardt, Burton, Keane, Doughty, Huber, Wavell, and Lawrence Among them Burton stood out pre-eminently Burton strongly criticized the lack of enthusiasm which had allowed Burckhardt's grave at Cairo to fall into ruins, and by the irony of fate his own tomb at Mortlake was now in danger of a

similar fate Such a matter should engage the attention of the British public and Government, who might be reminded that, when Huber was murdered in the Hijaz in 1884 and buried at Sidda, the French Government erected—and had since maintained—a monument over his grave at the national expense

Dr Hogarth said that while it was undoubtedly the case that very much of the fame of Burton amongst the general public was due to his pilgrimage to Mecca that event was intended to be but the prelude to the great enterprise of crossing Arabia and of reaching the Southern Province of Nej Burton thought that he would first go through the pilgrimage and become a Moslem in the true sense of the word and he professed to be a Moslem up to the day of his death He believed the pilgrimage would furnish him with sufficient knowledge of the country to enable him to travel southwards in much greater safety than if he had not undertaken the Haj He was a young man at the time but on inquiry he found that to pass through Central Arabia to the South was a very different proposition to undertaking the comparatively easy and safe pilgrimage route It would mean venturing among the fanatical tribes of the interior Instead of continuing the journey from Medina he wrote his famous book which caught the public fancy and stereotyped his fame as a pilgrim The lecturer had enumerated various causes for the decay of the kingdom of the Hijaz For himself he did not regard the Hijaz as any more dead even in the political sense than it had been for the last thousand years and more This was not the first time it had been seized by the tribes of the interior Such a seizure took place in the ninth century and also again a hundred years ago It would not surprise him to find the family of the Sherifs again in power before many years were over But he agreed with the lecturer that the Hijaz railway would prove to have inflicted a very serious blow on the prosperity of the Hijaz This prosperity rested solely and simply upon the pilgrimage

to Mecca and Medina The railway was opened in 1904, and he thought it would be useful if reliable statistics could be obtained to indicate how far the pilgrimage had been affected numerically While the Sultan Abdul Hamid built the railway for strategic purposes, he appealed for and received the financial support of the Islamic world But the railway had taken away so much of the labour and what might be described as the other-worldliness of the venture of the pilgrimage that it had tended to deprive it of the great merit it had in Moslem eyes It was not surprising that by the time the railway reached Medina there was strong opposition on the part of the tribesmen to the contemplated extension to Mecca, which would mean the loss to them of the lucrative trade in camel transport The opposition so far succeeded that the line was not extended to Mecca, which still retained something of that other-worldliness that had been taken away from the sister city It would have greatly interested Burton to know what the effect of the building of the line would be more particularly upon the pilgrimage from Turkey which could now be made in such comparative comfort and ease by train as far as Medina It had been the custom for many years to send out advance agents to India Turkestan Turkey, and other Moslem countries to whip up pilgrims He would like to know what their success had been in recent years and whether they were received with the honours formerly bestowed upon them in various countries, and notably in Asiatic Turkey Upon the basis of figures showing the numbers and nationality of the pilgrims a judgment could be formed whether the Haj was likely to be maintained in the future Neither Mecca nor Medina had or were likely to have a prosperous economic existence apart from the pilgrimage, and if that was not maintained they would relapse into Arab townships of no importance

Referring to the expressions of regret by the lecturer that Lawrence had not given to the world the results of his

explorations, Dr Hogarth said that as a matter of fact there was in existence an extensive record which had been checked by comparison with official records of the recent history of Arabia A very few copies of the record were in existence, and there was good reason to anticipate that in a short time the book would be published and available to the public It should be published at any rate not later than next year

Lord Raglan said a few words, and Mr Penzer, co-founder and secretary of the Burton Memorial Fund, spoke from the practical standpoint There were two points he wished particularly to call attention to firstly the deplorable condition of Burton's mausoleum at the Mortlake cemetery, and secondly the fact, generally unknown, that Burton's library and relics of his travels were divided between the Kensington Central Library and the Camberwell Library

Although Lady Burton left a large sum to be spent in preserving the mausoleum from any chances of decay and actually bought up all the surrounding ground by some mismanagement not only had fresh graves sprung up in close proximity to the tomb, but both the outside and inside of the mausoleum itself were in a terrible condition At the present moment there was a tree slowly growing towards the top of the tomb which would do serious damage if not immediately cut down

With regard to Burton's library owing to the fact that Lady Burton's sister, Mrs Fitzgerald conceived the idea of burning his books, Miss Plowman (Lady Burton's secretary), with the help of Mr Herbert Jones, Librarian of the Central Library, Kensington, managed to get the books out of the house and convey them to the Library Unfortunately there was no room for them all, and for a time no Library or Institution could be found where such a room was vacant Finally, however, space was found at the Camberwell Library, and so all Lady Burton's books and the Burton relics were conveyed thither

Thus to this day the collections were divided and practically

unknown to anyone As it would be Burton's dearest wish for his library to be used by students and scholars of the East, it seemed a thousand pities that no effort could be made to unite these two collections and possibly place them in some public institution such as the British Museum, or failing that the Royal Anthropological Institution, of which Burton was a founder

Mr Penzer pointed out that the value of the collection laid not alone in the fact that the books belonged to Burton, but that it contained many highly important works such as Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, which are largely annotated in Burton's hand throughout Apart from this, there are several MSS which had not yet been published, including an important Hindustani version of *Pilpay's Fables*

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*r* or *r̥*
ॠ	*r̄* or *r̥̄*
ऌ	*l* or *l̥*
ॡ	*l̄* or *l̥̄*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*na*
च	*ca* or *c̲ha* [1]
छ	*cha* or *c̲hha* [1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ta*
ठ	*tha*
ड	*da*
ढ	*dha*
ण	*na*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only

ध	*dha*
न	*na*
प	*pa*
फ	*pha*
ब	*ba*
भ	*bha*
म	*ma*
य	*ya*
र	*ra*
ल	*la*
व	*va*
श	*śa*
ष	*ṣa*
स	*sa*
ह	*ha*
ळ	*ḻa* or *ḷa*
ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ* } or
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐* }
: (*visarga*)	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*)	*ẖ*
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*)	'
Udātta	´
Svarita	
Anudātta	\`

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making, कल *kal* (not *kala*), to morrow

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn i ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars thus मैं *ā̃*, चाँ *ā̃*, and so on It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit, hamza elsewhere ' or, alternatively, hamza may be represented by ˆ or

ب	*b*
ت	*t*
ث	*ṯ* or *th*
ج	*j* or *dj*[1]
ح	*ḥ*
خ	*ḫ* or *kh*
د	*d*
ذ	*ḏ* or *dh*
ر	*r*
ز	*z*
س	*s*
ش	*š* or *sh*
ص	*ṣ*
ض	*ḍ*
ط	*ṭ* or *t*[1]
ظ	*ẓ* or *z*[1]
ع	ʻ
غ	*ġ* or *gh*
ف	*f*
ق	*q*
ك	*k*
ل	*l*
م	*m*
ن	*n*

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended, nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *t* or ظ by *z*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و *w* or *v*
ه *h*
ة *t* or *h*

ى *y*
vowels َ *a*, ِ *i*, ُ *u*
lengthened اَ *ā*, ىِ *ī*, وُ *ū*
Alif-i-maqṣūra may be represented by *ā*
diphthongs ىَ *ay* and وَ *aw* or ىَ *ai* and وَ *au*, respectively
e and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*
also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *u* and *o* in Turkish —
ل of article ال to be always *l*
Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s* for ث, *z* for ذ, and *z* for ض
wasla ʼ

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*) When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō

پ *p*
چ *ç* *c*, or *ch*
ژ *ẕ* or *zh*
گ *g*

Turkish letters

ک when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted
ڭ *ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Pashtō

ٹ or ت *t*

ڈ or ډ *d*

ڑ or ړ *r*

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Pashtō letters

ځ *ts* or *ts*

ږ *g* or *zh* (according to dialect)

ڼ *n*

ښ *ksh*, or *sh* or *kh* (according to dialect)

ځ or ځ *dz* or *dz*

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1924 *LEVIN, Miss E. A, *Elmstead Manor, Chislehurst, Kent.*

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480 1921 *LEWIS, Rev J Vernon, M A, B D, *The Manse, Brynamman, Caermarthenshire*
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490 1918 *LUSY, Marino M, *Architect, Hotel Suisse, Montreux, Switzerland*

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1925 *MACDONALD, Ian P, M A, *Headmaster, ' Lady Manners School, Bakewell*
1882 *§MACDONELL, Arthur A, M A, Ph D, F B A, *Boden Prof of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol, 20 Bardwell Rd, Oxford*
1919 *MACGREGOR, Rev W, *Bolehall Manor House, Tamworth*
1919 *MACIVER, Capt David R, M A, *c/o Brown, Shipley & Co*, 123 *Pall Mall, S W 1*
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500 1925 *MAHORKAR, Sardar Sultan Rao, *Gwalior, C India*
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520 1925 MEAD, G R S, 27 *Clareville Grove S W* 7

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540 1922 *MOHIDEEN, C S, B A, B T, F R E S, ***Maulavi, Headmaster Khammam meth, Warangal, H E H, etc, Nizam's Dominions, Deccan.***

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1925 ***Mukherjee**, A M, B A, *Purulia, Bihar & Orissa, India*
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560 1925 ***Muller**, Dr Reinhold, *Harthau Bez Chemnitz, Germany*
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570 1918 ***Nair**, Dr Tellicherry Madhavan, *Municipal Commissioner, Moulmein, Burma*
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580 1924 *NATH, Pandit Pran, *c/o Librarian, India Office Library, S W. 1.*
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1877 HON 1895 NAVILLE, Edouard, D C L, *Prof of Egyptology, Geneva University, Malagny, nr Geneva, Switzerland.*
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590 1925 *NIZAMI, M L A Q, Kati Azam Khan, *Kasur Dist, Lahore*
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1919 †OKE, A W, 32 *Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex*
600 1924 OLDHAM, C E A W C S I, 21 *Courtfield Rd, S W 7*
1925 *OPPENHEIM, Baron Max Freiherr von, Ph D, *Kurfurstendamm 203, Berlin*
1918 *†ORMEROD, Rev E W, *The Rectory, Newnham, Hook, nr Basingstoke*
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1902 *PARASNIS, Dattatraya B, Rao Bahadur, *Happy Vale, Satara, Bombay.*
1893 *§PARGITER, F E, M A, I C S (ret), 12 *Charlbury Rd., Oxford*
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610 1924 *PARUKUTTY-AMMA, Shrimati G K, B A., *Presidency Training School for Mistresses, Egmore, Madras.*

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1922 *PATKAR, P M, 79 *Broadhurst Gdns, N W 6*
1919 *PATON, David, *Univ Library, Princeton, N J, U S A*
1922 *PAVALAR, T K, *Tamilagam, Chintadripet, Madras*
1919 *PÈ, Maung Tun, M A, *Lecturer, Judson College, Rangoon, Burma*
HON 1923 PELLIOT, Prof Paul, *Legion d'Honneur M C, LL D, Prof au Collège de France*, 38 *Rue de Varenne, Paris*
1919 PENZER, Norman M, B A 12 *Clifton Hill, N W 8*
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1919 §PEROWNE, E S M, F S A, HON TREASURER 7 *Great James St, W C 1*
620 1912 ‡PERRY, Wm Jas, *University College, Gower St, W C 1*
1924 *PERSHAD, Ram, F I A, *Sub-Engineer Jaipur State P W D, Cavendish pura, Ajmer, Rajputana*
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1906 *§PHILLOTT, Lt Col D C, M A, Ph D, F A S B *The Bury, Felsted, Essex*
1919 *PILCHER, E J, *Lyncombe Brambledown Road, Wallington, Surrey*
1921 *PILLAI, M R Rama Krishna, *Indian Students' Union, Gower St, W C 1*
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630 1919 *PILLAY, G Hurry K, 2 *Phayre St, Rangoon, Burma*
1922 *PILLAY, M K, *Landholder, Tirupatur, Ramad Dist Madras Pres, India*
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1911 *PIM, Alan Wm, I C S, *Governor of U Provinces, Commissioner's House Allahabad*
1881 §PINCHES, Theophilus G, LL D, 10 *Oxford Rd, N W 6*
1920 *PITHAWALLA, Maneck B, *Principal Parsi Virbaiji H Sch*, 20 *Victoria Rd, Karachi*
1895 *PITT, St George L Fox, *Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S W 1*
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1921 *PLATTS, Capt Arnold, 50 *Lichfield Road, Stafford*
1920 POLHILL, C C, 113 *Abbey Rd, N W 8*
640 1916 *POPE, Miss Amina Ethel, M A, *Prin Govt Zenana Coll, Hyderabad, Deccan*
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1924 *POPPER, Prof Wm, Ph D, *Univ of California, Berkeley, Cal, U S A*
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1893 HON 1920 *POUSSIN, Louis de la Vallee, *Prof a l'Université de Gand*, 66 *Av Molière, Uecle, Brussels*
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1924 *Prasada, Pandit Kanti, M A, *Head Master Jain High School, Burn Bastion Rd, Delhi*

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1922 *Prince, Prof J Dyneley, Ph D, *The American Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark*

1923 *Pru, J Saw Hla, 23 *Bedford Sq, W C 1*

650 1924 *Quraishi, Munshi Sheikh Abdul-Aziz (Mir Munshi), *Sudder Bazar, Allahabad, U P*

1924 *Qureshi, Riaz Ahmad, B A, *Noor Manzil, Gurgaon, India*

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1921 *Raja Gopala Rao, T, B A, *Ed "S Indian Research", Vepery, Madras*

1922 *Rajagopalachariar, M K, F C I, *Public Accountant and Auditor, c/o Postmaster, Penang, Straits Settlements*

660 1922 *Rajagopalan, Mrs M J, B A, *Post Box* 1001, *Kilpauk, Madras.*

1874 *†Rajanattayanuhar, H E Phya

1924 *Raju, M G, *Cotton Jute & Paper Mills Co, Ltd, Guntur, Madras*

1899 *Ram, Lāl Sita, F A U, *Dep Collector (ret)*, 203 *Muthiganj, Allahabad*

1922 *Ram, Rai Sahib S Buta, *Asst Military Secty to H H the Maharaja of Patiala, Panjab*

1925 *Ramachandran, M V, M B, B S, *Karuntattamkudi P O., Tanjore, India*

1924 *Ramadas, G, B A, *Head Master, Board High School, Jeypore, Vizagapatam Dist, India*

1919 *Ramana-Sastrin, V V, Ph D, *Vedaranyam, Tanjore*

1874 *†Ramasvami, Iyengar B

1915 *Randle, Prof Herbert Niel, M A, I E S, 1 *Bradmore Rd, Oxford*

670 1922 *Rankin, J Thomson, *I C S Commissioner, Dacca Division, c/o Grindlay & Co*, 54 *Parliament St, S W 1*

1869 †Ransom, Edwin, 24 *Ashburnham Rd, Bedford.*

1924 Rao, B L, M A, *The Student Movement House*, 32 *Russell Square, W C 1*

1888 *§Rapson, E J, M A, *Prof of Sanskrit*, 8 *Mortimer Rd., Cambridge.*

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1912 *RAY, Sarat Kumar, M A, *Kumar of Dighapatiya, Dayarampur, Rajshahi, Bengal*

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680 1924 *RAZA-KHAN, H Md Hadi, Sahib Mahir, *Kalia Abu, Tarab Khan, Lucknow*

1919 READ, F W, 65 *Harley Rd*, *N W* 10

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1897 *REUTER, J N, Ph D, 21 *Fabriksgatan, Helsingfors, Finland*

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1923 †RIDDING, Miss E C, *c/o Westminster Bank, Ltd* 74 *High St*, *W* 11

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1925 *RIZWI, S T. H, *Rais and Zemindar, Humayun Manzil, Victoria St*, *Lucknow*

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700 1919 ROCKSTRO, F Braine, 12 *Edge Hill, S W* 19

1921 *ROERICH, Geo N, *c/o Kashmir General Agency, Srinagar, Kashmir*

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1905 *ROSE, H A, I C S (ret), *Milton House, La Haule, Jersey, C I*

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1891 *†ROUSE, W H D, Litt D, *Head Master, Perse School, Cambridge*

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710 1924 *ROY, V Nath, B A, LL B, *Vakil High Court, Ghazipur, India*

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1924 *Sagar, S P, *Banker, 18 Abbott Rd, Lahore*
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720 1925 *Sahu, K L, *Bhandara, C P, India*
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1925 *Saletore, B Anand, B A, *Assistant, Board High School, Karkal, S India*
1919 Sallaway, W J S, 49 *Fellows Rd, N W 3*
1925 *Samad, M A, M A, B L, *Magistrate, Munsiff, Mozaffarpore, India*
1915 *Samaddar, Prof Jogindranath B A, *Moradpur P O, Patna, B & O*
1922 Samuel, Miss Sylvester, 19 *Cadogan Place, S W. 1*
1916 *Sanyal, Jitendranath, B A, *Zamindar, Balurghat P O, Dist Dinajpur, Bengal*
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1924 *Sarangarh, Raja Jawahir Singh, *Bahadur, Ruling Feudatory Chief of, (Girivilas Palace), C P, India*
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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1925
PART IV—OCTOBER

Sanskrit Names of Drugs in Kuchean

By A. C. WOOLNER

Note.—This study is based on the Weber-Macartney MS., which was edited by Hoernle, with a facsimile reproduction of the MS., transcription of the texts in Roman characters, and an index (*JASB*, vol. lxx, pt. i, Extra Number 1, 1901). Hoernle's text was pioneer work in the decipherment of Kuchean recently known as Tocharian B. Since then a few letters have been proved to have different values.

M. Sylvain Levi, who has done so much for the recovery of this language from fragmentary material, has very kindly lent me his transcript of the text as revised by him. To the same scholar I am indebted for some forms quoted from other sources and for much information with regard to Kuchean.

1. The names of drugs and medical materials mentioned in Kuchean MSS. can be grouped under four heads:—

(*a*) Pure Kuchean words, e.g. *malkwer* "milk", *wara* "water", *pyāpyo* "flower", *salype* "oil", with some words of doubtful meaning such as *śkwaśko*. With these Kuchean words we are not immediately concerned.

(*b*) Words which have certainly been borrowed by Kuchean, but not directly from Sanskrit, having reached Kuchean by some other route which it may be difficult to determine.

Three notable examples are the following :—

arīrāk- "myrobalan" (Skt. *harītakī*, Persian *halīla*. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p 581)

śakkār "sugar" (Skt *śarkarā*, Pāli *sakkharā*, Persian *šakar*, *šakkar*, Mongol *šikar*, *šikir*, Tibetan *śa-ka-ra* Laufer, *SI*, pp 576, 584)

kurkam- "saffron" (From Pers *kurkum* rather than from Skt *kunkuma* Laufer, *SI*, p 321)

As is shown by *kurkam* and by Kuchean words like *arkwi* "white", there would have been no reason to change *-rk-* of *śarkarā* into *-kk-* *Harītakī* could have lost the initial aspirate, as there appear to be no genuine Kuchean words beginning with *h*,[1] but other words retain intervocal *-t-* and there is no obvious reason for *-t-* to become *-r-* [2]

(*c*) Sanskrit *tatsamas*, e g *devadāru* "deodar" These are not numerous, most of the Sanskrit words being more or less modified in the Kuchean spelling on account doubtless of the Kuchean pronunciation A *tatsama* like *devadāru* gives us no information Where we have alternative forms, e g *priyangu* and *priyanku*, it is with the deviations from Sanskrit that we are concerned

(*d*) *Semi-tatsamas*, i e Sanskrit words taken direct into Kuchean with more or less deformation If these modified forms can be explained by the tendencies of Kuchean phonetics, there is no need to assume the influence of any Prākrit to account for their deviation from Sanskrit Apart from occasional references to Prākritic words, it is these *Semi-tatsamas* that have been examined in this article

The changes of consonants and vowels are classified below Of the examples there are some where the identity with a Sanskrit original is obvious, e g *aśvagandha* now written *aśvagantā* and *aśvakānta* with Skt *aśvagandha*, there are others, e.g *prnkaraca*, *kuntark*, where the original is more

[1] Exception *hiś* in the sense of Skt *dhik* ' an exclamation

[2] Pāli texts have sometimes *harītakam*, e g Jātaka, iv, 363 This represents the beginning of the process which produced *arīrāk*.

obscured, others again where the identification proposed is not free from doubt, e g *kirot* (Skt *gilodya*) and *motarte* (Skt. **modārdhyā* whence *modādyā*)

Changes of Consonants

2 The most frequent change is the substitution of a surd for a sonant stop, i e *k*, *t*, *p* for *g*, *d*, *b* This change, which is characteristic of Paiśācī Prākrit, occurs in more than one region on the edges of the Indo-Aryan area, but as native Kuchean words have no sonant stops (at any rate in the MSS) it is not necessary to seek an explanation elsewhere.

Examples —

(i) *k* < *g* *akaru* "aloe-wood" Skt *agaru*, *aguru* Bower MS (If this word should be non-Aryan and a form with *-k-*, common in Pāli, be nearer the original than the Skt. form nevertheless it would be natural to suppose that this Kuchean form is taken from Skt)

aśvakānta $7a^2$ $9a^4$, $4a^6$, $11b^1$ $15b^1$, $24a^3$, $27b^1$, $28a^2$, $29b^3$, $31a^3$ $32a^6$, $34a^2$, *aśrakān(t)* $5b^2$ *aśvakā(—)* $25b^2$, but *aśvaga(nta)* $37b^3$ Skt *aśvagandhā* occurs in Suśruta. Physalis Flexuosa M W, Withania Somnifera B M [1]

apamārka $35a^1$, but elsewhere *apamārga* $28b^3$, $29a^4$, $34a^2$, $41a^5$ [*-pamārga* $27b^4$ *apa(mārga)* $5b^{2-3}$, (—)*mārga* $15b^1$, $39a^5$ – (*m*)*ārga* $37b^4$] and *avamārga* $9a^4$ Skt *apāmārga*. Achyranthes Aspera B M

takaru Skt *tagara* Tabernaemontana Coronaria B.M.

kuntark $7a^4$, $7b^2$, *kuntarka* $34a^6$ Skt *gundraka* (Hoernle),[2] *gundrā* in Suśruta and B M, the same plant as *gundā* Panicum Oliginosum

(?) *korośā*— $15a^4$ Skt *goroca* (Hoernle) compare *gorocanā* "yellow orpiment" No support for *c* < *ś* Not in B M

[1] M W = Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. B.M. = *The Bower Manuscript*, ed A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Calcutta, 1893.

[2] For all identifications ascribed to Hoernle, see the Index to his edition of the Weber-Macartney MS.

[illegible]

[illegible]) *kirot* 7a^{4}, 7a^{5}, 7b^{3}, 9a^{6}, 11a^{4}, 41a^{5}, *-rot* 1b^{4}, *kirota* 28b^{3}, 29a^{5}, *kırota* 35a^{2}, *kırok* 6a^{5}, *kiros* 31a^{4} [Read *kirot*, the lien seems to bisect the final letter]

Hoernle identifies with Skt *gılodya* " bulb of Nymphaea " used by Caraka and Suśruta Not [illegible] For *r* < *l* compare *kākon* if this equals *kakkolī* [illegible] below (*kırot* rhymes with *wırot* and may be Kuchean [illegible])

Examples of *g* retained are *apamārga* and *aśvagantı* quoted above also *(caga)la* 23b^{5} *nāgapatı* 19a$^{4-5}$ *mudgaraıu* 13b^{2}, 14b^{4}. *bhargı* 24b^{2} *sumaganta* 32a^{1}, 38a^{5}

ṅk < *ṅg* *prıṅkaraca* 32a^{5} *praṅkaraca* 31b^{1} Skt *bhrngarāja* Eclipta Prostrata (Suśruta) Eclipta Alba (B M) For *p* < *bh* and *c* < *j* see below

prıyangu 32a^{4}, but also *prıyangu* 6a^{6} 26a^{4} (*nku* 3b^{5}) Skt *prıyangu* Suśr " probably panic seed or mustard seed M W , Aglaia Roxburghiana B M

(va)raṅkatvaca 18b^{5} but *varaṅgatvaca* 1b^{1} 30a^{6}, 36b^{7} [*(varangatva)ca* 18b$^{2-3}$ *varanga* *ca* 38b^{3}] Skt *varāngatvaca* Cassia bark green cinnamon B M

vıraṅk 18b^{2} [*-raṅk* 36b^{2}] Skt *vıranga* (Hoernle) a medicinal earth ' M W The B M has *vidanga* Embelia Ribes

(ii) *c* > *j* *pıṅkaraca* *bhrngarāja* see 2 (i) above

(caga)la 23b^{5} Skt *jagala* a spirituous liquor " Car Suśr , " thick spirit of rice B M

cıpaka 23b^{5} but *jīvaka* 13b^{1} [*jīva-* 17a^{3}, 30b^{1}, *jī-* 6a^{4}] For *p* < *v* see 2 (iv) below Skt *jīvaka* one of the " Eight Great Drugs " not identified B M

tecavatı 27a^{5} (looks like *tevavatı*) but *tejapatı* 2b^{3}. Skt *tejavatī* (Hoernle) (1) Piper Chaba, (2) Scindapsus Officinalis B.M

Compare *Cınasene* = *Jınasena* and *Cınateve* = *Jınadeva*

The sonant is retained in *-bīja* 25a^{4}, *jīvantı* 36b^{4}, *sarjarasa* 6a^{5}

ñc < *ñj* *añcana(—)* 25a^{5} Hoernle equates with Skt. *añjana-(rasa)* = *rasāñjana* Compare *añcām* = *añjana* Medical Fragment.

mañcaṣṭā 6a^5, 8a^5, 9a^5, 10a^2, 10b$^{2-3}$, 11a^5, 11b^3, 13b[illegible]
mañcaṣṭa 1b^2, 23b^3, 29a^4, 34b^4
mañcaṣṭa 5a^4, 27b^2 (-*ñcaṣṭā* 36b^1)
māñcaṣṭā 29b^2 (*mañcā-* 14b^4, *mañca-* 23a$^{4-5}$, 40a^3, *mañcaṣṭ-* 37b^4, *māñc-t-* 30b^2, *-ṣṭā* 22b^5)

Skt *mañjiṣṭhā* " madder " Rubia Munjista B.M.

[illegible] *kiñcel-e* 1b^3 Skt *kiñjalka* filament (?). Not in B.M.

(iii) *t* < *d* *kṣīra-piṭari* 39b^2 and *piṭari* 39b^2 but 7a^5 has *bidāri* *kṣīra-bidāri* Skt *vidāri*, *vidārī* Hedysarum Gangeticum M W Suśr Ipomoea Digitata B M Hoernle quotes also *vidārī* *vidālī* *Kṣīra vidārī* – Batatus Paniculata M W Ipomoea Digitata B M

[illegible] *d* *nitakampā* [illegible] *pa* 25b^2 *nitakampa* 41a^6, 35a^4 (*c*-), *nitakāmp* 1a^3 4b^3 [*nita* 27b^3, *-kampa* 27b^2, 34a^4, *-ta* 32a^3] Skt *nīpa-kadamba*, i e by metathesis **nīcakatampa* – *nitakampa*[1] Suśruta mentions the use of the *kadamba*, so does B M

[illegible] *motarte* 39a^4 Hoernle suggests Skt *modādhyā*, which is said to have the meaning of *ajamoda* carroway or a kind of parsley If this is the word, *motarte* would be from a form **modāndhyā* For *t* < *dh* see below Not in B M

Compare *t* *d* in *tinar* denarius *tanāpate* – *dānapati*, and *dasa* *Saṃghadāsa*, *Cinateva* *Jinadeva* But *d* remains [illegible] *haridra* *haridṛ*, *udumbar*[illegible]).

For *ṭ* *d* *meṭi*, *mahāmeṭa*, *malaṭ* see 3 (i) below.

[illegible] *d* *prapuntarik* 24a^3, 29b^3, 36b$^{1-2}$, *prapuntarika* 27a^5, 27b^2, 28a$^{4-5}$, 37b^4, 38b^3 [*prat puntarik*] 1a^2, *-ntarik* 32a^4], but also *prapuṇḍarik* 8b^3, 9b^5, 9b^6, 11a$^{2-4}$, 11a^5, 19a^4, 22b^5, *prapuṇḍarika* 10b^3, 29a^4, 30b^3 [*prapuṇḍari-* 15b^4, *prapuṇḍa-* 28b^1, *prapu(ṇḍa)rik* 18b^3, (*prapuṇḍa*)*rik* 11b$^{1-2}$, *prapuṇḍar*(*i*)*k* 7b^2]

[1] Professor Helmer Smith draws my attention to the Pāli form *kalambakā*, Jātaka, vi, 536, 4, suggesting that the second vowel in the Kuchean word may preserve a trace of the inflection of [illegible]; [illegible] compounds with *nīcaiḥ* and Pāli compounds with *nīca*, e.g. [illegible] ampata 252, *nicākulīna*, ib. 462.

[illegible] *kirot* 7a^2, 7a^5, 7b^3, 9a^4, 11a^4, 41a^5, *-rot* 1b^4, *kirota* 28b^2, 29a^5, *kirota* 35a^2, *kirok* 6a^5, *kiros* 31a^4 [Read *kirot*, the lien seems to bisect the final letter]

Hoernle identifies with Skt *gilodya* "bulb of Nymphaea" used by Caraka and Suśruta Not i[illegible] For $r < l$ compare *kākori* if this equals *kakkolī* [illegible]below (*kirot* rhymes with *virot* and may be Kuchean[illegible])

Examples of *g* retained are *apamārga* and *aśva(gandh)* quoted above, also *(caga)la* 23b^5 *nāgapati* 19a$^{4-5}$ *mudgavarni* 13b^2, 14b^4, *bhargi* 24b^2, *sumagandu* 32a^4 38a^5

nk $<$ *ng* *pinkaraca* 32a^5 *prankaraca* 31b^1 Skt *bhrngarāja* Eclipta Prostrata (Suśruta) Eclipta Alba (B M) For $p <$ *bh* and $c < j$ see below

priyangu 32a^4, but also *priyangu* 6a^6 26a^4 (*-nku* 3b^5) Skt *priyangu* Suśr "probably panic seed or mustard seed M W Aglaia Roxburghiana B M

(va)rankatvaca 18b^5 but *varangatvaca* 1b^1 30a^6, 36b^3 [*(varangatva)ca* 18b$^{2-3}$ *varanga(tva)ca* 38b^3] Skt *varāngatvaca* Cassia bark green cinnamon B M

virank 18b^2 [*-rank* 36b^2] Skt *viranga* (Hoernle) "a medicinal earth" M W The B M has *vidanga* Embelia Ribes

(ii) $c > j$ *pinkaraca* - *bhrngarāja* see 2 (i) above

(caga)la 23b^5 Skt *jagala* a spirituous liquor" Car Suśr, "thick spirit of rice B M

cipaka 23b^5 but *jīvaka* 13b^1 [*jīva-* 17a^3, 30b^1, *jī-* 6a^4] For $p < v$ see 2 (iv) below Skt *jīvaka* one of the "Eight Great Drugs" not identified B M

tecavati 27a^5 (looks like *tevavati*) but *tejapati* 2b^3. Skt *tejavatī* (Hoernle) (1) Piper Chaba, (2) Scindapsus Officinalis B.M

Compare *Cinasene* = *Jinasena* and *Cinateve* = *Jinadeva*

The sonant is retained in *-bīja* 25a^4, *jīvanti* 36b^4, *sarjarasa* 6a^5.

ñc $<$ *ñj* *añcana(—)* 25a^5 Hoernle equates with Skt. *añjana-(rasa)* = *rasāñjana* Compare *añcām* = *añjana* Medical Fragment.

mañcaṣṭa 6a[5], 8a[5], 9a[5], 10a[3], 10b[3-4], 11a[3], 11b[5], 13b[4],

mañcasta 1b[2], 23b[3], 29a[4], 34b[4]

mañcasta 5a[4], 27b[2] (*-ñcaṣṭā* 36b[1])

mañcistā 29b[2] (*mañcā-* 14b[4], *mañca-* 23a[4-5], 40a[3], *mañcaṣṭ-* 37b[4], *māñc-t-* 30b[2], *-ṣṭā* 22b[5])

Skt *mañjiṣṭhā* "madder" Rubia Munjista B M.

... *kañcel e* 1b[3] Skt *kiñjalka* filament (?) Not in B M.

... *t* ... *d* *ksīra-pitari* 39b[2] and *pitari* 39b[2] but 7a[5] has *bidāri* *ksīra-bidāri* Skt *vidāri*, *viddārī* Hedysarum Gangeticum M W Suár Ipomœa Digitata B M. Hoernle quotes also *vidārī*, *viddārī*. *Ksīra-vidārī* Batatus Paniculata M W, Ipomœa Digitata B M

... *d* *nicatakampa* 6a[2] ... *pa* 25b[2] *nicatakampa* 41a[6], 35a[4] (*c-*), *nicatakāmp* 1a[3] 4b[1] [*nicata* 27b[3] *-kampa* 27b[2], 34a[4], ... *ta* 32a[3]] Skt *nīca kadamba* i e by metathesis *nīcakatampa* *nicatakampa*.[1] Susruta mentions the use of the *kadamba* so does B M

... *moturte* 36a[2] Hoernle suggests Skt *modādhyā*, which is said to have the meaning of *ajamoda* carroway or a kind of parsley If this is the word, *moturte* would be from a form *modārdhyā* For *t* ... *dh* see below Not in B M

Compare *t* ... *d* ... *tenar* denarius ... *tanāpate* - *dānapati*, *Sankatavat* *Saṃghadāsa* *Cinatewe* *Jinadeva* But *d* remains in *devadara*, *baridra* *barudiṣ* *udumbarti*)

For *ṭ* ... *ḍ* *meṭṭi*, *mahāmeṭi*, *nalaṭ* see 3 (ii) below.

ṇḍ ... *ṇṭ* *prapuntarik* 21a[3] 29b[3], 36b[1-2] *prapuntarika* 27a[5], 27b[2] 28a[4-5], 37b[4], 38b[3] [*pra(puntarik)* 1a[3], *-ntarik* 32a[4]], but also *prapundarik* 8b[2], 9b[3], 9b[6], 11a[3-4], 11a[5], 19a[4], 22b[5] *prapundarika* 10b[3], 29a[4], 30b[2] [*prapundari-* 15b[4], *prapunda-* 28b[1], *prapu(ndu)rik* 18b[3], (*pra*[illegible]*rik* 11b[1-2] *prapundari(i)k* 7b[2]]

[1] Professor Helmer Smith draws my attention to the P[illegible] *nīca kadambā*, Jātaka, vi, 536, 4, suggesting that the second v[illegible] the Kuchean word may preserve a trace of the inflection of *nīcā*; compare Skt compounds with *nīcaiḥ-* and Pāli compounds with *nīcā-*, e.g. *nīca*[illegible] Suttanipata 252, *nīcakulīna*, ib. 462.

[illegible] *prapundarik* 6b[3], (*prapu*)*ndarik* 7a[2] (*prapundarika* 39a[5]. Skt *prapundarika* bulb of Nymphaea Car Hibiscus Mutabilis Suśr (M W) In B M "fragrant wood" also *prapaundarika*

Compare *pimtwāta* -- *pindapāta*

nt < *nd* *kuntark* 7a[4], 7b[2] *kuntarka* 34a[6] Skt *gundraka* (Hoernle) See 2 (i) above

nd is retained in *candām* See 11 below

(iv) *p* < *b* *ksīrapitan* but *ksirabidān* See 2 (iii) above

pilamātti 7a[5] but *bilamati* 1b[5] Skt *bilva-madhya* 'flesh of the Bel fruit' Car For *t* *dh* see below B M has *bilva-phala*, *-mūla* *-mātra*

prahati 29b[2] Skt *brhatī* Suśr Solanum Indicum B M

mp < *mb* *nicitakampi* See 2 (iii) above

Compare *kam*[illegible] for *kamlala*

With *p* < *b* [illegible]laced *p* *v*

p < *v* *punarnapu* [illegible]*rnapa* 41a[3]) Skt *punarnavā* 'hog weed' Boerhavia Diffusa B M

sātapari 18b[4] *satavari* 36b[4] [*sat*[illegible]*pari* 27a[5]] Skt *satavari* Asparagus Racemosus B M

śānpa 8a[5], 18b[3] *sānpa* 1b *sīnapi* 6a[5] [illegible]*apa* 36b[3] *sa*[illegible] 35a[4] Skt *sārivā* Ichnocarpus Frutescens and Hemidesmus Indicus B M Also [illegible]*vā* Suśr

Compare *upadiapi* Med Frag Skt *upadrava* 'complication' B M

For *pissau* Hoernle suggests *visvā* (dry ginger Suśr The B M has *visvābhaga*) or *pisu* (?) (B M has *pisuna* "saffron") The word may be Kuchean It occurs nearly thirty times Compare Med Frag *pissausse war*, *pissa* *onkarño*

3 [illegible]onant aspirates become surds and lose their aspiration i e [illegible], *bh* become *k*, *t* *p* This is natural as there are no aspirates in Kuchean There is no instance of *k* for *gh* in this MS, but elsewhere we find *sānka* = *sangha*.

(i) *t* < *dh* (?) *veteni* 7a[4], *vetene* 6a[5-6], (9a[5]), 30a[2] [*-tene* 1b[1]] Skt *vidhinī* Trigonella Foenum Graecum M.W. Not in B M

loṭr 11a[3]

śabara-loṭr 4a[3], 7b[2] 9a[4], 11a[3], 11b[2], 12a[3], 30b[2], 34b[4], 41a[3], *-loṭṭar* 5a[4], but *śabara-loḍr* 7a[5], 8b[2]. [*śabara-lo-* 1b[2], 27a[5], *-ralotr* 2b[4], *-baralotr* 28b[2], *sabara-* 21a[4].] Skt. *lodhra* Symplocos Racemosa (= *rodhra*) from the bark of which is prepared the red powder for Holi. B.M has *lodhra*, more frequently *rodhra* and *śābaraka*, *śāvaraka*.

[illegible] *motarte* (**modārdhyā*) see 2 (iii) above

Compare *tāna* *dhāna*, *Tarmasene* – *Dharmasenah*, *Putamitre* *Buddhamitrah*

ṭ *dh* In some words we have the letter *dh* now read as *ṭ*, e.g. *astakāṇṭa* *asvagandha* see 2 (i) above [1]

[illegible] *ṭassa tā* [illegible] 32a[3] Skt *somagandha* Hoernle Not in B.M

mati [illegible][3] 15a[3] *madhu*

mati [illegible] 13a[1] liquorice B.M

sainta [illegible] 33a[3] *saindhava* rock salt B.M

The same *t* represents Skt *t* or *d* (or *th*)

t *t* *musta* 36b[1] Skt *musta* or *mustā* Cyperus Rotundus B.M

t *d* *meṭa* *mahāmeta* *medā* *mahāmedā* two varieties of one of the Eight Great Drugs B.M

[illegible] *laṭa*) 11a[6] Skt *nalada* spikenard Nardostachys Jatamansi B.M

ṭ *th* *pāṭa* [illegible][1] but *pāth* 2b[3] Skt *pāthā* Stephania Hernandifolia B.M

[illegible] *dhyā* see *pilamātte* 2 (iv) above

[illegible] *dhyā* see *motarte* 2 (iii) above

[illegible] *bh* *prakaraṇa* Skt *bhṛṅgarāja* see 2 (i) above.

[illegible] *satāpa* 21a[4] 37a[6] *s-ntāpa* 29b[2–3] Hoernle who read *sitāpa* identified with *sitābha* "camphor" or [illegible]. *Sitābha* does not occur in the B.M In any case that [illegible] not account for the nasal Perhaps it represe[illegible]

[1] Sylvain Lévi et A. Meillet, *Remarques sur les formes grammaticales de quelques textes en Tokharien B.*, v. 2, a.

saindhava "rock salt", which appears as *sainfava* 33a^3. See 3 (i) above.

bh remains in—

bhargi 24b^2. Skt *bhārgī* Clerodendrum Siphonantus B M

bhallāta(ka) 42b^3 "acajou (cashew nut)" Semicarpus Anacardium Laufer, SI, p 482, B M.

bhrnkarava 20a^2 see 2 (i) above

rsabhak 13b^5, 14b^4, *rsabhaka* 13b^1 Skt *rsabhaka*, one of the "Eight Great Drugs" B M

4 Surd aspirates lose their aspiration

t < th *pāta* 5b^3 but *pāth-* 2b^3 see 3 (i) above

t < th *kusta* 27b^5 (23b^3) Skt *kustha* Costus Speciosus Laufer, S-I, p 584 (B M Saussurea Lappa)

mañcasta see 2 (ii) above

t < th *styoney*[illegible] 3b^1 Skt *sthauneyaka* Car Suśr a perfume B M [illegible]*yaka* fragrant plant

5 Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* Compare *pint-vāta-* *pinda-pāta-* L M v 25^1 *wasampāt* *upasampāda*, *kutsavati* = *kutsapati* For this change in Prākrit see Pischel, Prakrit Gr, § 199

pāriwelak 6a^3 *pariwelak* 11a^2 *pariwelaki* 36b$^{2-3}$ (*pariwelak* 40a^3) Skt *paripelava* Cyperus Rotundus B M, but this does not account for the final *k*

pisnavarni 18b^3 25a^2 36b^4 Skt *prsniparnī* Uraria Lagopodiodes B M

māsavarni 13b^2 Skt *māsaparnī* Teramnus Labialis B M

mudgavarni 13b^2, 14b^4 Skt *mudgaparnī* Phaseolus Trilobus B M

sālavarni 18b 36b Skt *sālaparnī* Desmodium Gangeticum B M

ava[illegible]*ga* see *apamārka* 2 (i) above

śāt[illegible]*ri* 18b^4 *śatapari* 24a^5 27a^5, but *śatavari* 36b^4 Skt *śatāvarī* Asparagus Racemosus B M

[1] L M. = Sylvain Levi et A Meillet, *Remarques sur les formes grammaticales de quelques textes en Tocharien B* (*Études Linguistiques sur les documents de la Mission Pelliot*. Fascicles i, iii, et v.)

6 Sometimes *r* appears to replace *l*.

karuna-sāri 19b^{4}; 20a^{2}, 21a^{4}, 32a^{5}, 42b^{3}. Skt. *kālānusārī* "benzoin" Suśruta Laufer, S-I., p. 465, n. But the cerebral *n*, apart from the difference in the vowels, indicates that this form has not been taken directly from *kālānusārī*, which itself looks like an etymologised form of something else The B M has neither form.

[illegible] *kreta*, *kuel* if these represent *gilodya* see 2 (i) above.

kākori 39b^{2} with *kṣīrakākori*

kakori 28b^{1} *kṣīra kakori* 28b^{1}, 41a^{1} but we find *kākoti* 14b^{3} [*kākoti* 13b^{2} *koti* 17a^{4} *kāko(t)i* 1b^{4}, *kāko(ti)* 7a^{3}] with *kṣīra kākoti* 7a$^{3-4}$ 13b^{2} 14b^{3} *-kakoti* 17a^{4}, while in 6a^{1} *kākoti* *kṣīra-kāko* are ambiguous Hoernle gives Skt *kākolī* as in Car (Suśr *kākolī*) "a medicinal plant" M W (Suśruta also uses *kakkola* a plant with aromatic berries *kakkolam* a perfume prepared from the berries; *kakkola* is also quoted [illegible] Cocculus Indicus.) The B M. has *kākolī* *kākolī* and *kākoḍī* *kākoḍī* Luvunga Scandens. *Kṣīra kakolī* Suśr [illegible] *kākolikā* root from the Himalayas yielding a milky juice used by the Hindus as one of the eight principal medicaments) M W The B M has *kṣīra kākolī* Fritillaria Stracheyi These forms *kākoṭi* and *kakori* appear to represent the two Skt forms of the Bower MS *kākolī* *kākolī* but *kākori* could itself be a Prākrit form from *kākoḍi* Compare *birāla* and its variant Pischel, Prakrit Gr § 241

7 There remain a few identifications suggested by Hoernle which if they were accepted, would give us other equations, each resting on a single word. As will be seen, these identifications are far from being proved.

(i) *korosā* (? Skt *gorocā*) see 2 (i) above.

(ii) *śāñcapo* 7b,^{2} 10b^{3}, *śañcapo* 37a^{4} (*ok* [illegible]— *śiṃśapotse* 26b^{4}) ? Skt. *śiṃśapā* Dalbergia Sissoo. Not in B.M. The form would be rather the adjective *śāṃśapa* referring to the wood. The Kuchean form would then be due to dissimilation.

ñci < *mbi*. *ktumñcik̲* 31a[3], *kutumñcik̲* 18a[4], *kutum(ñc)i(k̲)* 8b[1], *ktumñcile* 9a[6] Hoernle suggests Skt *kutumbikā* (?) Not in B M. *Kutumbuka* is quoted for Caraka "pot-herbs" M W

(?) *m* < *v* *vai(ś)ramañña* 38a[4] is referred by Hoernle to *vaiśravana* The word occurs at the end of a section *ṣe sāṃa sā—vai(ś)ramañña* M W quotes *vaiśramana* as a wrong reading -*ñña* appears to be a Kuchean suffix

smur̲ 3b[1], *smur̲* 14b[1] ,39b[2] 41b[4] (*s*)*mura* 32b[1], -*mur̲* 11a[4] *smūr̲* 38a[4] Hoernle suggested *samrama* or *samvara* (?) Not in B M *śambara* occurs in the Kośas Terminalia Arjuna and Symplocos Racemosa *smur̲* seems more likely to be Kuchean

Unless they are corroborated elsewhere these equations may be ignored

Vowels

8 Apart from changes in quantity the vowels are generally the same as in Sanskrit The vowel *ṛ* however is represented in three ways

(*a*) by *ṛ* *pṛnkaraca* 32a[5] *tṛphāl* *pṛsnaraṇa* *ṛsabhal* ? *vṛka* 33a[3] *amṛtapāṭ*

(*b*) by *ra* *prankaraca* 31b[4] *prahate* 29b[2]

(*c*) by *rī* *sprīk̲* 1b[1] 3b[2] *sprī(k̲)* 32b[1], *spr-s* 18a[4] *sprīk̲e* 30b[3] 35a[4] 38a[4], 41a[6] 41b[3] Skt *spṛkkā* Trigonella Corniculata B M Suśr With this may be compared a variant of *hrībera* 18b[2], 23b[4], namely *hṛbera* 36b[2] but a long second syllable is as we shall see, often preceded by a short vowel in the first syllable, hence we need not conclude that *hṛbera* was pronounced *hrībera* [Med Frag *urīsc(k̲)a* *vrścika* "scorpion" B M]

9 Diphthongs There is one example in which *au* is represented by *yo* *styoneyak̲* 3b[1] see 4 above

keleyak̲ 36b[2], *k-leyak̲a* 8b[3] is identified by Hoernle with Skt *kālīyakā* The B M has *kālīyaka* "yellow sandal" But there is another form *kāleyaka* used in the same sense

or (neut.) "fragrant wood" M.W. To Suśruta, however, this means "jaundice" or a similar disease. *Kāleya* occurs in the Kumāra-S. vii, 9, "yellow fragrant wood." The *e* in the first syllable is doubtless due to the *ē* in the second syllable.

In *vetenī* *vetene* for *vedhinī* (see 3 (i) above) we see the influence of the first vowel.

Of *suksmel* 36b^2 *su(ks)mel* 25a^3 [-*mel* 18b^1] the correct Skt. form is *sūksmailā*, i.e. *sūksma* + *elā* "small cardomoms", but the B.M. has *sūksmelā*.

The diphthong *ai* is written in *saimtara* (see 3 (i) above) and in *saileyak* 1b^1 3b$^{1-2}$ 19a^1 29b^3 30a^6 32a^6, *śaileyaka* 26a^6 Parmelia Perlata B.M.

(10) The Skt. word *mañjisthā* is represented in four ways, i.e. *mañcista* (once), *mañcasta* (twice), *mañcasta* (four times), and *mañcasta* (eight times). See 2 (ii) above. The vowel *ă*, the value of which is unknown, often occurs at the end of a word and is not confined to Skt. feminines: vide *prakaracă*, *tamālapatraca*. There seems to be a tendency for a vowel to be influenced by a following or preceding vowel. See 15 below.

(11) *sumām* 18a^4 22b^2 (23a^1) 24b^1 is identified by Hoernle with *somā*, which is not found in the B.M. (where *soma* means moon) and is not quoted for Car. or Susr. Probably it represents *sumanā* "great flowering jasmine" Susr. Rosa Glandulosa M.W.: Jasminum Grandiflorum B.M., or the oil made from it. The form would be for **suman*-, compare *candan*: **candan*-, *añcām*: **añcan*- (*añcam* 5b^3). A Medical Fragment yields the full form *sumāna*.

(12) As regards length of vowels there are numerous deviations from Sanskrit. There appears to be a tendency to strengthen the vowel preceding the last consonant in a word of 2–3 and even of 4 syllables; for words of 4 or 5 syllables there are alternative methods of scansion. The syllable immediately preceding the strengthened syllable is liable to be lightened.

(b) *Disyllables.*

śakkāṟ 7a^4, 8a^6, 11a^6, 11b^2, 23a^5, 31a^4, 37a^4, 38b^3 [*-kkāṟ* 10b^4]
See 1 (b) above.

pippāḻ 4a^5, 27b^2, 28b^2, *pipāḻ* 26b^4 (but *pippali* 27a^4).

tṟphāḻ 6a^6, 19a^5, 20a^4 32a^3, *tippāḻ* 31b^1, 31b^3, 42b^4, but *tṟphaḻ* 30b^2

candām 7a^3, 8a$^{4-5}$, 15a^3, 27b^4, 38b$^{2-3}$

sumām, see 11 above

With these may be compared *uppālassana*, *uppāḻ* (Skt *utpala*) would account for *nilutpāḻ* 8b^3, 19a^4 22a^5, 32a^4, 36b^4 42b^4, *nilotpāḻ* 6a^2, 9b^5 10a^2 11b^4, *kampāḻ* (Skt *kambala*): *mañcāḵ* (Skt *mañcaka*)

The simplest hypothesis to explain these forms is that a stress accent fell on the second syllable In Kuchean the first syllable is often weak and ready to be reduced cf *yanem* "they go and *ynem* ' they go *ynāṁ* " road " *lakau* ' I shall see ' and *lkātsi* to see On the other hand, the first syllable is often strong *prāri* ' finger , *pakse* " a judge ', *pātrai* ' bowl *yāmor* ' act We cannot suppose that every dissyllable was stressed on the second syllable Why then should *sakkāṟ kampāḻ* be so accented in Kuchean, while other languages accent the first syllable ?

With these may be contrasted the spelling of *cākḵar*, which represents Skt *cakra* (L M iii 16) and of *sakḵaṟ* Skt *sukra* (L M v, 4) In these, obviously there is no indication of stress on the second syllable Is it possible that the long *ā* was sometimes used as a graphic device to mark the presence of the normal vowel *a* ? Could not *śakkāṟ* indicate *sakkar* (and not *śakkər* or *sakkrə*) much as one might write *kambūl* to show English people that the Indian word for a blanket does not really rime with " tumble " ? [1]

[1] A full discussion of this point would involve the consideration of the function of the " doublets " *k*, *ṯ*, *ṟ*, etc They often occur at the end of a Kuchean word, but they are not merely final consonants, for they occur at the beginning also, e g *ḵante* = 100 On the basis of their use in MSS. of Tocharian A. Mr, J N Reuter has suggested that they represent a series of " palatal " or " palatalized " (*mouillé*) sounds after which the vowel

(ii) *Trisyllables.*

Several words retain the Sanskrit quantities, e g. *akaru*, *tagaru* *Khadīra* (Skt *khadira*) seems to indicate an accent on the second syllable Compare *şamāne* (Skt *śramaṇaḥ*), *samāna* (Med Frag), see 11 above We may compare also *campākassa* (Skt *campaka-*) but *kurkamaşşı*, L M. v, 17, and *tanāña* *tanāsse*, as against *tāno* *tāna* from Skt. *dhāna* gram

(iii) *Quadrisyllables* (counting the final vowel as in Skt. though this may not have been pronounced after a "final" consonant *k* *ṭ* s etc)

The forms which diverge from Sanskrit are generally of the type ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑

apamāṛga 5b³ 27b⁴ 28b³ 29a⁴ 34a⁵, 11a⁵ (Skt *apāmārga*), *aramāṛga* 9a¹ *apamārka* 35a³

paramātte 7a⁴ but *lalamate*

amalākı 21b¹ (Skt *amalaka*)

samanīsa 31b¹

asvakānta 1b² 4b³ *et passim* but *asvagandha*) 37b³

Compare *Cakravārrte* L M iii 19 v 24 and *pint-wāta-*, L M v 25 *pinda pāta*

Here may be noted the Prakrit word *arīrāk* (a)*rīrākassana* 2a⁵ *arırāka* 8b¹ *arırākassana* 8b¹ *arırāk* (Med Frag.), see 1 (b) above The form *arırāk* belongs to the type ⏑ ⏑ (⏑) of *amalāka*, etc while *arīrāk* retains the long ī of Skt Pali and Persian forms

With a long vowel in the first syllable – ⏑ – ⏑ we have *pāro lak* see 5 above Compare *Sthūlanānda* and *Bodhisātve*.

On the other hand, we find *tanāpate* for *dānapati* and *pinkaraca* *prankaraci* for *bhṛngarāja* : *śātapari* 18b⁴, *śatapari* 24a⁵ 27a⁵, *satavari* 36b⁴ for *satāvari*.

... is somewhat modified If so the difference of vocalization due to the difference of the two consonants *k* and *ķ* would fit in with the explanation offered above, viz that the long *a* marks the normal vowel as distinguished from the *Vowillerungsvokal*. See J N. Reuter, *Bemerkungen über die neuen Lautzeichen im Tocharischen*, Studia Orientalia, i, p. 194 ff. (Helsingfors, 1925)

language with a strong stress accent always disfigures words taken from a language with a light accent and a distinction of quantity independent of the accent Thus the usual English pronunciation converts Himālaya into "himmer-layer" and Kapūrthala into 'cupper-tahler'

(iv) *Pentasyllables* —With five syllables the general tendency is to retain the Skt type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ with possibly some stress on the first syllable, while deviations from Skt approximate to this type

śabara-lottar̤ 5a^4, *-lodr̤* 7a^5 8b^2, *lotị* 4a^3, 7b^2, 9a^4, 11a^3, 11b^2 12a^3, 28b^2, 30b^2, 34b^4, 41a^5

kanaka-puspa 25a^5

putana-keśi 42b^3 (*puta-* 20a$^{4-5}$) but *pūta(nak)eśi* 32a$^{5-6}$ Skt *pūtanā-keśī* Car 'a plant In B M *pūtanā* Terminalia Chebula

karunasāri, see 6 above

tamalapātaị 4a^6, 8b^3, 10a^3, 18a^4 *tamalapātị* 28b^3 29a^3 30a^6 38a^3, 36b^1 41b^3, but *tamālapatị* 3b^3 10a^3 (19b^3), 24b^3 27b^4, *tamālapā-* 5a^4 Skt *tamāla pattra* leaf of Xanthochmus Pictorius but there is an adj *tāmala* "made of Tamala bark and the B M has *tāmalakī* Phylanthus Urinaria

Compare *ampr̤tapātị* (1b^5) *-pāttị* 6a^4 and *surasapādtaị a* 41b^3 but *surasapatr̤* 23b^2

nicitakāmp 1b^3, 4b^1, *nicitakampi* 6a^2 25b^2, *nicitakampa* 29a^5 35a^4, 41a^6, *-kampa* 27b^2, 34a^4

śirisapuspā 5a$^{5-6}$, *śīrisapuspa* 4a^6 (Med Frag *siris*)

13 Final *ī* of Sanskrit is regularly represented by the short vowel This is not surprising In Kuchean final *ī* is exceptional, while final *i* is quite common Infinitives in *-tsi*, the plural of many nouns as well as singulars like *prāri*, *nāki*, *ynāri*, and derivatives of the type of *iśelmecci*, *weśeññi* furnish an abundance of examples of the short vowel Of the long vowel, on the other hand, the three fascicles of MM. Sylvain Levi and Meillet yield only three examples, all of them monosyllables: *ñī*, *wī*, and *rī*. Moreover, for the

first two of these we find alternative forms with the vowel short If 2 is *wī* or *wi*, 12 is always *śakwi* Such alternatives as *ñī* and *ñi*, *wī* and *wi*, together with *pīṣ* and *piṣ*, *īkam* and *ikam* *cwī* and *cwi*, suggest that for Kuchean there was no sharp distinction between *i* and *ī*, that any difference there was had no semantic value and that the quality of *i* and *ī* was the same (That is that the short and long vowel differed only in length and not also as regards the position of the mouth and tongue)

The comparative rarity of *ī* and the frequency of alternate forms with *i* seem to point the same way Even for the first person singular of the optative (type *yamīm*, *yamīmar*) we find *pessimar* L M v 36

On the other hand *e* medial and final is common in Kuchean and occasionally changes places with *i* in Sanskrit words *eranda* (Med Frag) Skt *eranda* Ricinus Communis ' castor-oil plant B M

teten 7a[1] *etete* 6a[5-6] see 3 (i) above

Compare *tanāpat* *dānapati*

11 Other examples of shortened vowels are —

rasna 23b[3] 29b[2] Skt *rāsnā* Vanda Roxburghii. B M

lak 29b[2] (*la* 14a[3]) but *lāk(sa)* 27a[1] *lā-* 37a[6])

udar [illegible] Skt *udārī* see 2 (iii)

In Medical Fragment we find *karañcapiṣa* Skt *karañjabīja*. *karañja* Pongamia Glabra B M *atmagupta-phal* Skt. *ātmaguptā* Mucuna Pruriens ' cowhage "

The numerous examples of shortened vowels tend to strengthen the impression that in Kuchean the duration of a vowel was not a matter of importance.

15 Enigmatic is the ending *ā* It corresponds to Skt. *-ā* in *asvagandhā*, but we have *aśvakānta*. In *mañcaṣṭā* it corresponds with *-ā* and with *-a*. In the following words it corresponds with a short vowel. *prakaracā*, *varankatvacā*, *nidakampā*, *śirīṣapuṣpā*, *curnā* 33a[4] and *cūrnā* 2a[4]. (Med. Frag *karañcapiṣā*.)

The explanation of these forms must depend on the value

... In Kuchean This vowel occurs most frequently after a palatal consonant or after *w*, but also after other consonants, e.g. *yarmā*, *tmàskentṛ* (also *tmaskentṛ*), *prāścaṃ*, L M. v, 20 (also *praścyaṃ*, L M v 35, *preścyai* L M v. 20).

The alternations of a common word like *yaltse*, *yältse*, *yiltse* = 1,000 suggest that *ā* was a short vowel

16 This examination of Sanskrit words in Kuchean Medical texts indicates the following main features in Kuchean phonetics —

(*a*) strong stress accent,

(*b*) vowels are distinguished by quality rather than by duration

(*c*) absence of sonant stops (except nasals)

(*d*) absence of aspirates

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Arabic Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, M.A.

WHILST engaged as a Research Student on "Mediaeval Arabian Musical Theory" at Glasgow University, I had the good fortune to have access to several libraries, and among them the Bodleian where I compiled for my needs a short but detailed catalogue of the Arabic musical MSS. in this famous library. As this catalogue may be of use to orientalists and musical antiquaries I take this opportunity of giving it publicity.

So far as I am aware the only person who has mentioned a perusal of these MSS. is J. P. N. Land, who visited the Bodleian some forty years ago.[1] Although the library cannot boast of any unique examples of Arabic musical MSS., yet many have vowel points and other valuable features not to be found in other collections. Three-fourths of these treatises are mentioned in the printed catalogue,[2] but in this communication I give a brief description of the contents of each treatise and the foliation,[3] together with the identification of authors and works. Further, I have included four treatises acquired since the catalogues of Uri and Nicoll were issued. For these, recourse has been made to a MS. catalogue compiled by Ethe, and a subsequent "Handlist". I desire to thank Dr. A. Cowley, Bodley's Librarian, for permission to consult these MSS. and for other kindnesses. I have also to acknowledge the help

[1] *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, ii, Leipzig, 1886, p. 347 sq.
[2] Uri, *Bibliotheca Bodleiana, Cod. Man. Orient.*, Oxon, 1787.
[3] In this I follow the leaves as they are numbered at present.

... *ma'allim*, Dr. T. H. Weir, and the courtesy of Mr. Edgar Lobell, M.A.

The most important of the Arabic musical MSS in the Bodleian are. The *risâla* on music by the Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ (tenth century A D) according to Al-Majrîtî, the *maqâla* on music from the *Shifâ'* of Ibn Sînâ (eleventh century), the tract on music from the *Najât* of the same author, the *Sharafiyya* of Ṣafî al-Dîn 'Abd al-Mu'min (thirteenth century), the *Kitâb al-Adwâr* by the same author and the *Kitâb yustakhraj minhu al-Anghâm* by Shams al-Dîn al-Saidâwî al-Dhahabî (sixteenth century).

1. *Uri*, CMIV *Hunt*, 296

Title "4th Tract from the 1st Portion on Mathematics and Music (from) the Tracts of the Ikhwân al Ṣafâ by the learned Al-Majrîtî (رسالة الاربعة من القسم الاول من الرياضيات و الموسيق [من] رسائل اخوان الصفا للعارف المجريطي).

The Arabic text of this work has appeared in several editions,[1] and a German translation has been published by Dieterici.[2] At the same time, a critical edition of this work is badly needed, and the Bodleian copies would be of inestimable value for this since they hand down the Western or Andalusian reading of Al-Majrîtî, whilst other editions appear to have depended on Eastern sources of the *Rasâ'il*

Begins on fol 24. Ends on fol 38

[1] The best edition at present is that of Bombay (1887–9), whilst the worst that I have seen is that of Cairo (1889)

[2] Dieterici, *Propaedeutik der Araber*, Berlin, 1865.

Division 1 Fol. 24, v. The Opinions of the Wise concerning Music (في ان اصل صناعة الموسيقا للحكماء).

2 Fol 25 On the Theory of Sound (في كيفية ادراك القوة السامعة للاصوات).

3 Fol 25, v On Consonant and Dissonant Sounds (في امتزاج الاصوات وتنافرها).

4 Fol 26 On the Influence of Sound (في تأثر الأمزجة بالاصوات).

5 Fol 26 v On the Origins of the Melodies (في أصول الالحان وموازينها).

6 Fol 28 On Musical Instruments (في كيفية صناعة الآلات واصلاحها).

7 Fol 29 On the Music of the Spheres (في ان لحركات الأفلاك نغمات كنغمات العيدان).

8 Fol. 32. On the Parts of Speech (في أن احكام الكلام صنعة من الصنائع).

9. Fol. 33, v. On the Proportions of the Body

(في تناسب الاعضاء على الاصول)

(الموسيقية).

Division 10. Fol 34 On the Music of the Spheres and the Rhythms (في حقيقة نغمات الافلاك)

„ 11 Fol 34, v On the Four-fold things the Elements Humours etc (في ذكر المربعات).

„ 12 Fol 35, v On Melody Making (في الانتقال من طبقات الالحان)

„ 13 Fol 36 The Opinions of the Philosophers (في نوادر الفلاسفة في الموسيقى)

„ 14 Fol 37 v On the Influences of the Notes (في تلون تأثيرات الانغام).

2 *Uri*, CMlxxxix *Marsh* 189

Title "The 4th Book on Music (from) the Tracts of the Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ by the learned Al-Majriti (الكتاب الرابع في الموسيقا [من] رسائل اخوان الصفا للعارف المجريطي

Same work as the preceding

Begins on fol 25, v Ends on fol 41, v

A pointed text

3 *Uri*, ccccclxxvi *Pocock*, 109

Title: "The 8th Section from the *Kitâb al-Shifâ'* on Music [Ibn Sina] (الفن الثامن من كتاب الشفاء و هو الموسيقى)

This section (فنّ) has six chapters (مقالات) which have numerous divisions (فصول).

Begins on fol. 74, v. Ends on fol. 308, v.

Chapter 1. Fol. 74, v. On Sound (صوت).

2. Fol. 105, v. On the Intervals (أبعاد).

3. Fol. 117, v. On the Genres (اجناس) and Species (انواع).

4. Fol. 122, v. On the Systems (جموع) and the Science of Melody Making (الانتقال).

The scribe has omitted the end of Chapter 3 and the beginning of Chapter 4, but the omissions may be found at the end of the book.

5. Fol. 132, v. On Rhythm (ايقاع).

6. Fol. 187, v. On Composition (تأليف).

This MS. has a pointed text which appears, on the whole, to be a reliable one. At any rate some of the perplexing passages in the other Bodleian copy (cccexxxvi, *Pocock*, 250) and the India Office MS. stand out quite clear in this example.

I. *Ccc*cxxxvi. *Pocock*. 250.

Ibn The 3rd section in part 3 in the *Kitâb al-Shifâ'* on Music (الفنّ الثالث في الجملة الثالثة في كتاب الشفاء في الموسيق). It is the same work as the preceding.

Begins on fol. 74. Ends on fol. 98, v.

Chapter 1	Fol 74.	Chapter 4.	Fol 82, v
" 2.	Fol 78, v.	" 5	Fol 84, v
" 3	Fol 80.	" 6.	Fol 92

5. *Uri*, MXXVI. 4° *Marsh*, 521

Title: " Book of Music by the Shaikh al-Ra'îs Abû 'Alî ibn Sînâ . . . from the *Kitâb al-Najât*" (كتاب الموسيق للشيخ الرئيس ابي على بن سينا . . . من جملة كتاب النجاة). It is not divided into chapters or divisions, but the most important subjects dealt with are as follows:—

Begins on fol 159 Ends on fol 170 v

1 Fol [illegible] On Sound (صوت) and the Inte[illegible] (ابعاد).

2. Fol 163 On the Genres (اجناس)

3. Fol 164 On the Systems (جموع)

4 Fol 164, v On Rhythm (ايقاع).

5. Fol 167 On the science of Melody Making (الانتقال)

6. Fol. 168 On various instruments the *sanj* (صنج) *shâhrûd* (شاهرود), *tunbûr* (طنبور), *mizmâr* (مزمار)

7. Fol. 168, v. On the Fretting of the Lute (ربط)

8. Fol. 169, v. On the Composition of Melodies (تاليف الالحان).

From line 8 to 16 on fol. 170, v, there is matter added another hand, whilst fol 171 deals with the twelve modes (شدود), the six secondary modes (اوازات), and the branch modes (شعب ?), which do not belong to the period of Ibn Sînâ.

6 *Uri*, CMlxxxv. 1° *Marsh*, 161.

Title "Book of Music by the Shaikh al-Ra'is Abû 'Alî ibn Sînâ from the *Kitâb al-Najât*" (كتاب الموسيق للشيخ الرئيس ابي علي بن سينا . . . من جملة كتاب النجاة). Same work as the preceding

Begins on fol 1 Ends on fol 9 v

Uri says "*Avicennæ de Musica Liber, quindecim sectionibus, quadraginta foliis constans*" This is an error The work of Ibn Sînâ does not extend to forty folios, but merely from fol. 1 to fol 9, v Another author, whom I shall mention presently (No 11), is responsible for fol 10 to fol 42, v (Cf *Addenda et Emendanda*, 605)

7 *Uri*, CMXXII *Marsh*, 115

Title "The *Sharafiyya* Treatise on Composition by Safî al-Dîn 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Baghdâdî" (كتاب الرسالة الشرفية في النسب التأليفية لصفي الدين عبد المؤمن البغدادي) It is divided into five chapters (مقالات) which have numerous divisions (فصول)

Begins on fol. 2 Ends on fol. 55, v

Chapter 1. Fol 3, v On Sound (في الكلام على الصوت ولواحقه وفي شكوك واردة علي ما قيل فيه).

Chapter 2 Fol 6 On Intervals (في حصر نسب

الاعداد [الابعاد or] بعضها الي بعض واستخراج الابعاد

ونسبها المستخرجة من نسب مقاديرها ومراتبها في

التلائم والتنافر واسمائها الموضوعة لها)

Chapter 3 Fol 11 On the Genres, etc (في اضافات

الابعاد بعضها الي بعض ووصل بعضها عن بعض واستخراج

الاجناس من الابعاد الوسطى)

Chapter 4 Fol 2[illegible] On the Modes and Melodic Construction

(ترتيب الاجناس في طبقات الابعاد [العظمى] وذكر

نسبها واعدا[دها])

Chapter 5 Fol 48 v On the Rhythm and Finger Scale

(في الايقاع ونسب ادواره والارشاد الي كيفية استخراج

الالحان بالصناعة العملية)

A pointed text There are copies at Berlin (5506) Paris (2479) and Vienna (1515) Carra de Vaux published a *résumé* of the contents of the Paris copy in the *Journal Asiatique* (1891)[1]

8 *Uri*, MXXVI, 2° *Marsh* 521

No title Uri says " *Tractatus de Musica ex Græcorum libris excerptus* *Autoris nomen abest* " But on fol 1 of the volume this treatise is referred to as " The *Sharafiyya*

[1] Matter in square brackets added from *Uri*, MXXVI, *Marsh*, 521

Treatise on the Knowledge of Composition" (كتاب الشرفية في معرفة النسب التأليفية). It is identical with the preceding work

Begins on fol 34, v. Ends on fol 116

Chapter 1	Fol 35, v	Chapter 4	Fol. 67, v.
2	Fol 38, v	,, 5	Fol 104, v.
3	Fol 49		

Fol 116 v to 117 v has additional matter which does not belong to the *Sharafiyya* (?)

9 *Cri* MXXVI 3° *Marsh* 521

Title " Book of the Modes of Music by Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Urmawī (كتاب الادوار في الموسيقى . . . صفي الدين عبد المؤمن الارموى). It is divided into fifteen divisions (فصول)

Begins on fol 118 Ends on fol 158

Division 1 Fol 119, v On the Notes (في تعريف الانغام وبيان الحدّه والثقل)

2 Fol 120 On the Divisions of the Frets (في اقسام الدساتين)

,, 3 Fol 122, v On the Intervals (في نسب الابعاد).

,, 4 Fol 125, v On the Intervals (في الاسباب الموجبة للتنافر).

,, 5. Fol. 126. On Composition (في التأليف الملائم)

Division 6. Fol. 128, v On the Modes (في الأدوار ونسبها).

" 7. Fol 138 On Instruments of Two Strings (في حكم الوترين).

" 8 Fol. 138, v On the Lute (في ذكر العود وتسوية اوتار واستخراج الادوار منه).

" 9. Fol 139, v On the Names of the Modes (في اسماء الادوار المشهورة).

" 10 Fol 147 v On the Partnership of the Notes (في تشارك نغم الادوار).

" 11 Fol 148 On the Scales (في طبقات الادوار).

" 12 Fol 149 On the Accordatura (في الاصطحاب المعهود).

" 13 Fol 149 v On Rhythm (في أدوار الايقاع).

" 14 Fol 155 v On the Influence of the Notes (في تأثير النغم).

" 15 Fol 156 On the Method of Performance (في مباشرة العمل).

Fol 157, v, has a design of the lute (عود).

Fol. 158 has a design of a rectangular zither called the *nuzha* (نزهة), which, according to the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (*Brit Mus.*

Or 2361, fol. 263, v), was "inven[illegible] y [illegible] author of this treatise

A pointed text This *Kitâb al-Adwâr* was one of the most famous textbooks for Arabian, Persian, and Indian musical theory for several centuries All later theorists refer to it and commentaries abound Besides those in the Bodleian other copies of the work may be found in the British Museum (Or 136, and Or 2361)[1] and other collections.

10 *Uri*, MXXVI, 1° *Marsh*, 521

Title "The Book known as the Adwâr on the Science of Music (كتاب في علم الموسيق الموسوم بالادوار)."

Uri says "*Tractatus anonymi de Harmonica seu Musica.*" It is identical with the preceding but does not contain the designs of musical instruments

Begins on fol 1 Ends on fol 32 v

Division	1	fol 2	Division	9	Fol 15
,,	2	Fol 2 v	,,	10	Fol 17
,,	3	Fol 4		11	Fol 18
,,	4	Fol 6 v	,,	12	Fol 21 *bis*.
	5	Fol 7		13	Fol 25.
,,	6	Fol 9		14	Fol 30, v.
,,	7	Fol 11	,,	15	Fol 31
,,	8	Fol 14, v			

11 *Uri* CMLXXXV *Marsh* 161

No Title

The work is identical with the above This is the treatise already referred to, which escaped the notice of Uri, who following the copyist considered that it was part of the *Kitâb al-Najât* of Ibn Sinâ, which immediately precedes it.

Begins on fol. 10. Ends on fol. 42, v.

[1] The *Brit. Mus.* Or. 136 contains examples of songs in the various "modes", which are not found in the above and other copies.

Division	1	Fol 10, v	Division	9	Fol 24, v
,,	2	Fol 11	,,	10	Fol 26 v
,,	3	Fol 12 v		11	Fol 27, v
,,	4	Fol 15 v	,,	12	Fol 34 v
,,	5	Fol 16	,,	13	Fol 35, v
,,	6	Fol 18	,,	14	Fol 41
,,	7	Fol 23 v		15	Fol 41 v
,,	8	Fol 24			

An unpointed text It does not contain the designs of musical instruments as in No 9

12 *Uri* cmlxxxv *Marsh* 161

Title "Book of the Modes of Music ... by Safi al-Din 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Urmawi (كتاب الادوار فى الموسيقى) صفي الدين عبد المؤمن الارموي ... It is identical with No 8

Begins on fol 43 Ends on fol 83

Division	1	Fol 44	Division	9	Fol 63 v
	2	Fol 45		10	Fol 70 v
,,	3	Fol 47		11	Fol 72
,,	4	Fol 50		12	Fol 73
,,	5	Fol 50 v		13	Fol 73 v
,,	6	Fol 53		14	Fol 80
	7	Fol 62		15	Fol 80 v
,,	8	Fol 62 v			

Fols 82, v, and 83 contain the designs of the lute and zither mentioned in No 9

An unpointed text

13 *Uri*, xlii, 2° *Marsh*, 82

Title "Book on what is extracted from the Notes a Compilation by the Shaikh Shams al-Din al-Ṣaidâwi al-Dhahabi" (كتاب يستخرج منه الانغام تأليف الشيخ)

(شمس الدين الصيداوي الذهبي). A treatise for the most part in verse with numerous divisions the most important of which are as follows —

Begins on fol 59 Ends on fol 79

1 Fol 59 v Verses (مزدوج) dealing with the four "Root Modes" (اصول) the eight "Derived Modes" (فروع) the "Secondary Modes" (اوارات), the *Buhûr* (بحور) etc

2 Fol 69 v Notation of the "Root Modes" and "Derived Modes" (دوائر الاصول و الفروع).

3 Fol 71 v Notation of the "Secondary Modes" (دوائر الاوارات).

4 Fol 72 v Notation of the *Buhûr* (دوائر البحور)

5 Fol 73 v The Modes and the Zodiac (دائرة الجمع)

6 Fol 73 v Verses on the Intervals (ابعاد)

7 Fol 74 v Table of the Transposition Scales (جدول الطبقات).

8 Fol 75 Verses on the Notes (نغمات).

9 Fol 75 v Tables on the *Mukhâlifât* (مخالفات).

An important MS showing an eight-lined stave in colours for the purpose of notation It is identical with the Paris MS (Arabe 2480) whose author is named Shams al-Dîn

al-Ṣaidâwî al-Dimashqî The Bodleian MS is short of four couplets at the end of verses on fol 69

14. *MS Arab C* 40

No Title. Catalogue[1] says "*Circuli Musici Arabici*" It is a portion of the above treatise of Shams al-Dîn al Ṣaidâwi but a poor copy[2]

Begins on fol 1 Ends on fol 6, v

1	(Missing)	6	Fol 5, v
2	Fol 1	7	Fol 6
3	Fol 3 v	8	Fol 6, v
4	Fol 4	9	(Missing)
5	Fol 5		

15[3] *Ouseley*, 106

Title 'Book of the Treasure of Delight and the Goal of Necessity' كتاب كنز الطرب وغاية الارب

It is the same work as No 13 but an incomplete copy as follows —

Begins on fol 46 Ends on fol 54

1	Fol 46 v	6	(Missing)
2	(Missing)	7	
3		8	
4		9	
5	Fol 53, v	10	Fol 54 The derivation of the modes

[1] Hand list

[2] In a '*Catalogue of Oriental MSS purchased in Turkey*, belonging to Dr Lee, 1830' (printed by R Watts London, 1831, 2nd pt, 1840), two works of the above writer are mentioned

No 51

(1) *A Metrical Essay on the Science of el-Nugham* (Modulation), by Shemsu-d dîn E s saidawi

(2) *Menzumeti Sheikh Shemsu-d din* A poem on the same subject, by the same author

I would be grateful for information concerning the present location of these works, and also concerning another of the Lee MSS., No 50, *A Tract on Musical Composition*, by 'Ali ibn Sa'id el Andalusi.

[3] Nos 15, 16, and 17 are in Ethe's MS Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts

This last section (10), which is not contained in other copies, shows the derivation of the modes in the form of a genealogical tree. This latter is said to be a common method of illustrating these modes (see last lines of the *Ma'rifat al-naghmât al-thamân* MS in the Madrid Library, No 334), but it is the only example that I have seen

16.[1] *Ouseley* 102

Title On fol 1 Book on the Science of Music and the Knowledge of the Notes[1] (كتاب فى علم الموسقى ومعرفه الانغام) *Title* On fol 2 Portals of the Goal of the Enquirer and the Enquiry (ابواب نهاية الطلاّب والمطلوب). A treatise in verse (رجز) with a prose commentary by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Dhahabi called also Al Jazîri ibn al-Sibâh

Begins on fol 1 Ends on fol 11 v

17.[1] *Ouseley* 102 2

Title Book of Precision in the Science of the Modes and the Measures (كتاب الميزان فى علم الادوار و الاوزان).

An anonymous treatise based on the ***Kitâb al-Adwâr*** of Safi al Din Abd al Mu'min and the *Qirâ'at al-Zamân fi 'ilm al-Alhân* of Sharif al-Din ibn al-'Alâ'i al-'Ulwi al-Husaini al Baghdâdi It is divided into six parts (ابواب).

Begins on fol 11, v Ends on fol 36.

Introduction, fol 11, v

[1] See previous footnote

Part 1 Fol 13 On the Elements of Music (في مهية الموسيقى)

„ 2 Fol 20 v On the Open Notes (في ماهية النغم المطلق)

„ 3 Fol 22 On the Strings etc (في الاوتار والمواحب)

„ 4 Fol 24 On the Modes (في معرفه الشدود والاوارات)

„ 5 Fol 28 v On the Frets (في اس[illegible]ساس)

„ 6 Fol 31 v On Rhythm (في الايقاع)

November, 1924

A Seleucid Legal Text

By C. P. T. WINCKWORTH

IN the *Centenary Supplement* to this Journal, pp. 41–8, Mr. G. R. Driver edited a Neo-Babylonian tablet concerned with the sale of a *GIR.LAL*-priesthood, and made some excellent observations on this class of transaction. In what follows there will be frequent occasion to refer to that article.

In the Seleucid period such sales of priestly offices become very prominent, perhaps in virtue of the class of documents that has reached us. In 1896 Peiser edited a text recording the sale of a certain office during the reign of Seleucus II in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, IV, p. 312 ff. Since then two important collections of Seleucid legal texts have been published by Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, part II (hereafter cited as "Morg. II"), and by Schroeder, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, part XV (cited as "VS. XV"), respectively. In his *Introduction* Clay has transcribed and translated a selection of nine texts, but the work is confessedly not critical. Apart from a very brief analysis of their contents the other texts have been entirely neglected.

As a preliminary to the study of a new series of Seleucid legal tablets in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, I have had occasion to examine in detail the above-mentioned texts. In the course of this investigation it soon became evident that of the many records of sales of priestly offices to be found among them there is one of outstanding interest. Whereas all the other deeds of sale more or less coincide in form and content with that edited by Peiser, the text Morg. II, 47 is a contract in the shape of a dialogue (cp. Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, pp. 73–4). But the

30\. *i-mi-du-šu i-nam-bi-il* (*amêl*) *mukinnu I* (*il*)*Anu-aḫê* (*MEŠ*)
iddin a š I BÁR- (*il*)*Anu a š*
I (*il*)*Anu-áḫ-ušabši*(*ši*) *a I E-kúr-za-kir I Ina-ki-lil-*(*il*)
Anu a š I Nu-ur a š I(Li) *Lišir* [24]
a I Gimil-(*il*)*Anu I Ta-nit-tum-*(*il*)*Anu a š I* (*il*)*Anu*
bêl-šu-nu a š I Ta-nit-tum- (*il*)*Anu a*
I Áḫ-'-ú-tú I Ri-ḫat-(*il*)*Anu a š I Iqiša*(*ša*) *a a š I* (*il*)
Anu-balât-su-iqbi u I (*il*)*Anu-uballit* (*it*)
a š I Ta-nit-tum- (*il*)*Anu a š I Balâtu aple* (*MEŠ*)
I Lu-us-tam-mar- (*il*) *Adad I Man n*[*u-i-q*]*a-bi*
a š I (*il*)*Anu-uballit*(*it*) *a I Šadi*(*i*) *I Nidintum* [25]
(*ilat*)*Ištar a š I Ri-ḫat-* (*il*) *Anu a I* [ ]
I BÁR- (*il*)*Anu a š I Ina-ki-lil-*(*il*) *Anu ša ultu* [?] (*amêl*)*ki*
niš-tum *ša bît ile* (*M*[*EŠ*) *ša Uruk* (*KI*)]
I (*il*)*Anu-uballit*(*it*) [illegible] *l*)*tupšarru* [26] *a š I Ina-ki-li*
(*il*)*Anu a I Ê-kur-za-kir* Uruk (*KI*) (*araḫ*) Kislimu
KAM
ûm *3 KAM šattu 157 KAM I Di-e-mit-ri-si šarri*
L E *ištên* (*en*) *TA 4 AN tuppi* [27] *ša-ta-ri ilteqû* [28] [illegible](*u*)
U E *un-qa I Man-nu-i-qa-bu un-qa I Ta-nit-tum-* (*il*)*Anu*
un-qa I (*il*)*Anu-*[ ]
Lo E *un-qa I Ina-ki-lil-* (*il*)*Anu un-qa I* (*il*)*Anu-uballit* (*it*)
un-qa I Ri-ḫat-[(*il*)*Anu*]
L E *un-qa I BÁR-* (*il*)*Anu un-qa I Nidintum* [25]*-* (*ilat*)
Ištar
R E *un-qa I Dum ki-* (*il*)*Anu a š I Arad-bît-*[*reš*] *un-qa*
I (*il*)*Anu-balât-su-iqbi a š I BÁR-* (*i*[*l*])*Anu*]

[1] — *aplu ša* [2] = *apil* [3] Id *TA* [4] Id *PAB* [5] Id *MU MEŠ* [6] Id *GIŠ ŠUB BA* [7] Id *EN LIL.* [8] Id *BAD* [illegible] Id *UD ÉŠ ÉŠ* [10] Id *EN* [11] See commentary [illegible] Text has *LÙ !* [13] Id *ŠUM* [14] Id *KUŠ* [15] I[illegible]*U ARAD* [16] See commentary [17] Text has *ŠÚ !* [18] Id ḪA LA [19] Id *BI* [20] Id *NU* [21] Id *GUB* [22] ? [23] Id *UKKIN* [24] Cp Morg II

p 65 b [25] Id *NÍG ŠÚM MU* [26] Id *SANGA* [27] Id *IM*.
[28] Id *TI*

Translation

Anu-balâṭ-su-iqbi, whose other name is Bassiya, son of *BÁR*-Anu son of *Ubar*, son of *BÁR*-Marduk, of his free-will spake unto Du[mqi]-Anu, son of Arad-bît-rêš, son of Dumqi-Anu who is of the college of priests *of the chief temple*, saying: [illegible] of the day (reckoned) on one day, on the 26th day, and [illegible] of the day (reckoned) on one day, on the 30th day, total [illegible] of the day plus [illegible] of [illegible] of the day, (reckoned) on one day, on the said days thy prebend (attached to)[1] the *GÍ[R] LA[L]*-office the said prebend (attached to) the *GÍR LAL*-office that is before Anu, Antum Ellil Ea and the gods of their whole house monthly throughout the year (at) the burnt-offerings (and) the monthly festivals and everything soever that pertains to the said prebend grant me over a period of ten years for the *risinnu* office Then will I do thy *risinnu*-office without interruption omit no appointed ceremony, and give thee according to whatever *risinnu*-officers give Erecheans that are prebendaries And I shall give thee two skins of sheep the *regular offerings* in the course of one year yearly one *skin* in Ab and the other skin in Kislev, but it in Tebet in addition to the share at the monthly festival Thereupon the said Dumqi-Anu *hearkened* unto him giving him the said prebend (attached to) the *GÍR LAL*-office over a period of ten years For [daily] serv[ice] without interruption or omission of appointed ceremonies over a period of ten years the said Anu balâṭsu-iqbi is responsible to the said Dumqi Anu The said Dumqi Anu shall have no control over the said prebend (attached to) the *GÍR LAL*-office until the ten years shall have elapsed He shall not transfer (it), and to no other *risinnu*-officer whatever shall he give (it) If, however, he do give (it), he shall not abide (by the covenant), but shall redeem (it), and, without

[1] But see commentary under *GÍR LAL-ú-tu*

suit or protest, the said Dumqi-Anu shall pay ½ of a manch of silver to the said Anu-balâtsu-iqbi If the said Anu balâtsu-iqbi interrupt (the *risinnu*-office) or omit an appointed ceremony, [the said] Anu-balâtsu-iqbi shall pay ½ of a manch of silver [to] the said Dumqi-Anu, and shall *bear* whatever (penalty) the chief [ ]-officer of the temple of the gods and the assembly of Erech impose upon him Witnesses Anu aḫê-iddin, son of *BÁR*-Anu, son of Anu-aḫ-ušabši son of Ekur-zâkir Ina-kilîl-Anu son of Nûr, son of Lusir son of Gimil-Anu, Tanittum-Anu, son of Anu-Bêlšunu son of Tanittum Anu son of Aḫ ûtu Riḫat Anu son of Iqîšâ, son of Anu-balâtsu-iqbi and Anu-uballit, son of Tanittum-Anu, son of Balâtu the sons of Luštammar Adad, Mann[u-iq]abi, son of Anu-uballit son of Sadi Nidintum-Ištar, son of Riḫat-Anu son of [ ] *BÁR*-Anu son of Ina-kilîl-Anu, who is of the college of priests of the temple of the god[s at Erech], Anu-uballit the scribe son of Ina-kilîl Anu, son of Ekur-zâkir Erech, the 3rd day of *Kislev* year 157, (in the reign of) Demetrius the king Each one has taken an inscribed tablet Signet-ring Mannu iqabu Signet-ring Tanittum-Anu. Signet-ring Anu[[ ] Signet-ring Ina-kilîl-Anu. Signet-ring An uballit Signet-ring Riḫat-[Anu]. Signet-ring *BÁR* An Signet-ring Nidintum-Ištar Signet ring Dumqi Anu so of Arad-bît-[rêš] Signet-ring: Anu-balâtsu-iqbi son *BÁR*-[Anu]

COMMENTARY [1]

1 *ša šumšu šanû Bassiya* "whose other name is B C the custom at this period of assuming a second name s Clay Morg II, p 16 ff The name spelt *Ba-as-si-ia* has bee compared with Πασίας, Φασίας, Βαζεῖς, or Βαζάνης

3. *kiništum* "college of priests" Aramaic כנישתא S Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 67 Another spelling is *ki-na-aš-ti*, YOS [2] III, 57, 6 *bît rêš* "the chie

[1] The numbers in thick type are those of the lines of the transcription.
[2] *Yale Oriental Series*, Babylonian Texts

temple" Written either *É SAG* or *É ri-eš* A late term for Eanna, the temple of Anu and Ištar at Erech See Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, 74

4 11 Anu-Balâtsu-iqbi bargains with Dumqi-Anu for the right to enjoy over a period of ten years the prebend (*isqu*) attached to a certain *GÍR LAL*-office the property of Dumqi-Anu The office in question is held twice monthly, on the 26th and on the 30th, throughout the year On both occasions it is a part-day tenure for $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{1}{18}$ of the day respectively, making the total duration of office for the month equivalent to $\frac{2}{9}$ of one day The temple revenue from which prebends are derived being always a variable quantity, the value of the prebend in question is, as usual, expressed in terms of the time for which the corresponding office is held, and to which it stands in direct proportion

4 5 *šiššu ša ûmu ina ištên ûmu ina ûm 26 KAM* "$\frac{1}{6}$ of the day, (reckoned) on one day on the 26th day" and *18-'-ú ša ûmu ina ištên ûmu ina ûm 30 KAM* "$\frac{1}{18}$ of the day, (reckoned) on one day on the 30th day" In these two expressions each of which consists of three terms the second term *ina ištên ûmu* "(reckoned) on one day" or "out of one day", is superfluous Expressed arithmetically, the first two terms may be written "$\frac{1}{6}$ of the day" and "$\frac{1}{18}$ of the day" respectively For the omission of the second term cp VS XV, 28 2 ff 32 2 In some texts the qualifying *ša ûmu* in the first term is also omitted cp Morg II 4, 1 f, 11, 2, 12, 2. *18-'-u* "$\frac{1}{18}$" is once found spelt in full *sa-ma-na eš-ru-ú* Morg II 3 20 On the analogy of this spelling the reading of the other fractions may be determined

5 6. *ḫanšu ša ûmu u šalšu ina 18-'-u ša ûmu ina ištên ûmu* "$\frac{1}{5}$ of the day plus $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{18}$ of the day, (reckoned) on one day". This cumbrous expression, which gives the total duration of office for the month, may be written "$\frac{\frac{1}{5}+(\frac{1}{3}\times\frac{1}{18})}{1}$ of the day" = $\frac{?}{?}$ of the day For the expansion of $\frac{2}{9}$ cp. *2 TA qûtâtu ša ûmu u 18-'-ú ša ûmu* "$\frac{2}{3}$ of the day plus $\frac{1}{18}$ of the day"

VS. XV, 28, 4 For the resolution of $\frac{1}{48}$ into $\frac{1}{3} \times \frac{1}{16}$ cp *mišil ina 3 TA qâtâtu* "$\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$" Morg II 11, 2, *samânû ina sibû* "$\frac{1}{8}$ of $\frac{1}{7}$" Morg II, 16, 2

išqu "prebend" The id *GIŠ ŠUB BA* may be read either *išqu* (Delitzsch) or *isqu* (Muss Arnolt) Mr Driver loc cit renders this word "portion" comparing it with the "courses of service" of the Jewish priests and Levites Clay, with others, renders it "income" But it would seem that the words "portion" and "income" have too small an intension for purposes of exact translation The ecclesiastical term "prebend" is perhaps the nearest equivalent Cp Koschaker *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht* p 196 f who renders "*Pfründe*"

GIR LAL-ú-tu "the *GIR LAL*-office" For the nature of this priestly office cp Driver loc cit whose remarks cover all that is as yet known about it

In the translation I have rendered *isqaka GIR LAL ú tu* "thy prebend (attached to) the *GIR LAL* office" and *isqa šuâti GIR LAL-u-tu* "the said prebend (attached to) the[1] *GIR LAL*-office" But this is not quite correct The words to be supplied are not "attached to" but "according to thy share in" or "to the extent of thy share in" This is shown by *isqašu mala zittišu gabbi ša êrib bîtût [u u] GIR LAL u-tú* "his prebend to the extent of his entire share in the *êrib bîti*-office and the *GIR LAL* office" Morg II, 29 2 Further, cp Driver, loc cit p 43 (top) and p 44 n 3

10. *risinnûtu* "the *risinnu*-office" In this word as well as in *ri-si-in-nu*, l 24 pl *ri-si in-nu* (*MEŠ*) l 15 the sign read *in* is peculiar and is more like that for *rab* than anything else But there can be little doubt if any at all that *in* is the correct reading, since it is the very same sign that appears in *bi in nam-ma*, l 11 and as phonetic complement to the id *SUM* ll 12, 13, and 14 where no other reading of the sign is at all admissible The reading *risinnu* may therefore be accepted as certain But the word is not known to occur elsewhere

[1] According to Professor Langdon

The best that can as yet be done with it is to refer it to the root רמן which perhaps means "to besprinkle", "to water", being synonymous to רמך see Delitzsch, *Handworterbuch*, p 625*a* and Muss-Arnolt *Handworterbuch*, p 975*b* The form فعّل for a professional name with det *amel* occasions some difficulty but a possible explanation is that this form is here not of Semitic origin but arises on the analogy of such a professional name as *isippu* from Sumerian *IŠIB* Perhaps, like the *ramku* priest the *risinnu* was responsible for ceremonies of cleansing The reference to "whatever *risinnu*-officers give Erechbeans that are prebendaries (*bele isqi*)" in ll 13 14 certainly suggests that this was an official who acted as some kind of assistant to holders of priestly offices, paying them certain dues for the right to serve under them Mr Driver loc cit p 46 n 6 supposes the existence of a *nabbu* official who either took charge of the dagger for the *GIR LAL* priest or held the bowl for the celebrating priest in some service of the temple perhaps to catch the victim's blood Likewise it is not improbable that the *risinnu*-official was one who attended to the ceremonies of cleansing that were indispensable to a sacrifice Beyond this it is not safe to speculate

11 16. In consideration of the right to receive the prebend in question it would have been in accordance with the regular procedure for Anu balitsu iqbi to have offered a lump sum of money to Dumqi Anu The fact that he offers his services as *risinnu* official to Dumqi Anu is one of the most striking features of the whole transaction

The question now arises as to whether (1) the prebend is wholly independent of the *risinnu*-office under discussion, or (2) is dependent upon this office to the extent of the latter's being an integral part of the functioning of the *GIR LAL*-office the correlate of the prebend The *schema* of the contract suggests that (2) represents the actual state of affairs: cp.

XV, 31; PBS [1] II, 111, 112, as well as BE [2] IX, 43, X, 52. Granted that this is so and that the *risinnu*-official's duties are only those of an assistant to the *GIR LAL*-priest, how comes it that he himself can fully discharge the functions of the *GÍR LAL*-office, and so become entitled to the prebend, its correlate? The question is unanswerable unless we modify it by ascribing a wider sphere of activity to the *risinnu*-officer, in which case we are compelled to see in his office functions that are, on occasion at least, co-extensive with those of the *GÍR LAL*-priest himself. This seems to be the view taken by Professor Langdon (cp. *JRAS*, Jan. 1925, p. 168). If Langdon is right, the etymology offered above is seriously jeopardized, and it is not easy to substitute another with any claim to probability. These difficulties may be avoided by assuming the first alternative, viz. that the prebend is the correlate of an office only nominal.[3] In that case the prebend is merely a negotiable asset, for the title to which Anu-balâṭsu-iqbi offers a particular service, which can in no way be connected with the *GIR LAL* office, since this is only nominal and so involves no actual services. Until, however, more is known about the word *risinnu* it is waste of time to attempt further explanation.

12. *ša batal lâ šakânu* "without interruption". Cp. *lâ šakânu ša batal* l. 20. Langdon has already discussed this phrase in *JRAS*, Jan. 1925, p. 168, where he shows its importance for the understanding of *Nabonidus Chronicle* III, 17–18.

simannu lâ ú-še-ti-iq "I shall omit no appointed ceremony". Cp. *lâ šú-t*[e-t]*u-ú-qu ša simannu* l. 20, and *siman*[*ultutiq*, ll. 27–8. For the meaning see Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 121 (18). Langdon, loc. cit., reads *ú*-

[1] *University of Pennsylvania The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section*

[2] *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series Cuneiform Texts*

[3] Cp. Clay, Morg. II, p. 19.

ti-iq The state of the text is such that either reading is possible

14. *bêlê išqi* "prebendaries" Since *išqu* has been rendered "prebend", this compound, lit "lords of prebends", is conveniently paraphrased "prebendaries"

15 gi-*ni-e* The sign read *qi* certainly looks more like that for *nam* On the other hand, cp Clay, BE X, *List of Signs* No 41, third sign for *gi* A word *namnû* is not known [1] If the reading *qinê*, "regular offerings," be accepted, it must be with the reservation that this term is not meant to express the class of offering to which Anu-balâtsu-iqbi's giving of the two skins to Dumqi Anu belongs for the *qinû* is a daily or monthly offering to a god or to a temple, and never [2] a gift to an individual Moreover, it cannot be determined from the text whether *qinê* stands in apposition to the whole term *2 maške ša immere* "2 sheepskins" or only to the single word *immere* "sheep", in other words, whether the sheepskins themselves or the sheep from which the skins are taken constitute *qine* The translation, "the *regular offerings* in the course of one year," has therefore been left as vague as is the original How the skins or the sheep from which they are taken, be they *qine* in the proper sense of the word, or not come into Anu balâtsu iqbi's possession is a secondary consideration The point to be emphasized is that these two skins are not included in "whatever *rišunu*-officers give Erecheans that are prebendaries" The skins are a voluntary offering while the latter constitutes the customary and obligatory dues [3]

16 For the singular *maška* with det *ZUN* cp PBS II, 118 10 *ištên (en) masku (ZUN)*, just as here.

The use of *KAM* after the names of the months is noteworthy Cp ll 17 and 37

17 *u ki ina Tebetu KAM itti zitti ûm eššeši*, "but if in Tebet, in addition to [4] the share at the monthly festival."

[1] According to Professor Langdon
[2] So far as I know
[3] See note on l 17
[4] Lit "together with".

The import of this clause is so obscure that we are compelled to resort to speculation The explanation I venture to offer is, to be sure, somewhat far-fetched, but I can think of no other Since its plausibility largely depends upon the interpretation of *zitti ûm eššesi* a careful consideration of this term is an indispensable preliminary

We have already inferred that *isinnu*-officers were accustomed to pay certain dues to prebendaries for the right to serve under them[1] On the analogy of the percentage on his profits paid by a slave to his lord[2] it may be assumed with reasonable probability that these dues consisted in a percentage on their own takings at the monthly festivals when their services would be in requisition These takings would be a share in the temple revenue on those occasions and so a variable quantity The cognate documents make it clear that anyone holding office in the routine of the temple be he a prebendary or not is a *bel zitti* or one entitled to share (*zittu*)[3] It may therefore be inferred that the term *zitti ûm eššesi* refers to Anu-balâtsu-iqbi's share at the monthly festivals on which share he has to pay as dues a percentage to Dumqi-Anu

Now, although Anu-balâtsu-iqbi promises to pay the dues to Dumqi-Anu and to deliver him one sheepskin in Ab and the other in Kislev he does not specify the precise dates on which the payment of the dues and the delivery of the skins is to take place It may be presumed that the days most convenient for the settlement of accounts are those on which the prebend is due since they are quite definitely fixed viz the 26th and the 30th of each month So the 26th of Ab is a likely date for Anu-balâtsu-iqbi's delivering the skin for that month to Dumqi-Anu[4] The delivery of the second skin becomes due four months later

[1] See p 663

[2] See Kohler and Peiser, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, I p 1 f

[3] The *isqu* is a species under the genus *zittu*.

[4] The contract is dated in Kislev

in Kislev and Anu-balâtsu-iqbi might deliver again on the 26th of the month But if he deferred its delivery until the 30th when the second part of the prebend for the month falls due it would allow the maximum interval between the two deliveries an arrangement which might be of no inconsiderable convenience to him To this Dumqi-Anu could raise no objection for as long as he receives the second skin before the expiration of Kislev he must rest content

I am fully aware that this is extremely hypothetical but at the same time it seems to me that only on the assumption of a tacit understanding that the first skin shall be delivered on the 26th of Ab and the second on the 30th of Kislev, and not on the 26th of that month is it at all possible to find any meaning in the difficult clause before us The terseness of style that is characteristic of the whole document justifies us in assuming implications of this kind

Now it might happen during any given year that the 30th of Kislev disappears from the calendar in virtue of the first appearance of the new moon on that day, whereby it automatically becomes the first day of the next month i e the first day of Tebet [1] The delivery of the second skin then takes place actually on the 1st of Tebet But being the first day of the month this is an *ûm esseser* monthly festival ", when a percentage on his *zittu* or share for that day is also due from Anu balâtsu iqbi to Dumqi Anu Anu-balâtsu-iqbi might be unscrupulous enough to include this skin as part of the amount due to Dumqi-Anu from that source, instead of delivering it as a separate and wholly independent item in accordance with the terms of the agreement It is to guard against this possibility that the clause " but if in Tebet, *in addition to* the share [2] at the monthly festival is in the contract

If this theory be correct, the clause may be paraphrastically expanded —

[1] See Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II, 395

[2] More accurately " the (percentage on the) share."

. . . if, by reason of the vicissitudes of the calendar, the "delivery of the second skin take place, not on the last day of Kislev, but on the 1st of Tebet, then the said skin shall still be additional to, and not included in, whatever I have to pay you as the percentage on my share at the monthly festival celebrated that day"

ûmu šû "thereupon" Written *UD* (*mu*) *BI* lit "that very day" In the Persian period the second part of contracts written in dialogue form is always introduced by *arku* or *arki* "afterwards", for which s Augapfel BR[1] p 102 *b* In VS XV, 35, 7 is found *UD BI* which by Br[2] 7781 and 7899, might well be read *ûmšu* "at that time", "then" But, in the present instance, the phonetic complement *mu* shows that the reading adopted is the proper one Cp also Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon* p 62*b*, under *ûmšu*

18 *iš-še-mu-šu* . . . This is undoubtedly how the text has to be read, but . . . form is awkward Possibly it represents *issemušûma* from *ištemušûma* for which cp . . . for *issi*, and *liš-ši-ma* with variant *li-iš-ši-e-ma*, . . . *The Epic of Creation*, p 176, n 7 But the occur . . . of š for s in a Babylonian text is highly doubtful, thou . . . quent in Assyrian Moreover, the I [2] form is without parallel in . . . other known contracts Perhaps, then, a scribal error is to be suspected, and the *še* must be deleted so as to read *i* . . . *-mu-šú-ma*, the form that usually occurs Cp VS XV, 31, . . . 12 35, 7, and PBS II, 111, 6

19 *id-da-šu* "giving him" A circumstantial pres . . . For *iddaššu*, from *nadânu*[3] Cp *i-da-su* VS XV, 31, 13

pa-là [*h û-mu*] '[daily] serv[ice]" Better '[the da . . . serv[ice] (on any stipulated day)' Restored from Mo . . . II, 46, 3, 4, 9, 17, 21 In that text *pa-làh ûmu ina ûm KAM* stands in apposition to m . . . *ûmu ina ûm 13 K.* *isqašu êrib bîtûtu* The *misil ûmu* is, therefore, the *pa-*,

[1] Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden.*
[2] Brunnow, *A Classified List*
[3] See Augapfel, BR p 111 *a*

ûmu for the given day, in other words, the tenure of offic[e] for any given day is called the *pa-làḫ ûmu* for that day. In this sense, *pa-làḫ* is undoubtedly the infinitive of *palâḫu* in its more primitive meaning of "to serve", cp. Aramaic פלח "to work", "to serve (man or deity)" This meaning does not occur outside of these Seleucid texts[1] For other occurrences in these cp *pa-làḫ-ḫa* Morg II, 56, 6, *pa*-làḫ-*ḫu* 33 9 and the present *i-pal-làḫ* 33. 11, 34, 18, *i-pal-làḫ-ḫa* 56 8,[2] in all of which *palâḫu* means "to work" or "to serve".

20 *sa t[e-t]u-u-qu* Langdon, *JRAS*, Jan, 1925, p 168, restores *sá-tu-u-qu* There is little to choose between these alternative restorations The copy as it stands, leaves insufficient space for the restoration of both *te* and *tu* On the other hand the strokes immediately before the lacuna certainly suggest *te* and not *tu* For the long *u* in the penultimate cp the examples cited by Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* p xxviii

22 *na-as* In these texts the apocopated forms of the permansive and present of *nasû* seem always to be preferred.

isallatuma he shall have no control It is remarkable that in these texts the present singular indicative of *salâtu* almost always has the overhanging *u*, cp Morg II, 6, 4; 44 16 53, 7 VS XV, 31, 14 This offers a good example of the abuse of the classical *modus relativus* or *subjunctivus* at this late period

23 *ul u-ti iq* he shall not transfer (it)" The preterite (*uttiq*) of *etequ* II[1] misused for the present (*uttaq*), and having the same meaning as the III[1] Cp VS XV, 31, 15 *ina qât Anu-ab-usur ayâ ul ušetiq* 'he shall not cause it to pass out of the possession of the said A". (Speaking of an estate)

u kî iddannu "if however, he do give (it)". In some texts this is preceded by *kî iddin* "if he have (already) given (it)", providing against the possibility of a third party's already having a lien upon the property

[1] According to Langdon

[2] And *i pal*-làḫ-', 20, 24.

25. *ul ušuzzu* "he shall not abide (by the covenant)" That *GUB(zu)* is to be read *usu-(z)u* is proved by the fact that *GUB(zu)* in Morg II, 31 15 44 20 50 17 exactly corresponds to *ú-šú-zu* in Morg II 18, 28 27 16, 53 11 and *ú-šú-zu* can only represent the form *usuz(z)u* from *nazâzu*[1] for which s Streck *Assurbanipal* III p 540

The legal meaning of *usuz(z)u* becomes clear on examining the following passages *manma ina zittišu ana ûmu sâtu ú-šú-zu* lit "each one shall 'stand in' his share for future time" Morg II, 24 24 *manam ina supllumtišu ana ûmu sâtu GUB (zu)* lit "each one shall 'stand in' his exchange for future time" Morg II 45 28 and cp 35 41 *usuz(z)u ina* 'stand in' may therefore be rendered 'abide by'

For the final *u* cp the remark on *isallatuma* It cannot be insisted that *usuz(z)u* [illegible] brought under the *regime* of the preceding *ki* becau[illegible]

u usallam "but he shall redeem (it)" *usallam* interchanges with *umarraq* in Morg II 16 23 and I 98 15 For *maraqu* II[1], to clear of encumbrances s Koschaker, op cit p 192 ff It would seem that *salâmu* II[1] is h[illegible] used [illegible] synonym of *marâqu* II[1] being taken in the [illegible]nary [illegible] of 'to keep safe' "to keep intact" to [illegible]serve [illegible] is quite likely, for to clear a property [illegible]ncumbran[illegible] to keep it safe or intact

ḫa-ra-ra "protest" Schorr, in Augaptel BR p 51 ha[s] already suggested that this is a loan-word from the Aramaic עֲרָרָא 'protest', "objection" "claim" The spelling *ḫar-ra-ra* is found in Morg II 50, 18 Schorr's etymology is proved by *ḫar-ḫa-ra*, a variant which occurs in VS XV 3[illegible] 17, and which must correspond to the alternative Aramaic form עַרְעָרָא[3]

[1] Clay treats it as a derivative of *zâzu* 'to divide' This is obviously a slip on his part

[2] Cp also Morg II, 50[illegible]

[3] Disproving Clay's tr[illegible]ent of the word as Sumerian *ḪA RA RA* *raqâ u*

29-30 *mimma ša* *puḫru ša Uruk im(m)idušu i-nam-bi-il* "shall *bear* whatever (penalty) the assembly of Erech impose upon him." For *puḫru*, "assembly," "tribunal," s. Schorr, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, V, p. 342. Cp. for the whole clause, *ḫîtu ša puḫru im(m)edušu û-šal-ma*, Mtg. II, 17, 17-18, where *u-šal-ma* = *ušallama*[1] "shall pay."

i-nam-bi-il is certainly difficult. The translation given is due to Professor Langdon, who regards it as the present IV of a secondary root * *nabâlu* from (*u*)*abâlu*. In support of this he cites the syllabary Ass. 523, II, 20: *ba-al* | ⟨cuneiform⟩ | *na-pa-lu*, where he asserts *na-pa-lu* must be regarded as a secondary formation from *apâlu*. Although the evidence of the syllabary *per se* may seem inconclusive, Langdon is quite justified in postulating a secondary root * *nabâlu* from *wabâlu* to explain the form *i-nam-bi-il*, since the interchange of *verba primae n* and *verba primae w* is by no means uncommon in the Semitic languages; cp. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, I, § 267 a, Anm. 1. It is hard to find any other explanation.

[1] Cp. [illegible] Mtg. II, [illegible] I [illegible]

The Bargi Invasion of Bengal

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LIKE the invasion of the Danes in England, the incursions of the *Bargi*[1] in Bengal, were characterized by murder and rapine and every species of atrocity. There is, however, a good deal of difference between the two, for we have nothing comparable to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle to record the latter, and in the matter of other materials, we are sadly lacking. The Nagpur Marhattas have left no historical records. Consequently there are no Marhatta sources. Neither are there any letters in Marathi at least to my knowledge, on the subject as these raids were undertaken by the now defunct house of Nagpur.[2] Mr. Hill in his *Bengal in* 1756–7, has given us a brief summary of the English Factory Records of Fort William, and the old records of the East India Company might if thoroughly searched, yield good material. The time, however, demanded for this is beyond our power to afford. Besides the above and occasional references here and there, there are, of course three other books which can be profitably consulted for the purpose: Salimulla's *Tarikh-i-Bangla*,[3] *Riyazu-s-salatin*, and the *Seir Mutagherin*.[4] This practically exhausts our list of authorities for studying the subject, so far as they are available to the general student.

There is fortunately, another very important and, at the same time, contemporary record,[5] which is very little known,

[1] For an explanation of the term *Bargi* see Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, pp. 37, 47, 171.

[2] A book in Marathi on the subject was published some ten years ago, but if we are to rely on the review of the book in the *Modern Review*, we have to reject it as a useless modern compilation for accurate historical purposes.

[3] This is now easily accessible in Gladwin's *A Narrative of the Government of Bengal* reprinted at Calcutta by the *Bangabasi*, while the *Riyazu-s-salatin* has been well translated into English by Mr. Abdus Salam.

[4] A new edition of the English translation of this important contemporary book, edited by the writer of this article, is just out, published by Messrs. R. Cambrary & Co., of Calcutta.

[5] As is well known, the *Seir* is also a contemporary record. Attention may be drawn, so far as this topic is concerned, to vol. i, p. 375. The author's father was the first to receive the information regarding the arrival of the Marhattas.

and which throws a strong light on the course of the Bargi invasion and, moreover, is also historically correct to the minutest detail This being in Bengali and very little known even to Bengali scholars is not easily accessible [1] It was first brought to our notice in an exhibition of Bengali manuscripts in 1904, and was subsequently published in the journal of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat* [2] The manuscript in question named *Maharastra Purana*, contains a poem composed by the poet Gangaram who, however is very little known as a poet, or otherwise But though as a poet Gangaram is so little known, the service which he has rendered to the students of history is incalculable The poem narrates the Marhatta incursion of Bhaskara Pandita into Bengal and I propose here to give a short summary of its contents Most unfortunately only the first canto of the poem has been traced

This *Maharastra Purana* begins with the Marhatta demand for the payment of the *chouth* [3] from Bengal and ends with the treacherous murder of Bhaskara Pandita the leader of the first body of the Marhatta freebooters by Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal As I have already observed though up to the present only the first canto has been discovered and for nearly twenty years no other portion of the *Purana* has been traced, and consequently the first part only can be considered as extant, we must express our deep sense of gratitude to the poet Gangaram Deva [4] for having given us a sufficiency of details which not only throw light on the incursions of the Marhattas their modes of living, the method and character of their predatory warfare, and the sufferings which they inflicted on the people of Bengal and their Nawab but also to a certain extent on the inner life of the Bengalee of those days and generally on the condition of the decadent Moghul power

[1] I have translated it into English and hope to publish it shortly with notes, etc

[2] Calcutta, vol iii

[3] *Vide Seir*, i, 294, from which it appears that the King of Delhi had already promised *Chouth* to the Marhattas

[4] *Vide Bangiya Sahitya Parisat Patrika*, Calcutta, vol. xv, p. 249.

The date of the poem, or at least the date which appears a the end of the extant first canto of the manuscript, is *Sakabdt* 1672, Bengali 14th *Paus*, Saturday 1158, corresponding t A.D. 1751.[1] It may be taken as the date of the composi tion of the poem six years before the memorable battle c Plassey. Alivardi ruled from 1741-56, while the dates of th first Marhatta incursion is 1741-4. Gangaram's *Maharastr Purana* may be, therefore, considered as really contemporar, evidence and as such of very great value, making us familiar with an important period of the history of Bengal.

The *Maharastra Purana* is modelled after the *Puranas* o ancient India, at least that was what the author perhaps intended to do. It begins with describing the condition o the people of the world, so full of sin that its burden became intolerable to *Prithi* (world) who, therefore, appealed tc *Brahmā* the Creator. *Brahmā* took her to *Siva* (the destroyer). *Śiva* after mature consideration sent one of his attendants to the "South City" to King Śāhu (lines 1-46).

Śāhu in his turn asked Raghurājá to send a messenger to the King of Delhi to demand payment of *chouth* from Bengal. The King of Delhi, Muhammad Shah on receivin a very "short letter" from the King of the Marhattas explained to the Marhatta messenger his inability to comply and through him requested Śāhu to exact payment himself. The messenger returned to Satara where Śāhu was holdin his court who thereupon empowered Raghurājá to go to Bengal. He in his turn commissioned his *Devan* Bhāskara to carry out the necessary measures (lines 47-92).

Then follows the march of Bhāskara. He started from Satara passed Bijapur, Nagpore, and Panchcote, where his messenger brought him information that the Nawab of Bengal was ther

[1] The present Bengali era is 1330. If we subtract 1158, the date giver at the end of the manuscript, we have a difference of 172 years. And thu 1923 - 172 = 1751.

[2] It is difficult to understand the connexion, as to why Siva should b sending his messenger particularly to Śāhu and should put the idea *Chouth* in his mind.

Burdwan. On the 19th of *Vaiśākh*, keeping Birbhum on the left, the *Bargi* horde reached Burdwan and surrounded the Nawab, taking him completely unawares. When Alivardi perceived his position the next morning, he sent his vakeel to Bhāskara inquiring the cause of this hostility without notice. The vakeel was informed that it was for the *Chouth* that the Marhattas were there. Alivardi replied that *Chouth* had never previously been paid by Bengal and he, therefore advised Bhāskara to go to Delhi. Bhāskara retorted that it was by the order of the Emperor himself that he was there (lines 93–134).[1]

Nevertheless, the Nawab still tried to induce Bhāskara to withdraw, and drew the attention of the vakeel of the Marhatta general to his power and the brave Bengal army he had under him. Bhāskara, however, was not to be deceived. The Nawab was perhaps hesitating what to do and his commanders strongly advised him that instead of paying hush money to the Marhattas the arrears of pay of his own sepoys should be discharged. This advice was accepted by the Nawab, who prepared to fight (lines 135–52).

[1] According to the *Seir*, vol i p 294 it was Nizam el Mulk who was the contriver and director of this trouble. The Emperor promised to pay the *Chouth* to the Marhatta general, who, however, perceiving the pusillanimity and cowardice of the grandees of the court and sensible of the want of discernment of the Minister made a treaty with both parties and kept fair with both the court and Nizam-el Mulk. The *Riyaz-us-salatin* (Abdul Salam's edition, p 337) however refers to the fact that Mir Habib, the commander-in-chief of Murshid Quli Khan, after Murshid's defeat went to Raghoji Bhoslah and incited him to the conquest of Bengal. Raghoji, taking advantage of Alivardi's insecure position, sent his *Dewan* Bhaskara Pandit, who was accompanied by Mir Habib. This does not seem to me to be correct. First Nizam el Mulk's name does not occur anywhere else, though Mir Habib's playing a conspicuous though ignominious part in these incursions is correct. Secondly, the *Seir* mentions on p 384 (vol. i) that Mir Habib was still then with the Nawab. Again on page 387 we find Mir Habib was in the Nawab's camp. At any rate Mir Habib was playing a double game, and it is quite likely that his secret instigations as well as the unsatisfactory position of the Nawab made Raghoji send his general, Bhāskara. The Emperor Muhammad Shah also might have thought fit to get rid of the Marhattas by inducing them to go to Bengal. The wretched condition of the Delhi monarchy warrants us in coming to such a conclusion.

Then follows a long list of the officers of the army of Bhāṣkara (though no similar mention is made of those of the Bengal Army). These on being ordered to proceed stopped all "commissariat" of the Nawab, whose army was reduced to such extremities that his soldiers[1] had to subsist on the roots of plantains, and even the Nawab himself had no better fare. This state of starvation continued for full fourteen days, and the Bengal Army was forced to fight its way to Cutwa, suffering from all sorts of difficulties and distress, and losing a large number of men at the hands of the intrepid freebooters. Cutwa and its neighbourhood had already been ravaged before Alivardi could reach it, but fortunately Hāji Ahmad,[2] the Nawab's brother, sent boats with provisions, which relieved the famished Bengal soldiers (lines 153–90).

Then the poet describes the atrocities committed by the Marhattas on the people. No one escaped. The Marhattas were no respecter of persons. Learned Brāhmans, Rajputs, males and females, all fled from their homes, but there was no escape from the hands of the *Bargis*. Houses and villages were burnt; district after district was devastated with fire, rapine, and sword. Swiftly passing through a large number of villages they reached Murshidabad leaving the Nawab far behind. The provincial capital seemed to be more or less undefended, at any rate no serious attempt was made to defend it, and even the house of Jagat Seth, presumably the richest in the capital, was plundered. The Nawab followed the Marhattas in all haste, but before he could reach his capital, the *Bargis* had left it with rich plunder (lines 191–250).

This was followed by renewed destruction of villages, but as the rainy season set in Bhāṣkara, unable to move further decided to celebrate the *Durga Pujha* at the village of Dāihat.

[1] It is wonderful that *Riyaz*, p. 340, uses these very words "to avert death by starvation, human beings ate plantain roots".

[2] Cf. *Seir*, i, p. 392, and *Riyaz*, p. 341. Both these two tally with the poem.

[3] No mention of this celebration is made either by the *Seir* or the *Riyaz*; but Salimulla refers to it. *Vide* Gladwin, *Bangabasi* edition, p. 112.

While he was thus engaged, and had not completed the *Pujha*, the Bengal army under its energetic Nawab marched against the freebooters A bridge of boats over the Ganges broke and caused the loss of a large number of men,[1] but the mischief was soon repaired and the Marhattas being severely handled were forced to leave Bengal for the time being (lines 251–335)

As soon as the rainy season was over, Bhāskara again made his appearance in Bengal Furious at his previous defeat and presumably chafing at not being able to complete the *Dasahara* celebrations he would seem to have issued more stringent orders to his followers This time none escaped Brāhmaṇas, and Vaisnavas Sannyāsis and householders all had the same fate, and cows were massacred along with men Alivardi at last decided to entrap the Marhattas The massacre of Bhāskara with most of his generals took place at Mānkara, and it is interesting that here also the details given by the poet tally fully with what the *Seir*[2] relates (lines 336–76 End of Canto 1)

Thus ends the first Canto of the *Maharastra Purana* As we have already observed, the only extant portion is the first Canto and we cannot but regret that the rest of Gangaram's *Purana* has not been discovered We have, in summarizing the contents of the poem, mentioned how in every detail it tallies with the *Seir* and the *Riyaz* It is indeed an extremely valuable contemporary record by one who could not be biassed in any way He was evidently not an actor If he were not an eye-witness, and depended on reports, he must be admitted to be a remarkably accurate compiler, narrating in detail only facts which actually happened His unvarnished language, clear statement of facts, and want of emotion all attest the importance of this unique historical document

[1] Cf. *Seir*, i, 403, and *Riyaz*, p 345, where this accident is also mentioned
[2] *Seir*, i, p. 431 ff.

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The Treatment of Indo-European *ŏ in Armenian

By BASIL F. C. ATKINSON, M.A.

NOTE.—My lists of examples are taken mainly from Hübschmann's *Armenische Grammatik*, the lists in which were practically exhaustive in the state of knowledge at the time at which they were composed. Additional examples I have taken from Meillet, whose article in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* for 1894 deals with this very problem. His *Esquisse de la Grammaire de l'Arménien Classique*, produced in 1903, also provides interesting information. What examples are not derived from these sources I have taken from Brugmann's *Grundriss*, and from certain other scattered articles, references to which appear as they are cited. To the three scholars mentioned the debt of any student of this difficult language is overwhelming.

NO comprehensive theory has as yet been formulated to account for the apparent irregularity of the treatment of I.E. *ŏ in Armenian. Meillet in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* for 1894 (p. 153) has argued in a concise and logical manner that *o* was retained in close syllables, but changed to *a* in open syllables. He does not appear, however, to have covered all the material. Important forms such as *asr, spas* do not appear among his examples. His theory seems to be not so much incorrect in its results—which is due for the most part perhaps to coincidence—as to be incomplete. A detailed examination of it is unnecessary, as when he brought out his *Esquisse de la Grammaire de l'Arménien Classique* nine years later he had abandoned it. He seems in the interval to have directed his attention to certain forms whose vocalism rendered his theory untenable. One result of his article was the abandonment of the theory held by Bartholomae and Brugmann of the existence of a separate vowel in the original language, designated *ǫ*. The existence of *ǫ* was based solely upon this difference of treatment in

Armenian and upon the difference of quantity between certain open and close syllables in Aryan

Meillet at least made it plain that the difference was due to laws that operated *within Armenian itself*, and that it did not date back to a time before the separation of the languages This is a step in the right direction, but Meillet has not solved the problem In his *Esquisse* (p 20) he states categorically "I.-E. *ŏ donne arm o" After giving a few examples he continues, "Dans quelques mots il semble que i.-e *ŏ soit représenté par arm a, mais comme il est impossible de faire entrer ces quelques cas dans aucune règle, il est permis de douter qu'il s'agisse vraiment d'un ancien o, par exemple l'a de [1] *akn* 'oeil' est peut-être un ancien a substitué a un degré vocalique sans e de l'initiale" He compares Lat *aures* with Homeric οὔατος But the occurrence of a is too persistent to be disregarded thus Hubschmann (*Arm Stud*, p 58 ff., cf also *Arm Gram* pt i) accepts the fact that original *ŏ is represented by both o and a, but offers no explanation [2] It is my object in this paper to suggest that the treatment of original *ŏ in Armenian is determined *by the accent*, except only when original *ŏ is *followed* by an *original velar or palatal* In the latter case *ŏ under all circumstances becomes a, in all other cases it is represented in *accented syllables* by o in *unaccented* by a The Armenian accent, as is of course well-known, is a strong stress upon the final syllable, which being originally upon the penultimate caused the disappearance of all original final syllables Whether, as appears practically certain this accent is due to the influence of the neighbouring Caucasian languages is a question that falls outside the scope of this paper

The examples must now be examined The Armenian

[1] In his article in the *Mem Soc Ling* Meillet introduced this stem in its plural form *ack'*—presumably because in this form only it bore out the theory that he there put forward

[2] This fact has been *partially* recognized and dealt with by Scheftelowitz (BB xxix–xxx, 1905–6, p. 57)

language has suffered so much at the hands of its neighbours, and, further, emerges into the daylight at so comparatively recent a date, that the elements of direct Indo-European descent that it contains comprise a mere remnant lying at the heart of the language, buried as it were beneath the encroachments of other tongues Indo-European and non-Indo-European The need of more material is constantly felt. In the case before us, however, slight as it is, the material seems to reveal a law acting with the usual constancy of all phonetic laws I will deal first with those examples where there can be little or no doubt that an original *δ is represented

*Original *δ occurring in accented syllables in Armenian*

bok cf O H G *bar*, O Sl *bosъ*

gog cf Gk Hom χειή, Lat *fovea*

gos, 2nd sing of *gom*, cf Goth *was*

gom cf Nord *gamma* (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 14 f)

gorc cf Germ *Werk* Zd *varəzə-*, Gk ἔργον, ὄργανον

gort cf Lett *warde*

tog cf (with Pedersen, K Z xxxix 149) Ir *cid*

xoix cf O Isl *horundr*, O B *skora*, Skt *krttih*, Lat *corium*

kop cf the verbal form *kapucanem* (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 29, where the change of vowel is attributed to ablaut In fact it well illustrates the rule of the accent)

kokord cf Lith *gerru*, Skt *girati*, Gk βορά, Alb. *ngrane*, Lat *vora*, O Ir *brage*

kor cf Gk γυρός (Lidén *Arm Stud.* iii, 115 f)

kork cf Gk βόρβορος.

koc cf O H G *quetten* From this stem I believe the vb. *kocem* to be a derivative in spite of Lidén (*Arm. Stud.* 68)

houlk' cf O H G *folc*, Lith *pilus*, Skt *puruh*, Gk πολύς, Alb *pljot*, Lat. *pleo*, O.Ir. *il*

hol cf O H.G *feld*, O.B. *polje*, Lat. *palam* (v. Pedersen, K.Z. xxxix, 370).

cf. Skt *pajra-*, Gk. πηγός, Lat *paciscor*, O.Ir. *ur*
I should expect **hac* and doubt the etymology

hot cf. Lith *udziu*, Gk ὀδμή, Lat *odor*

hord cf O H.G *furt*, O B *pera* Avest *paratuš*, Gk πόρος, Alb *pruva*, Lat *porta*, Gall *ritu*

nzovk' for connexions v *jaunem* below, p 687

nor cf I H G *niuwi*, O B *novъ*, Skt *nava-*, Gk νέος Lat *nouus*, O Ir *nue*

lorck cf Gk λορδός (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 46, 47)

o ov cf Lith. *kas*, Skt *ka-*, Gk πο-, Lat *quo-*

olb cf Gk ὀλοφύρομαι

oln cf O H G *elina*, Lith *elkúnė*, Mod Pers *āran* Gk ὠλένη Alb *llanε*, Lat *ulna*, Welsh *elin* (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 127)

olork cf O Ir *lorg* (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 60)

olj cf Skt *sarva*, Gk ὅλος Alb *gjallε* Lat *saluos* Welsh *holl*

olok' cf O Is *leggr*, O B *lakъtь*, Skt *lakutah* Gk λάξ, Lat *lacertus* (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 95 ff) The initial vowel is prothetic

oř cf O H G *ars* Gk ὄρρος, O Ir *err*

oskr cf Skt *ásthi*, Gk ὀστέον Alb *asht* Lat *os* Corn *ascorn*

ost cf Goth *asts* Gk ὄζος

otn cf Goth *fōtus* Skt *pad* Gk ποδ- Lat *ped-*

orb cf Gk ὀρφανός, Lat *orbus* With this stem is possibly connected *arbaneak* (Pedersen K Z xxxviii, 313) but for a more convincing explanation v Brugmann I F xix, 384 f in Lit

orj cf Zd *ərəzi*, Lith *eržilas* Gk ὄρχις, Alb *herdhε*

ort cf Skt *pṛthuka-*, Gk πόρτις

čor cf Skt *kšaráh*, Gk ξερός (where we seem to have a form of the root with *o* grade)

jov cf O H.G *gabala*, Skt *gábhastih*, O Ir *gabul* An unaccented form of the same stem is *gavak* (v Lidén *Arm Stud* 32).

-vor in words such as *lusavor*, etc. (cf λευκόφορος), and for the root cf Goth *baíra*, O Sl *berą*, Skt *bhárāmi* Gk φόρος, Lat *fero*, O Ir *berim*

tol cf Mid Neth *tol*, Lith *dylù*, Skt *dálati*, Gk δαιδάλλω, Lat *dolo*, O Ir *delb* (Pedersen, K Z xxxix, 372). With this root is connected the vb *talem*, from which is formed the further noun *tal* (Scheftelowitz, BB xxix, 27).

gogn cf Skt *ghaná-*, Gk φόνος (v Lidén, *Arm Stud* 76 77)

akn cf O Sl *oko*, Gk ὄμμα, Lat *oculus*

asr cf Goth *faihu*, Zd *pasu*, Gk πόκος, Lat *pecus*.

dag cf Goth *dags*, Lith *dāgas*, Skt *dáhati*, Gk τέφρα, Alb *djek* Lat *favilla*, O Ir *de-dol* (The etymology seems doubtful here)

tałn cf O H G *stehha*, Lett *stega* Lat *tignum* (Lidén, I F xviii 498 f)

spas cf O H G *spehon*, O Sl *pasa* Skt *páçyati*, Alb *pashe*, Gk σκοπ- Lat -*spicio*

In addition we have *o* appearing in the stems of such nouns as were originally *o*- stems e g *gailoy*, *mardoy*, etc

Note i *atamn* tooth has cognates as follows Goth *tunþus*, Lith *dantis* Skt *dan* Gk ὀδοντ- Lat *dent* Welsh *dant* The suffix *mn* is Armenian (cf *kal* and *kalmn*) The form *atamn* would well represent **odn̥-mn̥* (v Hubschmann *Arm Gram* pt i p 422)

Note ii *boc* flame has been connected (by Patrubany I F xiii, 163) with Lat *focus* and (by Scheftelowitz BB xxviii 290) with Gk παιφάσσω, Lat *facies* But *boc* would go back to **bhosk* not to **bhoq* or **bhok̂* Patrubany suggests an older **bhok-sk-hos* but this must remain in the absence of evidence quite uncertain The word cannot be used as evidence especially in view of the strong non I E influence at work upon Armenian

The list of examples for the unaccented syllable is as follows -

aganim cf Zd *aoθra-*, O Sl *obuja* Umb *anovihimu*.

alik cf O H G *falo*, Lit *palvas*, Skt *palitá*, Gk πολιός, Alb *pljak* Lat *pullus*

anurj cf Alb *enderre*, Gk ὄναρ

asel (for stem v *asr* above)

ateam, *ateli* cf. A S *atol*, Lat. *odium*

avelum cf. Gk ὀφέλλω (vd. Pedersen, K.Z. xxxix, 336).

gavak (v *jov* above).

t'at'avem cf. O.Sl. *topiti*. If this etymology is correct, there is

of course consonantal assimilation in the Armenian form

xalam cf O H G *kalo*, O Sl *golŭ*, Skt *khalatíh*, Lat. *calvus* This form may, however, represent *a*- grade of the root (v. Zupitza, K Z xxxvii, 389)

camem cf O H G *chamb* O Sl *zǫbo*, Skt *jámbhas*, Gk *γόμφος* Alb *dhemp*

hačı cf O H G *asc*, Lith *úosis* Alb *ah*, Gk *ὀξύα*

havinim cf (with Pedersen K Z xxxviii 198) Gk *οἴομαι*, Lat *omen*

malem cf Goth *mala*, O Sl *meljǫ* Gk *μύλη* Lat *molo*, O Ir *melim*

tałem (v *toł* above)

tartam cf O Sl *dremati* Skt *drati* Gk *ἔδραθον*, Lat *dormio* (v Pedersen, K Z xxxix 416)

p'arat cf Gk *σποράς*

p'artam cf O Sl *sporŭ*, Skt *sphiráh*

kap'ucanem (v *kop'* above)

k'andem cf Lat *sonium* (Scheftelowitz, BB xxix 47)

loganam cf Gk. *λόυω*, Lat *lavo*

korun cf M Ir *gairri*, Corn *gar*

hoviv According to Hubschmann, followed by Lidén, this is a compound corresponding to Skt **avipā*- Thus we may compare with the first part Eng *ewe* Skt *avi*- Gk *ὄις*, Lat *ovis*

mozi cf Gk *μοσχίον*

k'orem cf O H G *sceran*, Lith *kertu*, Skt *kṛnóti*, Gk *κείρω*, Alb *shkjer*, Lat. *caro*, O Ir *scaraim*

NOTE I.—Brugmann (Grundriss, vol i, pp. 510, 528) connects Arm *yolov* with Gk *πολύς*, Arm. *yordor* with Gk *ὀροθύνω* The meaning in each case renders the connexion probable but the initial *y*- is difficult The former form may be constructed on the analogy of *yogn* "very", "much a word which is perhaps of non-I -E origin Lidén's explanation of it (*Arm Stud.* 77) is not very convincing In the second case the initial sounds may be merely prothetic Prothesis takes place frequently in Armenian before a liquid as in Greek.

NOTE II.—The form *t'olum* (v. Pedersen, K Z xxxix, 354; Scheftelowitz, BB xxix, 22) "endure" connects undoubtedly with Goth. *þulan*, Skt

nīā, Gk τλῆναι, Lat *tollo*, O Ir *tellaim* I should expect *raham. Has *a* changed to *o* by assimilation to the vocalism of the second syllable?

NOTE III —The initial *o* of *olork* (for *olirk, cf Eng *slippery*, Gk. ὀλιβρός, Lat *lubricus*) is not original but prothetic

NOTE IV —*Note on the form ozni.* There appear to have been two forms of the I-E root with the meaning 'worm", "serpent", "urchin", one with a velar and one with a palatal The Armenian form *iž* "snake", viper", seems to belong either with Skt *ahih*, Gk ὄφις, or with Lith. ..., Gk ἔχις There is also an Arm form *auj*, *oj*, "snake," corresponding either with Lat *anguis* From this form I believe the form *ozni* "urchin" to derive The vowel therefore does not derive from I. E *ŏ, but from older *au For a useful summary of the problem of these stems see Walde, *Lat Etym Wb* where references are to be found He reaches other conclusions

The above two sets of examples yield the following results. In the accented syllable *o* appears consistently with five exceptions in the unaccented *a* appears also with five exceptions The exceptions as I hope to show are merely apparent, and before proceeding to examine them it is interesting to compare the fact that in the northern dialect of Lithuanian an identical change takes place As Kurschat points out (*Lit Gram* p 33), unaccented *o* in the ending of substantives and verbs is changed to *a* (for examples, see Kurschat *ibid.*) We may compare also the frequent change of quality of the vowel in unaccented syllables in Latin

The five cases where accented *a* occurs are *akn asr, dag, takn spas* *Spas* and *asr* are the only instances where we find the vowel in question followed immediately by an original palatal and *akn*, *dag* and *takn* the only instances where it is followed by an original velar It is unsafe to dogmatize on such very slender data but it remains a fact that wherever we find original *ŏ in Armenian immediately followed by an original palatal or velar, it is represented by *a* whether accented or otherwise. (*bok*, "barefoot" is no exception. As Hubschmann points out (*Arm. Gram.* pt i, p. 430), its cognate O H.G *bar*, our own *bare*, requires an *s* in the original stem, -*k* seems a purely Armenian suffix, before which the original *s* has disappeared. *tok*, "duration" also is from an older *touoko- (v. Lidén, *Arm. Stud.* 114).) There must be a

phonetic cause to account for this effect It seems more satisfactory to attribute the appearance of accented *a* to the influence of the following consonant, where so far as the data go we have a consistent effect, than like Hubschmann to leave it unexplained, or like Meillet to minimize the fact of its occurrence

Among the examples of original *ŏ in unaccented syllables in Armenian, where it is claimed that *a* is the regular representative of the sound, five exceptions occur These are *loganam* "wash", *koriun* "whelp" *hoviv* "shepherd" *mozi* "calf", and *k'orem* "scratch" *mozi* has cognates only in Greek, where we find *μόσχος* and *μοσχίον* *mozi* corresponds more closely to the diminutive form and we may infer an I-E **mozĝh-*, which would give Armenian **moz* This would of course be accented and thus *o* would be regular if my suggestion with regard to the accent is correct If there once existed a form **moz* corresponding to *μόσχος* we can well expect the derivative *mozi* to retain *o* by analogy although the strict operation of phonetic law would give **maz* This is in keeping with other cases which will be mentioned later An exactly similar phenomenon is more clearly visible in the case of *hoviv* This, as Hubschmann points out (*Arm Gram* pt I p 468) is a compound corresponding to Sanskrit **avipā-* From this we may infer an Armenian form **hov* answering to original **ovi*, which being accented would regularly give *o*, retained by the compound by analogy The case of *koriun* I believe to be identical Its Celtic cognates show no termination and we may infer an earlier Arm **ko* In the case of *k'orem* we have also the form *k'erem* and this seems to be the older form, for it shows a derivative *k'ert'um*

The case of *loganam* is different There is no form **log* and almost certainly never could have been The verb *aganim* shows the expected *a* Does *loganam* retain its *o* by dissimilation? We may perhaps compare the case of *moranam* (cf Lith. *miřszti*, Skt *mṛçyate*), where it seems that original **ṛ* is represented by *-oř-* instead of by the regular *-ar-*, and

also *colanam* (cf O H G *lão*, Lith *szylù*, **Lat.** ***caleo***), **where** an original **a* is represented by *o* for the same reason.

The diphthongs require little comment Original **oi*, **if** the examples are correct, gives *e* (when unaccented, *i*). Original **ou* gives *oi* The treatment of the *o*-diphthong would not necessarily correspond to that of the single vowel, but it is an interesting fact that Hubschmann (***Arm. Gram*** pt 1, p 469) makes the following connexion *jaunem*, cf **Goth.** *giuta*, Skt *havís-* Gk χοή, Alb *dylle*, Lat *fundo*.

Meillet rejects the connexion of the Armenian form with this root and connects with the latter the form *joil* "poured out" It seems to me probable that both connexions are correct, and that we have here both the accented and unaccented form of the diphthong The form *jaunem* is, I believe the only instance of the occurrence of the unaccented diphthong

NOTE — *araur* cf ἄροτρον *aratrum* may as well correspond to the latter form of the root as the former The connexion of *hai* with πόσις, etc, is doubted by Meillet Were it connected, the fact that Armenian represents the combination of vowel and consonant by a diphthong prevents the form from being used as a witness against the rule I have suggested

Two points remain to be considered firstly, certain stems whose cognates in other languages show ŏ, but which probably do not themselves represent an original *ŏ, and secondly the case of derivatives from Armenian stems. **The** following forms derive with probability from an original sonant liquid –

aracem cf Gk τρώγω, ἔτραγον (Lidén, ***Arm Stud.*** 35)

arb (v *arbenam*)

arbaneak cf Goth *arbaiþs*, O Sl *rabŭ* (v also under ***orb*** above, p 682)

arbenam cf Lith *srebiù*, Gk ῥοφέω, Alb. *gjerp*, **Lat** ***sorbeo*** (cf also ***arbi***, ***arb***)

arjn cf. Goth. ***riqis***. Gk. ὀρφνός. (Hirt. I.F. xii, 226; Scheftelowitz, BB xxix, 17.)

bah cf O.H.G. ***borôn***, Gk, φάρος, ***Lat. forare***.

[illegible] cf. Goth. *briggan*, Welsh *hebrwng* (v Pedersen, K.Z. xxxix, 354).

[illegible] cf. O.H.G. *gersta*, Gk. κρῖ, Lat. *hordeum*

[illegible]im cf. Skt. *hṛṣyatı*, Lat *horrıdus*

t'al cf. O Isl *þıle*, Lett. *tılınāt*, Skt *talam*, O. Ir. *talam*.

t'aramim, *t'ar* cf. Goth *gaþairsan*, Skt *tṛsyatı*, Gk. τέρσομαι

lar cf. Gk εὔ-λῆρα, Lat *lorum*

kar, *kari*, cf Got[illegible]*urus*, Skt *gurúh*, Gk. βαρύς, Lat *gravis*, M. Ir. *bair*.

harc, *harsn* cf O H G *forsca*, O Sl *prosıtı*, Skt *pṛcchatı*, Lat. *precor*, O Ir *-arc*

mard, *mah*, *meranım*, cf. Goth *maúrþr*, O Sl. *mrětı*, Skt *mriyate*, Gk βροτός, Lat *morıor*

yarnem, cf Skt *ṛnotı*, Gk ὄρνυμαι, Lat *orıor*

sar cf O G H *hırnı*, Skt. *çıráh*, Gk κάρā, Lat. *cerebrum*, Bret *kern*

It will be notıced that only certaın of these can [illegible] the law that I have put forward, but ın all the[illegible] cases we may say with certaınty that the sound represent[illegible] orıginal *[illegible]

NOTE —In the case of *calr* "laughter" (cf Gk γέλως) there is no evidence of an orıginal *ŏ *orcam* "I belch", stands (as Hubschmann and Brugmann point out) for older **orucam* with prothetic vowel.

The following forms, in which a nasal immediately follows the sound ın dispute, require comment —

ban, *bay* cf A.S *bēn*, O Sl *basnĭ*, Gk φωνή, φάτις There is here no questıon of I.-E *ŏ

gan, *ganem* cf O Icel *gunnr*, Lith *gınczıà*, Skt *ghaná-* Gk φόνος, O Ir *guın*

The Armenıan form derives without doubt from a sonant nasal, the weakest grade of the root, cf. *ban*

'amb cf. O. Isl *þamb*, O Sl *tąpı*, Gk. τάπης, Lat *templum*

This form obviously derives from a sonant nasal.

t'anjr cf. Goth *ga-þeihan*, Lith *tánkus*, Zd *taxma-* Here again there seems no questıon of I -E *ŏ

ham- occurring frequently as the first part of a compound Hubschmann (*Arm Gram* pt. i, p. 174 ff) argues that this

is a Persian loanword. This is probably the case, as compounds in which it occurs seem without exception to have been borrowed as compounds. Phonetically, there seems no reason why the form should not be directly Armenian.

yaun "eyebrows". I.-E. *ǒ is not concerned (v. Lidén, *Arm. Stud.* 27 f.).

yesan "whetstone". This has been compared with Gk. ἀκόνη. But v. Lidén, *Arm. Stud.* 55 f., where this etymology is shown to be untenable.

-an as a noun stem. Over thirty Armenian nouns of direct Indo-European descent show this stem, but of these very few can show by cognates declined in a similar manner that they were *n*-stems in the original language. I can discover only twelve Armenian *n*-stems that on comparison with other languages give proof of Indo-European origin, and even these in some instances show signs of confusion. The twelve stems are as follows :—

anun "name", Gen. *anvan* (*u*, *v* are the Armenian representatives of original *m*). The form clearly stands for *onmn-.

atamn "tooth", Gen. *ataman*. The suffix is Armenian, vd. note above.

garn "lamb", Gen. *garin*. I.-E. *ē* regularly becomes Arm. *i*. The stem corresponds to that of Gk. ἀρήν.

garun "spring", Gen. *garnan*. For the combination of *r* and *n* in a single stem cf. Skt. *yakṛt*, Gen. *yaknas* (Gk. ἧπαρ, ἥπατος, Lat. *iecur*, *iecinoris*). Lat. *iter*, *itineris*, etc. But see Hubschmann (*Arm. Gram.* part I, p. 432). There is no question of original *ǒ involved.

eln "hind", Gen. *elin*, cf. *garn*, *garin* above.

eut'n "seven", Gen. *eut'anc*. The *-an* of the oblique cases obviously corresponds to original *n̥*.

herun "spike", Gen. *herean*. The suffix presents difficulty. We find Gk. περόνη, περονάω, but the parallel is hardly exact. vd. *jiun*, *sun*, below.

jiun "snow", Gen. *jean* vd *siun* below

jmer̄n "winter", Gen *jmeran* Neither the *r̄*- nor *n*- suffix seems original. We may perhaps compare with Hubschmann, Gk. χειμερινός. It seems obvious that this stem and that of *amar̄n* "summer", are affected by mutual analogy

šun "dog", Gen *šan* If *š*- stands here for I-E *ku̯* we have *š-un* corresponding to *κυ-ων*, *çv-ā* We thus have *š-an-* *κυ-ν-ός*, *çú-n-as*. In any case *ŏ seems not to be involved

unkn "ear", Gen *unkan* Hubschmann (*Arm Gram* pt i p 484) believes *-kn* to be an Armenian suffix and compares *mu-kn*, *armu-kn*, *ju-kn* This is doubtless correct No question of I-E *ŏ is involved

siun "pillar", Gen *sean* In this stem and in that of *jiun* "snow" (vd above) the following correspondence appears —

> *siun*, *sean* = *κίων*, *κίονος*
> *jiun*, *jean* = *χιών*, *χιόνος*

cf also *heriun*, Gen *herean*

If this is a direct phonetic correspondence, my suggestion that I-E *ŏ is represented when accented in Armenian by *o* fails at these two, possibly three, points I think it doubtful however that there is here direct phonetic correspondence. The fact that there are among the scanty material known to us some twenty examples of Armenian stems of direct Indo-European descent which, though *n*-stems in Armenian, show cognates that are in no instance *n*-stems, indicates that this formation was much favoured in Armenian in early times There are no *n*-stems in Armenian with vocalism *o*. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the vocalism of these three stems has been affected by the analogy of the normal stem-formation? Older *-on* thus changed to *-an*.[1] Another explanation of *jiun* was given by Hubschmann in his *Armenische Studien*

[1] This explanation appears to have been subsequently abandoned by Hübschmann, as it does not appear in his *Grammatik*.

(pp 40, 63). This is that *ji-un* corresponds not to $\chi\iota$-*ών*, but to *he-m-an*, $\chi\epsilon\hat{\iota}$-μ-*a* If this were so, the *-an* of the Genitive would represent *$\underset{\circ}{n}$ as is regular. A yet stronge force would thus act upon the isolated *siun* towards conformin to the normal formation

I have dwelt at some length on the *n*-stems in order to show that, numerous as they are, in three instances only is there any question of I -E *ŏ being involved, while the frequency of the formation assists the suggestion that in these three instances analogy has crossed the path of direct phonetic law

In conclusion it is necessary to examine the oblique cases of those nouns accented in the nominative singular and retaining in consequence *o* for I -E *ŏ In the list of accented examples above there appear instances of *o*-stems, *i*-stems, *u*-stems, one *r*-stem, and one irregular declension. The declension of the *o*-stems is as follows —

SINGULAR.	
Nom , Acc , Loc	*hot*
Gen Dat , Abl	*hotoy*
Instr	*hotov*
PLURAL.	
Nom	*hotk'*
Acc , Loc	*hots*
Gen , Dat , Abl	*hotoc*
Instr	*hotovk'*

It will be seen that there are here three forms where the *o* representing original *ŏ in the stem is accented, and four where it is unaccented, or, six cases where it is accented to eight where it is unaccented. Moreover the monosyllabic forms are those that would be in use considerably more frequently. If the phonetically correct forms were **hatoy*, **hatov*, etc , may not the retention of *o* be reasonably said to be due to the analogy of the nominative and accusative? The *i*- ... ve ...

being that the Ablative singular has a separate form. Meillet in his *Esquisse* (p. 39) has the following table of vocalic alternation:—

Syllabe accentuée	*Syllabe inaccentuée*
i	*zéro*
u	*zéro*
oy	*u*
e	*i*
ea	*e*

The vowel *o* has no place in this table I have tried to show that originally there was an alternation between *o* and *a* It is reasonable to suppose that in very early times, when Armenian first came under the influence of its peculiar stress accent, this alternation was present in the stems of nouns As, however, the language developed and this particular phonetic change ceased to operate, the vocalic forms of noun-stem were applied to numerous roots of non-Indo-European descent. The law of alternation having ceased to operate, the vowel in the case of these new stems did not change in the forms in which it was unaccented The number of nouns of direct I -E descent dwindled, till the remnant was affected by the analogy of the majority and assimilated its vowels to what was now the normal formation This sketch of development is, in the absence of data, purely hypothetical, but it is put forward as a reasonable solution of the problem raised by the fact that the oblique cases of the stems in question do not conform to the rule of the accent. The working of the suggested law seems too consistent, when the double set of examples given above is examined, to be over-ridden by what may be easily explained as the working of analogy upon lines followed out again and again in similar cases in other Indo-European languages. A double analogy, so to speak, is brought to bear; that of the accented forms of the stems in question acting upon their oblique cases; and that of the numerous class of *o*-stems with root-vowels *a*, *i*, or *e*,

which fail to weaken their root-vowel, acting upon the remnant of direct Indo-European descent which, if my rule is correct, may be supposed to have at one time shown alternation, or to have been prevented from showing it by the action of analogy alone. These remarks apply also to the *r*-stem, *oskr* "bone" (though here we have only one form in which the root-vowel is accented, viz., the Nom. and Acc. Sing.), and to the irregular stem, *otn* "foot". With regard to *oskr* Hubschmann (*Arm. Gram.* pt. 1, p. 482) shows that it probably represents a stem **osth-* + the suffix **-ker-*. If the etymology that connects it with *ásthi*, ὀστέον, etc., is correct, Hübschmann's suggestion is almost certainly right, and the application of the law I have suggested to this form is freed from difficulty. A consideration that seems to me to bear upon this side of the question is the general tendency towards regularity and uniformity observable in the morphology of the Armenian language. I refer to such points as the regularity of formation in the verb stems, the use of *-kh* to designate the plural in both noun and verb, the uniformity of accent, etc., in all of which phenomena analogy as well as foreign influence must have been at work. No theory can of course be made to rest upon this general tendency, but it seems to me that the analogical changes that I have indicated are in keeping with it.

[1] Bound up with the question of the oblique cases of nouns whose root-vowel is *o* representing I.-E. **ŏ* is that of derivatives from such nouns. In the list of examples that I have given only six roots are affected. These are —

(1) *hot* "smell", from which are derived an adjective *hoti* and a verb *hototim*. I think it beyond question that both these are Armenian formations derived from the noun *hot*. They thus naturally follow its vocalism, if indeed the law of alternation had not ceased to operate at the time of their formation.

[1] Some of the following cases may be accounted for by the law defined by Scheftelowitz (BB xxix xxx, p. 57), that original Arm. *o became "sometimes" *o*.

(ii) *olb* "lamentation" This root has a verb *olbam*, Aor. *olbacı*. The root appears in Greek in verbal form as ὀλοφύρομαι, but it is difficult to think that *olbam* and ὀλοφύρομαι are direct cognates *Olbam* is either derived from the noun *olb*, or has its vowel assimilated to it

(iii) *gorc* "work" In connexion with this stem there is a verb *gorcem*, and substantives *gorcı*, *gorcaren* The two latter are obviously derived from either the noun *gorc* or the verb *gorcem* There is a possible direct parallel to *gorcem* in Goth *vaurkjan* If so, we must suppose an assimilation of the root-vowel in the verb to that in the noun

(iv) *orj* "virile" The same remarks apply to the derivatives from this root

(v) *hoilk'* In connexion with this stem there are verbal forms *holem*, *holonem* They are obviously Armenian formations.

(vi) *hol* Again there is an adjectival derivative *holelen*

One other form requires mention It is —

(vii) *kogı* "butter", *kov* "ox", "cow", does not enter into this question as it is derived from an original long diphthong There is, however, a short form of the root seen in Skt *gavya-*, Gk -βοιος As a direct cognate to these forms I should expect **kagı* Here again, however, is it unreasonable to explain the vowel as assimilated to that of the main stem *kov*? It seems to me important to remember that, just as in the case of the oblique cases of nouns with root-vowel ŏ we have here *a remnant* It would be surprising if the large numbers of stems imported later from various sources into the language and grafted upon Indo-European formations as it were, had not exercised upon these few isolated forms the influence that I have suggested In normal formations the vowel of the derivative did not change When the law of the accent had ceased to operate, what was to keep these stems from conforming to the normal rule?

These observations complete this investigation. The development which my suggestion presupposes is somewhat

as follows In the earliest days after the separation of Armenian[1] from the common language stock the influence of an immediately succeeding original velar and original palatal changed original *ŏ to *a* This early change accounts for the vocalism in classical Armenian of the five forms, *akn, asr, dag, takn, spas* given above If this suggestion is correct, interesting light is thrown upon the pronunciation of the original palatal at this early date If it affected the vowel in the same way as the velar, its pronunciation must have been still similar to that of the velar, probably **ts*, or identical with Albanian *kj* The evidence of Albanian on this point is illuminating and closely agrees with the conclusions here reached To enter into it would of course be beyond the scope of this paper In historical times in Armenian the palatal had become *s* with the possible single exception of *san* "dog

At a later date as soon as the Indo-European accent was thrown off in favour of the strong stress on the penultimate under the influence of the neighbouring non-Indo-European tongues a change in the quality of original short *ŏ (except under the circumstances indicated above, where it had already changed) took place in non-accented syllables This was presumably one of the first effects of the new accent, which was itself the strongest and one of the earliest of the disruptive forces that altered the face of the language. It took place while Armenian morphology had still a predominantly normal Indo-European character, before the importation of large numbers of non-Indo-European forms, which took the place of most of the original forms, and, as we have seen, affected the remaining minority by analogy It operated during a limited time only As the new accent became established, it ceased to affect vowels other than those shown in Meillet's

[1] Armenian being at this remote period, in my opinion, identical with, possibly a dialect of, the Illyro-Thrako-Phrygian languages spoken over a wide area to the south of the Danube. The connexion I hope to prove in subsequent papers.

table. I am well aware of the hypothetical basis upon which this story of development rests. If it is ever to be put upon a foundation of proof, more light must be thrown upon the ancient dialects of Thrace and Phrygia. Upon these I am engaged in accumulating data At present it is put forward as a suggestion to account for the undoubted fact of the difference in quality seen in the treatment in Armenian of the same original vowel, a fact that has puzzled Hubschmann and Meillet, and that for a time led even Brugmann astray If this fact is to be accounted for, as surely it must, on the basis of phonetic law, it seems to me that this, or a similar development, must have taken place in early times

February, 1925

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SUMERIAN CONNEXIONS WITH ANCIENT INDIA

In the *Illustrated London News* of 20th September, 1924, Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, published a preliminary account of a number of seals and other objects from the sites of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley, with the object of bringing them before the archæological world as early as possible

On 27th September, in the same journal, Professor Sayce, commenting on these objects, pointed out their strong resemblance to objects found by De Morgan at Susa. And Mr S Smith and Mr C J Gadd, in a joint communication published on 4th October, compared some of the objects with similar objects known to have come from Mesopotamia.

The seal illustrated in Pl X No 1, was discovered in the course of the excavations of the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition at Kish, and it is undoubtedly of the same material and make as those from the Indus Valley. It was found in 1923, in the foundations of a chamber at a depth of nearly 2 metres below the surface of the ground on the north-east side of the ziggurat, or temple tower, of the war-god Ilbaba, the mound locally known as Tell Ahaimir It could not, however, possibly belong to this chamber, and it was probably brought there in the débris used to fill the foundations. It is, therefore, of early Sumerian date.

This seal, of which a plaster copy is shown in the photograph, is of steatite It measures 30 by 30 mm. and is 8 mm thick, including the broken boss at its back. The obverse is badly damaged at the edges, and of the boss by which it was held enough remains to show that it was once perforated with a hole measuring 3 mm. in diameter. The seal was evidently re-used, for a new hole was cut through the remains of the original boss. The glaze with which the seal

was once covered is now represented by a thin white coating, was doubtless originally blue

On the face of the seal the figure of a bull with long horns stands over what may be a pile of grain Above are three signs, one of which is certainly a fish This sign and the figure of the bull are exactly similar to those on the Harappa seals

There is, therefore, no doubt that there have been found at Kish, at Susa, and in Northern India objects which are identical in make and which bear the same signs and figures

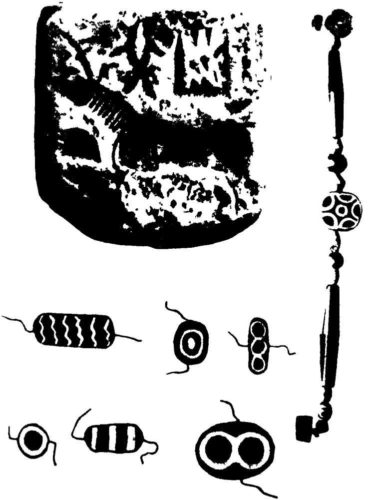
In the course of the excavations at Kish during the seasons 1923–4 and 1924–5, a number of graves have been discovered which from their contents have been provisionally dated to c. 3000 B C And amongst the many objects found in these graves were a number of bead necklaces, mainly of carnelian and lapis lazuli

Some few of the carnelian beads—rarely more than two or three in a necklace—are decorated in a curious manner the designs, always of a simple geometric form being traced in white on the red ground [1]

There is no doubt, I think that the lapis lazuli beads originally came from Persia, as the stone is common in that country The source of the carnelian however, is not so obvious, and bearing in mind that India has been from time immemorial a home of carnelian working, I turned to that country as being the probable source of the decorated carnelian beads found in the burials at Kish A sample of one of the beads was sent to Sir John Marshall for his observations with the happy result that he was able to inform me that similar beads have been found in great quantities in India, dating from early to comparatively recent times To use Sir John Marshall's own words, "Many thousands of such beads have been found in excavations of Greek, Scythic, Parthian and Kushan sites throughout the North-West of India, and in many other sites of Hindustan They also occur in the prehistoric burials of Madras."

[1] Pl X, Nos. 2 and 3

1



2

Objects from Kish, Mesopotamia

The process used in decorating these beads is extremely interesting, and this article would not be complete without some mention of it For the following description I am indebted to Mr Andrews of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at Delhi —

"The lines have the characteristic quality of a brush or pen line, and yet the opacity of the line extends to varying depths below the surface in different specimens They are produced by calcination of the surface by the following or some similar process —

'Coat the carnelian with a layer of carbonate of soda, then place on a red-hot iron The depth of the white layer depends on the length of calcination

'Next 'stop out' the parts not wished opaque with a cement containing oxide of iron Re submit to heat, when the 'stopped out' parts will recover their lost colour"

The brush-work and the depth of opacity in the examples from Kish agree in every way with the observations made on the Indian beads by Mr Andrews though I do not yet know if the designs agree There can therefore, be no doubt that we have beads of the same technique in countries as far apart as Mesopotamia and India The question now arises of which is the country of origin

The fact that decorated carnelian beads are found in quantity and at all periods in India and but sparsely over a limited period at Kish in Mesopotamia must prove, I think, that India was either the country of origin or that a third country, which had easy trade relations with India and more difficult ones with Babylonia, manufactured these beads Personally, in view of the long period of time during which these beads were buried with the dead in that country, am inclined to think that India was the original home of their manufacture

A great difference has been observed between the finish of the lapis lazuli and carnelian beads found at Kish. Those of lapis lazuli—a considerably softer stone—are generally

r cut, badly shaped, and show little attempt at polish.[1] The carnelian beads on the contrary are well made and beautifully finished. It would seem, therefore, that the two kinds of beads were not worked by the same people, for in that case one would expect the same finish and—what is more important—very much the same shape This suggests, I think, that both varieties of beads were not made in Babylonia There is also the possibility that neither of the two stones was worked in that country, but that each had a separate country of origin [2]

It is possible that in ancient times Susa was a centre for trade between India and Sumer The fact that similar stamp-seals are known in the three countries lends some colour to this possibility The discovery of decorated carnelian beads in Elam would, I think, confirm this theory, but there is no evidence that these have yet been found there

Decorated carnelian beads are unknown in Egypt, and up to the present have only been found in graves in Mesopotamia and India. Specimens have been seen in Syria in the hands of dealers, but there is every probability that they originally came from Mesopotamia Though Kish is at present the only site in Mesopotamia where these beads have been found there is no reason to think that they will not eventually be discovered further south when other excavations are made If they should occur more plentifully in the south of Mesopotamia than they do at Kish, there will indeed be reason to think that they reached there from India The technique, it should be noted, was practised down to Greek times in India, and one would therefore have expected the occurrence of decorated carnelian beads in the later burials of

[1] The hardness of lapis lazuli is 5 5 and that of carnelian 7

[2] Lapis lazuli is a common stone in Persia De Morgan in his *Mémoires sur la Délégation en Perse*, vol viii, p 58, states that lapis lazuli was originally worked near Kashan, but that the site of the mine is unknown The mount Bilki, which according to an Assyrian record was a mountain of lapis lazuli, may perhaps be identified with Mount Demavand, which is not far distant from Kashan —P M Sykes, *History of Persia*, vol. i, p 86

Mesopotamia They have not, however, been found up to the present in later burials, such as the neo-Babylonian graves at Kish, despite the variety of stones used and the great skill shown in the cutting of the beads found in these graves.

Many discussions have taken place as to the probable trade routes between Mesopotamia and India, but can it be regarded as certain that these were land routes? The direct sea-route to my mind does not present any serious difficulty. Nor does it at the present day to the small Arab dhow, which is capable of and does traverse the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean as far even as the coast of East Africa

An alternative sea route would be close along the shores of Kerman and Baluchistan to the mouth of the Indus, calls being made at certain places to take in water and other supplies, but such a route would depend on hospitable shores.

It should be remembered that Alexander commanded Nearchus to explore the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the idea of establishing sea communications between India and Persia, which suggests that there was but little travelling by sea at that period Alexander himself took a considerably shorter overland route from the Indus to Persopolis His, too, was evidently a trial journey with the object of establishing a new land route but considerable difficulty was experienced, as it is stated, in the burning deserts of Gedrosia Mr Sidney Smith has suggested to me the possibility of a third route, via Hamadan, Turkestan and Kabul, in fact the old "golden road to Samarkand" But though this raises interesting possibilities, it hardly falls within the scope of this paper, the object of which is to establish two undoubted connexions between Sumer and India.

ERNEST MACKAY.

THE KITAB AL JIM OF ABU 'AMR ASH-SHAIBANI

Abū 'Amr Isḥāq ibn Mirār ash-Shaibānī, a contemporary of the celebrated Basrian grammarians al-Aṣma'ī and Abū

Obaida, was in his time the foremost philologist of the rival Kufic school His activity was probably a little earlier than the two Basrian masters named, as he died at a very advanced age in the year 206 of the Hijra (A D 821–2), or according to other authorities in A H. 213. His biography is found in the Fihrist, p. 68, Zubaidī, Tabaqāt in *RSI*, vol viii, p 145, Yāqūt, Irshād, ii. 233–7, Suyūti, Bighyat, p 192, Anbāri, Nuzhat, p 120, and Ibn Khallikān, i, 65 (Cairo edition), and in numerous works dealing with the names of traditionists Most of these biographers have drawn up lists of his works all of which have been lost except the book named in the title The chief work of Abū 'Amr was probably his large collection of the poets of the various tribes, and we are told that these tribal diwans amounted to over eighty He had deposited copies of each collection in the mosque at al-Kūfa and the poetical collections of ancient Arabic poets which have come down to us all bear witness that the succeeding generation made ample use of his work

Abū 'Amr on the contrary was very reticent about publishing his other large work which bears the strange title of Kitab al-Jim, the "Book of the letter Jīm The work had been intended to be on a very large scale, and has remained a torso its author no doubt found the task he had undertaken to be too great for the life of a single person I referred to this book in my paper in the Centenary volume [1] as the second large dictionary undertaken by the Arabs after the work of al-Khalīl ibn Ahmad The ancient biographers none of whom appear to have seen a copy of the work, left us in doubt as regards the contents, and it is most fortunate that the work should have come down to us in spite of the fact that Abū Amr never allowed anyone to take a copy during his life-time [2]

[1] pp. 261 and 27[illegible]

[2] Yāqūt, Irshād, ii, 235 اما كتاب الجيم فلا رواية له لأن أبا عمرو بخل به على الناس فلم يقرأه أحد عليه

From indications by the biographers we knew that the book dealt only with the first five letters of the Arabic alphabet, but the indications given by H Derenbourg in his Catalogue of the manuscripts of the Escorial[1] gave us very little further help I have been favoured by the Director of the library with photographs of the first fourteen leaves of the manuscript, which contain the letter Alif complete and give us a clear idea of the scope of the work It is a dictionary of the *Arabic dialects*, unfortunately in a rather confused order. The author apparently had always before him his own collection of the Diwans of the tribes and from these he selects such words as are used by the tribe in question with a meaning not generally used by other tribes He introduces a series of words e g, قال . . . تقول At first the strange تقول made me hesitate as the customary expression in the explanation of words is تقول "you say" or يقال "it is said", the copyist had also been puzzled by it as he at times has written تقول How many tribes are mentioned in the work it is impossible to say until the complete work is accessible, but the first fourteen leaves mention the following thirty-eight tribes -

Asad Aslam, Ash'ar Akū', Bakr, Taghlib, Tamīm, Thu'al, al-Hārith, Khuzā'a, Zuhair, Sa d, Sulaim, Shaibān, Tayyi', Abs 'Adiv, 'Udra, 'Uqail, 'Umānī, Ghaniy, Farīr, Fazāra, Kilāb Kalb Kalb-Zuhair, Muhārib, Mudhij, Madhij, Murād, Namir Numair, Nahd, Hudail, Hamdān, Wādi'a, Wāhba, and Yamāni[2]

In addition Abū 'Amr quotes a number of authorities, some of which are at times cited elsewhere in the oldest

[1] p 395 under No. 572.

[2] Most of these tribes are well known, except Akū' and Farīr, the former I should have read Akwa', if the word were not vocalized four times. Al-Akwa' is a family of the tribe of Qushair. Farīr is a small clan of the tribe of Tayyi'.

literature, though most of them are practically unknown and their identification is made more difficult by his naming them only by their patronym or Kunya These are on the first fourteen leaves

Abū 'Alī a man of the tribe Abū Bakr ibn Kilāb, Abul Jarrāḥ, Abū Hizām, Abū Khālid, Abul-Kharqā', Dukain, Abū Ziyād, Abus-Saffāh an-Numairī, Abus-Samh Ghassān, Abul-Ghamr, Abul-Mustaurid, Abul-Musallim, Ma'rūf, and Nasr, the last two named being twice mentioned together [1]

In evidence for the words explained he quotes a number of verses, unfortunately many anonymously in accordance with the custom of the time Here it becomes more evident that he has extracted the Dīwāns, for we find the poet Kuthayyir quoted four times in succession on fol 11 recto, al-Marrār three times on fol 9 verso and Abū Muhammad al-Faq'asī twice on the last-mentioned page Several poets are entirely unknown to me, and are not mentioned in the Kitāb al-Aghānī nor by Ibn Qutaiba, nor are they cited in the Lisān al-'Arab which I have completely indexed [2]

The value of the Kitāb al-Jīm is still further enhanced by the fact that I have not been able to trace it having been utilized once by the authors who have contributed to the Lisān al-'Arab This is quite unique for any of the ancient books on philology which have been made accessible so far, and bears out the assertion of the biographers that Abū 'Amr would not permit copies to be taken The scribe tells us on the title page of the manuscript how the work was preserved, and as Derenbourg does not quote this important information I am giving it here in text and translation --

[1] Abul-Jarrāh is mentioned Naqa'id, p. 374, 15 Abū Hizām al-'Uklī is best known by the three poems edited in the first volume of Ahlwardt's Sammlungen, Dukain is perhaps the poet Dukain ibn Rajā' al Fuqaimī, Abu Ziyād is cited in the Naqa'id, p. 735, 2, Abul-Ghamr is cited in the Mufaddaliyyāt, p. 793, 16, as regards Ghassān the text leaves it uncertain whether a man or the tribe is meant

[2] Twice instead of citing a verse Abū 'Amr only says that a certain word occurs in a verse of al-'Abbās (ibn Mirdās ?) and Hātim respectively.

اقتفيتُ بهذه النسخة نسخة أبى موسى الحامض
فاستدركتُ بها اكثر شكوكى ووجدتُ فيها ماذكر السُكّرىّ
انه سقط عليه من ورقة ووجه ورقة فنقلتُه فكان زائدًا
على ما ذكر انه سقط عليه بنصفه وقد بيّنتُ ذلك فى مواضعه
وعلامتى على كل ما صححتُه صاد لأنها المشهور من لقب
الحامض وتبقى علىّ شكوك فى الزيادات فانّ ابا موسى لم
يكن فى كتابه شئٌ منها والحمد لله كثيرًا

وجدتُ فى حرف التاء ورقتين زائدتين على نسخه
السُكّرىّ فنقلتها وبيّنتُ موضعها

[redacted] for this copy upon the copy of Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmiḍ[1] and by it put right most of my doubts, and I found in that copy the leaf and one page which as-Sukkarī stated to have been lost from his copy. It is therefore additional to what he said had been lost by him. I have indicated this in the proper place. Further, my mark is the letter Ḍād wherever I have corrected him, because the letter Ḍād stands for his well-known nickname al-Ḥāmiḍ. There remain, however, some more doubtful passages in the additional chapters, because the copy of Abū Mūsā contained nothing of them. Much praise be to God!

And I have found two leaves in addition in the letter Tā',

[1] Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmiḍ is Sulaiman ibn Muḥammad, a Kūfī grammarian who died in the year A.H. 305 (Zubaidī, No. 80, Fihrist, p. 79, Suyūṭī, Bighyat, p. 262), while as-Sukkarī is Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusain who died A.H. 290, and is well known as the most important transmitter of the works of the older philologers.

which were not in the copy of as-Sukkarī, these I have copied and indicated their place "

The scribe, who is in my opinion much earlier than the date assigned by Derenbourg (end of sixth or beginning of seventh century of the Hijra) has faithfully carried out his plan, and we find repeatedly in the margins differences of opinion between as-Sukkarī indicated by the letter Sīn, who is put right by al-Hāmid indicated by the letter Dād The long A is always written in extenso with two Alifs, and a curious instance of almost slavish scrupulousness is found on fol 4 verso, where Abū 'Amr had left out two words which make sense of the explanation, the passage runs -

وقال المذرىّ الأطِيمُ لحمٌ وشحمٌ يُقطَّعُ ويُطبَخُ ويشدّ رأسها

In the margin is the note كذا (ض) يشدّ رأسها

We see that the s[illegible] perhaps even al-Hāmid, [illegible] the trouble to understand the meaning but from [illegible] similar explanation in the Lisān al-'Arab we know that [illegible] passage should read :—

يُطبَخُ في قِدْرٍ ويُشَدُّ رأسُها

and this explains the curious feminine رأسُها

In shā'Allāh I hope that it may be my fortune to make this valuable work accessible at some later date as it ranks as one of the most important works of ancient Arabic philology come down to us because we have so far only been groping in the dark as regards the ancient dialects The few scattered notes found in grammars and the occasional hints that certain words were used in South-Arabian or Tayyi dialects could not give a satisfactory basis for such studies [1]

F Krenkow

February, 1925.

[1] It is remarkable that a philologer of the reputation of Abū 'Amr should be found being uncertain as to the roots of the words he explains, and we find in the chapter of the letter Alif quite a number of words which

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS VERIFIED

I have long looked forward to a verification of my system of decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphic inscriptions, and I believe I can now claim that the verification has come. In the ruins of a house built against the wall of the western tower of the temple of Anu and Hadad at Assur, and ascribed by Dr Andrae to the seventh century B C or later, the German excavators in 1905 discovered seven leaden rolls [1] These have now been unrolled and prove to be inscribed with the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs which I should rather term Moschian or Kaskian

The inscriptions are in the form of script used at Tyana and the neighbouring district (Bulgar Maden, Ivriz, Andaval, Bogsche, and Karaburna, on the southern bank of the Halys), and the values I have attached to the characters gives in them the name of Tyana over and over again They belong to the age of Sargon II, and like the other inscriptions of the Tyanian district are written phonetically rather than ideographically, the use of ideographs in them, in fact, is very limited, while on the other hand, the writers display their knowledge of the syllabary by using numerous homophones. The individual words, moreover, are separated one from the other by the "word-divider" [2] These facts, coupled with

begin certainly with an Alif which, however, is not radical, though he quotes many words with radical Alif which do not begin with the letter. It is also strange that he quotes several verses which have no apparent connexion with the words explained, nor contain even a really difficult word. It is curious that on fol 11 he treats us to the tale of the lizard which would not obey the lion when he was made king of the animals and successfully eluded the fox and hyena which were sent to fetch him to the king. This is followed by other tales about lizards, to explain proverbs about them

[1] W Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur*. 46 *Wissenschaft Veroffentl d D Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1924.

[2] This seems to have been borrowed from the usage of the Phrygian texts, one of which, containing the name of Midas and presumably contemporaneous with the hieroglyphic texts, was found by Professor Garstang at Tyana (*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, i, 1). Like the hieroglyphic texts the early Phrygian inscriptions were written in boustrophedon fashion.

the length and perfect preservation of the texts, makes them exceptionally valuable for testing a system of decipherment

And here is what I find when the values I have given to the characters ten years ago and more are applied to the new texts

The same word or name is repeated time after time, but with different spellings, and in almost every case it will be found that I have assigned upon independent grounds identical values to the characters which interchange Thus we have (*a Obv* 1, 3) *Ku*( )-*wi-mi* ( )-*ê-is* and (2, 9) *Ku*( )-*wi-i-mê*( )-*i-s*, *mi*( ) interchanges with the foot (*mi*), the character to which I have given the value of *ni* or *na* interchanging with that to which I have given the value of *uana*, while the first syllable of the name of Tyana is written three variants to each of which I had assigned the value of *tua*, *tu*, etc These are only a few examples out of many My reading of the signs again yields the names of other places besides Tyana which were in the same part of Asia Minor In *a* 2 12, *c* 2, 15 3 4, for instance, we have *Gur-t*(*ua*)-*a*, Gurta, named also in the Hittite cuneiform texts, in *b* 4, 2 *Khal-ka-na* Cilicia spelt *Khal-k*(*uan*)-*uana*, i e Khal-kan-na at Tyana (MESSERSCHMIDT 33, 2) and *Khal-kuan-a* at Carchemish (MESS 10, 6), *Ku-me-nas-in*-DET ' the Komanian, Qumani and Qumanna in the cuneiform texts, *meana* *Na-a-n*(*a*)-*i* " the land of Nana ", probably the Nanessos of classical geography

But perhaps the best test of the correctness of my decipherment is to be found in the sense which it gives to the opening words of the rolls Andrae s *a* begins DET *kuan-ya* (or -*yi*) *Ku-wi-mi-ê-is Mis-ka-s-ni-s a-i* A (ideograph) -*mi* *yê-mi-i s-uan-ê Nana-si* " I am the priest Kuwimêis, the Moschian, I say to the country's lord Nanasis " Then follows: *MEis*(?)-*ya mi-a-ya a-na Mi-tua-mê* " I have erected (?) a city for the king of the city of Midas ".

In *f* 2, 3, the word "Moschian" is written as it is at Bulgar Maden (MESS. 32, 4) *Mis*-KES-*ka-s-n*(*a*)-*s* with the ass's head for the first syllable, at Carchemish (*Carchemish* i, A 11, *b* 3) we have MIS-*mi-i-si-ka-a-yi-in* DET That Tyana was the capital o Mita or Midas, the Moschian antagonist of Sargon II, had been already inferred from the inscription in Phrygian letters discovered by Professor Garstang on the site of that city (Myres in *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, i, 1 (1908)) The name occurs again in the Tyana inscription (MESS 33, *base*) *mia Mi-i-tê-na-wi-s* DET SANDA-*ya-s* "king of the city of Midas, the Sandian", as well as in MESSERSCHMIDT 48, 3 *A-a-mê Mi-te-ni-i* "the Midian city" So, too, at Carchemish (MESS. 10, 7) *Mi-ta-a-kan-is* "of the race of Midas", though here it may be the earlier Midas who gave his name to the land of Mitanni to whom reference is made

Andrae's *b* commences DET-*kuan-ya Ka-n*(*a*)-*ê-is Mis-ka-s-ni-s a-mi s-uan-ê-i Na-na-si a-na mi-a-na Mi-tu-mê is-wan-i mi-a-na* "I am the priest Kanês, the Moschian; I say to the lord Nanasis king of the land of the city of Midas, exalted one of the land" *Iswani* may be a variant spelling of *suani* at any rate, it seems to belong to the stem *isi* "high". Nanasis is "son of Nana" the water-goddess, whose name is also written Nina and Nini (as in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor Νάνα and Νανᾶς by the side of Νινείς, Νάνις Νενι) She was the goddess of Carchemish, symbolized there by the head of the water-horse, in the Carchemish inscriptions (*Carchemish* i, *A* 1, *b* 6) we find *Na-ana-s Nina-s-mia* "Nana of Nina", NINA-*nê-ti-s* "a Ninian", NINA-*nê-in-in* "of the Ninians" (A 4, *d*), while Hamath gives us *kuanimia-ni-s* NINA-*nê-yas-in* "a native of the Sacred City (Hierapolis) of the Ninians", and Ninus was the name of Carchemish in the Græco-Roman period. See my article in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Jan., 1915, pp. 10 and 20.

Andrae c. 1 reads: DET.-*kuani-ya-a Ka-ki-is Ka-si-si*-MI-

me-mia Mis-ka-s-ni-s A-*a-mê mi-ê*-MI *a-na-a-yi Mi-tua-mê a-yu* ASMI-*s-s-mi-ê is-is-ya*, "I am the priest Kakis, a Moschian of the Kasian (or Kusian) land, I say to the royal country of the Midas-city: the wall of the tank I erect." The name Kakis is written Kiakki in the Assyrian inscriptions, it was against Kiakki of Sinukhta that Sargon marched in 718 B.C. The town of Kasi, Kusa, perhaps the same as Kissia, is mentioned in the Boghaz Keui tablets, and the district in which Uênate was situated a little to the north of Tyana still retained the name of Kases or Kasin in the Byzantine era. For *asmiê* see the Bowl-inscription (MESS 1, 3) where the word is written ASMI-*a-s-mi-yas* and Ivriz (MESS 34, B) where the squeeze gives *a-s-mi* without the determining ideograph. It is significant that the ideograph of "water" is inserted into the middle of the character *mi*.[1]

Andrae d 1: [illegible]T-*kuani-ya-a* *Ka-n(a)*-KAN [*ê-li-is*] [KAME ?-]KA(?)-*s-i*-[illegible]-]*s*[2] *a*-[A]-*mi* *mê-mi*-MÊ *s-yan e Na-na-si* S-*na*-GES-*mi-a-yê a-mis*(?)-MÊ-*ya mi-i-a ya a na Mi-tua*-MÊ, "I am the priest Kanêis of Hierapolis. I say to the lord of the country, Nanasis of . [3] I erect (?) a city for the king of the Midas city." Further on (2, 10) we have an ideograph representing water flowing over the foot, i.e. the ground, followed by the word *a-tu-mi-yas*, and in line 3 b we have the same ideograph followed by two circles and the adjective *wa* (or *ya*)-*mi-ni-si-in*. Now long ago I interpreted a certain phrase in the Bulgar Maden inscription (MESS XXXII, 4) as "I poured out a libation of wine", the word for "wine" being *wa* (or *ya*)-*ni-ni* which I read *yanin* and identified with *vinum*, Boghaz Keui Hittite *uinis*, Ass. *înu*, etc. Here the words must mean "a libation of wine". *Yanini-sin* is probably to be read *yanni-sin*. The same word may occur

[1] Cf. the Greek ἀσάμινθος "a bath", the termination of which indicates its Asianic origin.

[2] The name is writt[illegible] *Ka*-KAME-*a*-MIAKU(N)-*kan*-DET. "the sacred city of . . ." in *g*. [illegible]9.

[3] Possibly the [illegible]khta of the Assyrian inscriptions whose king Kiakki was defeated b[illegible]rgon.

in *Carchemish* 1, A 6, 9, where the ideograph of a wine-jar standing on a tripod with the phonetic complement *a-si* is followed by *uana-s-mi-yas-in*, the whole complex signifying "wine-cellar"

The leaden texts have shown that I was entirely wrong in the values I assigned to the two characters which I made *khat* and *tu* ( ) The second, at all events in the Tyana age is merely a variant of ( ) *ka*, while the first, which represents a wine-cup, has the value of *uana* and *yana* ("wine," "the vine") It interchanges with the tree which represents the vine and which many years ago, on the strength of MESSERSCHMIDT 33, A 3, I read *uana* or *yana* The reading was questioned on the ground that the *na* was uncertain. An inscription now in the Ashmolean Museum proves that I was right, as it gives a picture of the tree with the phonetic reading *ua* (or *ya*)-*na*. The Tyana inscriptions offer as a variant a "hieratic" form of the tree which I used to transcribe TE (?) for want of anything better We now know thanks to the new texts, that it is *uana, wana*[1]

The correction of my misreading of the two characters mentioned above results in the correct transliteration of the name of the country given in the inscription found at Kutsch-oghlu on or near the site of the ancient Unqi (MESS. 7, 1) It is not *Khat-tu-nas*, but *Un-ka-nas* The name occurs on one of the leaden rolls -UANA-*un-ka-mi-yas* (*c* 2 9), and is written *Un*-UANA-*kê* at Hamath (MESS. 6, 4, 5).

On the leaden rolls *uana* (*wana*, *yana*), "wine" and "vine" is represented not only by the vine-tree, but also by the picture of a wine-jar So we find UANA-*uan-qa-miyas* "of the land of Unqi" (*c* 1 9), UANA-*uan-'atu-wa* "Wanatu"

[1] The final word of the oldest of the Carchemish inscriptions (*Carchemish*, A 1, 6) is *Wa-na*-UANA-*u-na* ("the god of this city, the city-lord) of the land of Uan" The name is written *I-na-a-nis* at Aleppo and *I-ni-ui-ya* in an unpublished text of Carchemish, and appears as Yaêna in the Assyrian texts (W.A.I. ii, 53, 12). It is the Uan of the Egyptians west of Aleppo. See also Pinches: *Proceedings S.B.A.*, 1881, pp. 13, 29.

f. 1. 17) and UANA-*nê-'atu-yê* ((*l* 18) for the simple *Uan-atu*-MI (Mess 31, C 1), the Ἐνετοι, Veneti, of classical geography The word means "Vine-growers" and is often written with the picture of a vine trained against a wall, as in Messerschmidt 11, 4, *Wanê-ti-is*. The vine was a sacred tree, as in Armenia, in Messerschmidt 10, 2, the priest-king of Carchemish calls himself "the raiser (*isis*) of the vine of Aramis (Dionysus) lord of the earth, supreme over the 9 gods", and the Vannic kings describe themselves as performing the same ceremony (Sayce 51 3, 7) The vine is also pictured as a standard, thus we have *aqussi-wanamis*-DET "the walled vineyard" at Carchemish (*Carch* 1, A 6, 2), and on the rolls (*f* 1, 24, ME-*agus-uana*), unless *-wana* here represents the suffix of *Lyka-onia*, *Ionia*, etc, as it certainly does in *is-wana-mia* "the high place" (*e* 1, 28), *Ku(an)-wana-mia* "sanctuary" (*f* 2, 33) Elsewhere, however, *wanamis* is used as a substantive, as, for example, in *e* 2, 33 *wana-mê*-MÊ-*is* *Tua-n-i-mê-ya*, 'the vineyard of Tyana' *Carchemish* ii, A 15, *d* 4, *wana-mi-is-mi-i* *Tu-a-na*-MI-DET *wana-mi-is-mi-i* ME-*Mi-tâ-a-an*-MI-DET *wana-mi-is-mi-i* *Mis* + *i-kan-na-mi-mia*-DET *wana-mi-is-mi* *mia*-ME-*a* NINA-*ni-mi-i-in* '(of the land of Kasis) the vineyard of the land of Tyana the vineyard, of the land of the Miskians (Moschi) the vineyard in the city of the Water-goddess' (Nina)

Kanas was the name of a priest-king of Carchemish who has left us a good many inscriptions

Andrae *e* 1 DET-*kuani-ya* *Na-mi-me* *Tá-uan-ya-s* *a-A-mê* *mi-yê-mi* *S-na*-GES-*a*-ME-MI *is-s-mis* *na-wi-(w)is* *mi-a*-MÊ *Mi-tê*-MÊ, "I am the priest Namime (perhaps to be read Namme) the Tyanian, I say to the land of . I, the supreme king of the city of Midas" *Nawis*, "king," is also written *na-is*; cp. Vannic *nus*

Andrae *f* 1: DET.-*kuani-ya* *i-is-me* *Kan-na-mi*-MIA *Mis-ka-s-ni-s* *a-i* *Kan-na-s-mia* A-*mi* *mi-i-mi* *S-n*-GES-MÊ *a-kan-ya* MÊ-*is*(?)-MÊ-*ya* *mi-a-ya* *a-na* *Mi-tua*-MÊ *mi-a*

UANA-*uan-tu-was* UANA-*nê-tu-yê-is-mia* A-*i*, "I am priest, I am a Moschian of Kanna, I, of the Kannians; I say to the land of · I restore, I build (?) a city for the king of the Midas-city, being by origin a Venetan, of the land of the Veneti"

The analogy of the other texts would lead to the inference that Isme is a proper name, but in *Carchemish* i, A 7, *j*, we have *ya-s-mi-a*-MIA *Na-ê-is-i-s* KUAN-*ni-i-s* *Ninê-yê ya-me-s is-s-mi* DET -KUANIS *ya-me-i-s isi-mi-s*, "Here is Nêisis the priest of the Ninians I am priest, I the chief one," where *issmi* seems to correspond with the Hittite cuneiform *e-es-mi*, Greek ἐσμι Kanna, mentioned also in the Emir Ghazi inscriptions, is placed by Ramsay and Callander at Genne, west of Hydê and Tyana In the Uanatu, whose name comes in the Ni. deh and Ivriz inscriptions, I have long since seen the Eneti of Strabo, though perhaps Uênata, a little north of Tvana, is preferable

In Andrae *g* 1 we have a new introductory formula DET KUAN-*a-mê-i* *Û-ta*-MÊ-*ka-mi-s* *n(a)-wi-ê-i* AGU-MÊ-*a me-i-si* "The priest am I of the city of Uta-kamis, to the king of the city of the ox-pole", and further on *Tû-uana-e-s* NINA + MISNI-*tua-na-ka-mê-s*, "a Tyanian, a native of the fortress of the twin water-goddess and Sun-god"[1] Uta seems to be Hvdê, the Uta, Uda, of the Hittite cuneiform texts while *kamês* claims connection with *kamissa* "fortress", reminding us of the numerous local names in Asia Minor compounded with the Greek κώμη, which may be a Hellenized native word It is worth notice that Hesychius gives a κώμη which had the meaning of "a place where two

[1] In *g* 4, 16, we have *a mi i is mi-a Ka-na-i* "the palace of Kanas", so the inscription may belong to Kanês. As to the Sun-god Misnes (Lydian Masanês, Masnês), Philostratos (*Vit* i, 363) refers to his temple at Tvana

The spelling of the name NINA + MISNI-*Tuana-kames* is interesting, since it is obviously what in cuneiform is called a "rebus-form". Fifteen years ago I showed that *tua* meant "two", and *uana*, *ana*, "god". And now comes the verification!

ways meet" as well as *κωμαι* "streets" The Cilician name *Νενι-καμι-δις* would be "he of Neni-kamis", "the fortress of Nina".[1]

I will stop here, since to go further would necessitate the use of the hieroglyphic characters, a fount of which we do not at present possess in England But the illustrations I have given are sufficient to prove my point The repeated interchange of characters to which I had long since assigned the same or similar phonetic values, the suitable local and proper names which result from my readings— that all this should be a matter of blind chance *credat Judæus Apella*!

Naturally the new texts have introduced corrections and additions and have thrown light on certain peculiarities of the script Thus Jensen's old suggestion is verified that a vowel which in pronunciation ought to precede a syllabic character sometimes follows it *mi-a*, for example, being written for *a-mi*, and *mis* + *i* for *mis*

We have yet to learn the rules which governed the order of the characters The conclusion, moreover, at which I had arrived that some, at least, of the characters are polyphonous, has been confirmed, in certain cases this has been the result of the fusion of two characters (like the two forms of the boot) which were originally distinct. The grammar of the language has yet to be worked out, however as well as the use of the vowels

As for the fragmentary inscription on the dolerite bowl from Babylon figured by Andrae, Pl 8, *a–c*, Dr Forrer is right in considering that the two lines really constitute one line only The inscription reads *yi-is-a*-MÊ KA-*ka-mi-in ka-mi-is-s* *Tarku*-KAME-*mi-n(a)* *Tarku-qa*-MI-*in*, "This work he has made, Tarkamos of the land of Tarkus" (acc) . . ., where the ideograph MÊ appears to be used as a

[1] In the Bulgar Maden inscription (Mess 32, 5) mention is made of "the god of *N(á)-ka-tua-ka-mi-s*", "the fortress of Năkat(u)a". Is this the (hitherto unknown) older name of Nigdeh?

determinative of a manufactured work.[1] The bowl probably came from Mer'ash.[2]

By way of an appendix I would ask a question. The king to whom the inscriptions from Hamath belong writes his name Ar-'atu-mi-in, the first syllable being denoted by the couch which in the nominative would be *aris*. He calls himself king of "the River-land"—the Hebrew Naharaim—as well as of Unqi, and claims to have conquered Hamath. If my copy of the original stone (in the Constantinople Museum) is correct, in MESSERSCHMIDT 6, 1, where the cast is illegible, he also calls himself king of "the land of Kas" or "Kus." In the Carchemish inscriptions this latter title is not uncommon, e.g. *Kasanna* "the Kasian" (*Carchemish* i, A 6, 3). Is *Ar(is?)-'atu-min* the Kasian, then, the Kushan(a) Rish athaim of the Old Testament? He must have been a successor of the Ikan or Yakan of the oldest inscription yet discovered at Carchemish (A 1, 1), since the last-named gave his name to the land of Ikan-na or Yakan-na, of which Ar(is?)-'atu-min was king. And the latter refers to the city of Kanis (*Ka-n(a)-nas* MESS 4, A 2), which Ikan claims to have conquered (line 2, *Ka-a-ni-mis*).[3]

A. H. SAYCE.

"BADAUN" OR "BADĀYŪN"

I fear that Mr. Richard Burn's authority does not decide the question of the correct transliteration of this place-name. Arguments from derivation are equally beside the point. There is only one method of reproducing a modern Indian place-name in Roman characters, and that is to ascertain

[1] The boot, MI, signifying "earth", "land", seems to have had a value *yi*, *wi*. At all events it is sometimes omitted before the suffix -i-, *Tarku-is*, for instance, being written instead of *Tarku-MI-is*.

[2] Tarkamos (*T-r-k m-u*) was a governor of Cilicia under the Persians whose name was first read upon coins by Six. Sundwall quotes the Greek forms Ταρκομως, Ταρκιμως, and Ταρκομμας.

[3] The name of Kanis also occurs on the Obelisk of Izgin (Mess. 10, B, 16), *mē-a Ka-ana-n(a)-is* "belonging to the city of Kanes".

how the name is spelt by educated Indians in their vernaculars, and then to transliterate the name, from their spelling, on some approved system, such as that adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society. Under such a system each vernacular letter will be represented by some constant letter (or letters) of the Roman alphabet, or by some symbol, and it is surely needless to add, no letter or symbol which does not represent some letter of the vernacular alphabet should find a place in any transliterated word

I have ascertained from various publications in Hindī that the name of this town is spelt, in the Devanāgarī alphabet, बदाऊं. In all Persian or Urdu works which I have seen it is spelt بداوں, and I believe that Mr Burn will agree that this is the spelling adopted on coins The *hamza* is sometimes added, but not always The correct transliteration of these two forms, according to the system adopted by the Society, is Badāūn or Badā'ūn Neither contains a letter which can be represented by the letter " y

The name Badāūn may be derived from *Voda mayuta*, but we are concerned with its modern spelling, not with its derivation. Patna is derived from Pataliputra, but we should not be justified in attempting to assimilate the modern to the ancient name of the city It would be as reasonable to argue that " Londin " is more correct than " London '

WOLSELEY HAIG

CHINESE PRINTING OF THE TENTH CENTURY

An interesting article on the Buddhist documents found in the ruins of the Lei fêng pagoda has appeared in 小說月報 *Hsiao shuo yueh pao*, vol xvi, No 1 From the facsimile of the title there published, it is seen that the first lacuna in the British Museum copy is correctly filled by Dr. Giles, but the second set of missing words should read 俶造此經八萬四千 "Ch'ien} Shu made these sutras 84,000 [rolls " The rolls were placed each in a hole bored in a brick.

The issue of an edition of 84,000 copies of even a small pamphlet in the year 975 is surely an interesting event in the annals of printing

A. C MOULE.

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PHILOLOGICAL NOTE ON *NALBAŠ ŠAMÊ = ISHTAR*

The ideograms *AN-GÚ* and *AN-MA* are rendered by *nalbaš-šamê* in II R., 47, 1 35, a commentary on a religious-astronomical text In my *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, No 4, i, 6 *an-gú* occurs in a list of divine names, followed by *nin(?)-an* and *mul-mul* stars *an-gú* is a title of Innini-Ishtar as the planet Venus in Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, No 1, iii, 12 14, *nin-an an-gú* *d Innini mag'-lm*, "Queen of heaven, 'garment of heaven,' Innini, the far-famed" For the title *nin-an*, s *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 49, n 2, and my edition of K 9955, ii, 4, in Weidner's *Archives fur Keilschriftforschung*, i, 20 ff *nalbaš šamês*, therefore, a title of Ishtar and describes her as the light, which pervades the heavens from her planet *ma* in *AN-MA* means *nalbašu* Cf. *tug ME* (*ma-a*) - *nalbasu*, C T, 11, 38, K 4148, 9, where the *Yale Syllabary*, 202, has ME(*ma-a*) as used in *tug MA* (!) = *nalbašu*, and C T 35, 6, 35, ME(*ma-a*) as used in *ME* (?)-*DUL* - *nalbašu ma*, garment, is a variant of KU(*mu-u*) = *nalbašu*, *Yale Syl* 140 A value *gu* = *nalbāšu, labāšu, subatu*, is unknown, but the meaning of the title is clear.

We are now able to explain some very puzzling names in the Babylonian and Assyrian nomenclature. *AN-MA-ZU*, Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, 415, 8 and vol ii, Appendix, 3, ii 28, iii Raw 1 iii, 35 = Eponym List, year 782, is to be read *Nalbaš šamê le'u*, or *Ishtar-le'at*, "Ishtar (the garment of heaven) is mighty" *AN-MA-šiq*, King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 326, 86, is *Nalbaš-šamê-damik*, or *Ishtar-damkat*. *EN-LAL-AN-MA*, Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 62, is *Bêl-tāriṣ-nalbaš-šamê*, for *Bêl-tāriṣ-ana-nalbaš-šamê*, "Bêl look toward the garment of heaven," i.e. toward Ishtar, the planet Venus, and the light of heaven. The name

[illegible]-AN-MA is a corruption of this form [Variants of the title *an-gú* in CHIERA, *ibid*, are *an-gú-na*, III, 17 37, *an-ku lá-a*, "she who puts on the garment of heaven," IV, 11, *an-ku-lu-a*, IV, 13 *an-ku-a*, V, 10 She is called *d An-gú*, III, 16, where the title is a divine name]

S LANGDON

PHILOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH, BOOK XI, 88

This passage reads *mu-ir ku-uk-ki ina li-la-a-ti u-ša-az-na-nu ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti*, and the parallel passage, l 46 The meaning "rainstorm" for *šamûtu* requires no further discussion than the entries in the lexicons and Jensen's note in *Mythen und Epen*, 486, where the Arabic cognate of *šamû*, heaven, *samā'* = [illegible] is mentioned See also *Babyloniaca*, XII, 233, 17, AN-[illegible] i.e *šamû-tum dulluhhatum* [illegible] is now known [illegible] be a word for "wheat", kernels [illegible] Hrozný, *Das Getreide*, 62, 197 Delaporte *E*[illegible]s, 86, *CT* 12, 47, 10, 36, 28, *gib-ba* - *kibâtu* [illegible]orczner, *Tempelurkunden*, 114. *še-gig* (*gib*), often in sen[illegible] of "hailstones", Virolleaud, *Ad*[illegible], XII, 15, *kibâtam iznun* Hence *šamûtu kibâti*, hailstorm [illegible]ee also *ZDMG* 71, 161

The difficulty in th[illegible]assage has been caused by the word *kukku* In *RA* 14, [illegible] K 260, 39 (*zid-še*)-*lăĝ* = *tappinu kukku*, a meal N[illegible] the sign [illegible] (*gu-ug*) = *kukku*, *CT* 11, 24. B 7, Var *gu*[illegible], *CT*. 12, 32. K. 15284, 4, has a similar meaning in texts [illegible]m the earliest period It occurs constantly with *ninda*, bre[illegible], Thureau-Dangin, *RTC*. 13, II, 2 III, 6, Rev. II, 1, N[illegible]4, II, 1, 15 [illegible] II, 6, Deimel, *Fara*, No 30, II. 2, VI, 4; 32, II, [illegible], *et passim gúg-e* with honey and dates, Chiera, *Crozer*, I, [illegible] V. 3, where the var, Radau, *Miscel*, 2, 11, has *ninda-gú*[illegible]e, that is "bread seasoned with fenugreek", see below. [illegible] *še-gúg-nu*[illegible]*un*, seed of the *gug*, *RTC*. 51, II, 13, Gen[illegible]llac, *TSA* [illegible]4, Obv. IV Therefore, *gúg* = *kukku* denotes a[illegible]ible prod[illegible]

[illegible]ow *gúg-g*[illegible] kind of food, Gudea, *Cyl*. A, 28, 6, *zid*

[illegible]

gúg-gal, meal of the "great *gug*", from which bread is made, Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 26, i, 27, is clearly the original of *gú-gal* = *ḫalluru*, "bean," Meek, BA. x, 105, 7, *ZA*. 28, 109, Hebrew *ḥārûl*, Arabic *ḫullar* See for late texts, Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 106. Usually *še-gú-gal*, *BE*. ix, 29, 12, etc, whereby it has a kernel or seed. Since the 'great *gúg* (*gú*)" means "bean", the *gúg* should be a *lathyrus* or pod-bearing fruit, possibly the "pea", and *gú-tūr*, the 'little *gúg*, *gú*" is now known to be *palîlu* (Syr *palîltā*, fenugreek), Ebeling, *Medizin*, p. 16, n 6 Cf. *šampulîlu*, *CT*. 14, 27, 82-5-22, 1777, 1 3

But Meek, *BA* x, 105 9, has *gú-gal* = *kak-ku*(?)-[*ru*], and cf *šamkak-ku* [*ru*], *CT* 14, 24, R 21 Moreover, *šimgúg-gúg* = *kukuru* *CT* 17, 38, 39, there with the cypress. Cf *šamkak-ru*, *CT* 14, 26, K 4229, 9 - 31, K 4581, R 5 *kakru* was identified with Latin *cicer*, "chick-pea," by Ungnad, *OLZ*. 1923, 272, n 1 *kukru*, *kakru*, *kukuru*, must all be the same word and note that *ḫal la-ar sa-am*(')-[*da-a-ti*] precedes *kakkuru* on K 4412, R 19 For *ḫallar ṣamdāti*, v Lutz, *Yale Series*, ii, 58, 6, *gú-gal* (*ḫalluru*) *sa-am-da-a-tim* Therefore, *kukkuru*, *kakru*, *kukru* must be a *lathyrus*, and since *gú-tūr* = *kakkuru*, and *palîlu*, the meaning fenugreek, or chick-pea, or pea, is imposed by the evidence *kukru* was identified with "chicory" by Jastrow, v *BE* 31, 67, n 6, but Thompson, *Herbal*. 156, basing his argument on the hapax passage, Meissner, *Supplement*, 23, Obv 27, *giš-šimgúg-gúg* = *kukru*, and its occasional association with the cedar, decided that *kukru* (*kakru*, *kukuru*) means turpentine. But in the numerous passages of medical texts, where this drug *gúg-gúg* is used, it never has the determinative *giš*, but only *šim*, an aromatic.

Consequently *gúg* = *kukku* must be a *lathyrus*, the pea, chickpea, or seed of the fenugreek. That *kukku*, like *kibatu* in the Gilgamish passage, refers to hailstones from their resemblance to peas and kernels of wheat is also proven by Virolleaud, *Adad*, xii, 17, *gú-tūr* (*palîla*) *iznun*, it rained "peas", i.e. hailstones, in the very text where only two lines

before hailstones are called *kibâtu* Therefore *mu-ir kukki* means "senders of hail", and is a synonym of *šamûtu kibâti* The passage should be rendered, "When the senders of hail cause a hailstorm to rain in the night-time"

Additionally, it should be noted that *palīlu*, *pulīlu*, is the same word as *šam-baliltı*, שבלילתא, fenugreek Cf Meissner, *MVAG* 1904, 3, pp 27, 39. and Thompson, *Herbal*, 38

S LANGDON

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books on Egypt, reviewed by A. H. Sayce

1 MÉMOIRES PUBLIÉS PAR LES MEMBRES DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE DU CAIRE, XLII. JULES BAILLET Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thebes. Fasc. 2. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 10$, 300 pp, 33 plates Cairo, 1923

The first volume of this sumptuous work has already been reviewed in the *Journal* of the Society (1921, p 606) A third and final volume, containing the Introduction and Indices, will appear shortly The character of the work may be summed up in the statement that it is exhaustive of its subject. The Greek and Latin graffiti of the Royal Tombs at Thebes are exhaustively published for the first time, along with translations, critical notes and an explanatory commentary Nothing seems to have been omitted, and it is a model of the way in which such a work should be done How difficult it must sometimes have been to copy or even detect the semi-obliterated or ill-written scrawls of the Græco-Roman tourists I know from personal experience Shortly after copying the Abydos graffiti I spent a few days in the Theban tombs in the vain hope of discovering Cypriote texts and, in default of the latter, amused myself by deciphering a few of the Greek scrawls

The writers of them were frankly tourists and belonged for the most part to the age when Rome had become Imperial, and the Grand Tour in Upper Egypt had become fashionable. Foreign names—even Egyptian or Latin ones—are rare, it is a Hellenistic world which visited Thebes. If the visitor had a title or titles, he took care to add them to his name, occasionally he could find nothing but "philosopher" to attach to it, but that proved that he had money enough to have received a liberal education. Very rarely, as in the

case of the "Catholicos Theodoros", does the writer venture into verse, more often he contents himself with the stereotyped formula · "I (saw and) admired." Now and then this is replaced by · "I have recorded (my name)" The old formula of pre-tourist days · "I came here" is conspicuous by its rarity, so, too, is the old religious note expressed by the Greek word προσκύνημα When the latter occurs, it may possibly mark a visitor of Egyptian origin But the majority of the writers were simply tourists of a very modern description, and one of them on visiting and marvelling at the tombs "remembered" the names of his relatives who were not so fortunate as himself in being able to travel abroad The world of the Roman Empire was very much like the world of to-day; let us hope that their fate will not be the same

2. HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS FROM EGYPTIAN STELÆ, ETC, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM Pt VII By H R HALL $13 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 14 pp, 50 plates London British Museum, 1925. Price, 15*s*

This is another continuation of a work already reviewed in the *Journal* (1924, p 313) It is needless to say that it has been done with all the accuracy and completeness possible The plates are large and clear, and the prefatory notes give all the information needed Some of the texts have been previously published Unfortunately the inscriptions on Egyptian tombstones are apt to be of a uniform character and, like the mortuary inscriptions elsewhere, seldom give us much information. One of the most interesting is that which records the name of "the chief charioteer" of the Pharaoh, Atunuma, whose name, like those of two of his sisters, Tai and Ḥuria, indicates that he came from Mitanni Dr. Hall compares the name of Aitugama of Kadesh in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Two other stelæ (No 10) were found in Malta in 1823. With one exception all the stelæ belong to the age of the eighteenth dynasty, and one of them contains a hymn to the Syrian god Resheph.

3 ANCIENT EGYPT: SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. By IDA A PRATT and RICHARD GOTTHEIL. 10 × 7, xv + 486 pp New York Public Library, 1925

The Public Library of New York is well supplied with Egyptological literature, ancient and modern, and the portly book before us is an elaborate catalogue of it, brought up to date It will be found very useful, not only by the readers in the New York Public Library, but also by Oriental students all over the world. The detailed descriptions of individual papers and articles, the compilation of which must have involved a large amount of labour, is especially welcome. The arrangement of subjects is excellent, and the Index of authors, with their publications, which is attached to the Catalogue, is a valuable addition to the book The Catalogue is brought down to the date of the Arab conquest, a sister volume, containing a list of works relating to the Mohammedan history of Egypt and including, I hope, books of travel in the country, being promised at some future time.

4 A HISTORY OF THE PHARAOHS By ARTHUR WEIGALL Vol I 9 × 6, xv + 328 pp, 17 plates, 1 map, 1 diagram. London Thornton Butterworth, 1925 Price, 21s.

In his preface Mr Weigall tells us that he has aimed at combining an intelligible and consecutive history of early Egypt which will be readable to the layman with a work which will also appeal to the scholar He may be assured that he has succeeded in his aim The volume just published has all the charm of style to which its author has accustomed us, while it is at the same time a stimulating and instructive work, full of new ideas and fresh light. Conventional theories and conclusions whose German origin has caused them to be regarded in many quarters as infallible are for once discarded, and the light of common sense is brought to bear upon some of the problems of Egyptology. It is a long time since I have read anything upon the subject with so much pleasure.

Mr. Weigall is a clear thinker, and consequently what he writes is clearly expressed and methodically arranged There is no difficulty in following his arguments and understanding exactly what he means The controversial points connected with early Egyptian chronology are discussed at the beginning of the book, where he expounds what he believes to be his discoveries and the conclusions to be drawn from them Whether or not we agree with them, we know precisely what they are, and the facts upon which they rest

His first discovery seems to me to be established He has succeeded, I believe, in reconstructing the famous Palermo Stone, and thereby fixing the chronology of the Old Empire The total of 949 years, plus two reigns of unknown length, agrees remarkably with the summation of years from Menes to a period immediately after the sixth dynasty, given by the fragments of the Turin papyrus Incidentally it may be noted that the reconstruction brings with it a confirmation of the old identification of Aha with Menes

Mr. Weigall's second " discovery " is calendrical He argues that the Egyptologists have been hitherto wrong in assuming that the three seasons of the Egyptian year began with 19th July, the true date being 20th October, and New Year's day marking not the rise, but the fall, of the inundation Certainly there is much to be said for this view, but the Egyptian official calendar underwent alterations in the course of centuries, and was probably not always the same in the three divisions of Egypt Little reliance can be placed upon astronomical calculations so far as chronology is concerned, for chronological purposes an exactitude of astronomical and calendrical data is required which we look for in vain in ancient Egypt

At all events I am unable to assent to Mr Weigall's date for the rise of the Middle Empire and the establishment of the twelfth dynasty. In view of the Babylonian evidence it is almost as impossible as that of the Berlin School. Middle Empire vases of Egyptian alabaster exist in the Louvre

inscribed with the names of Manistusu and Naram-Sin of the dynasty of Akkad, and a Middle Empire seal-cylinder obtained by Lord Carnarvon from Memphis has upon it a cuneiform inscription belonging to the same period. We now know, thanks to the combined labours of Professors Fotheringham and Langdon, that the dynasty of Akkad began to reign 2750 B C The introduction of bronze into Egypt in the age of the Middle Empire tells also in favour of the same date, while the tenth dynasty tombs excavated at El-Kab partly by Mr Quibell, partly by myself, appeared to indicate a much longer duration for that dynasty than Mr Weigall's chronology would allow

Nor does Manetho's chronology, where we can be fairly sure that we possess it (as in the case of the Hyksos occupation of Lower Egypt), deserve the wholesale denunciation pronounced upon it by Mr Weigall In fact, he himself makes use of Manetho's figures when establishing the chronology of the Old Empire (as, for instance, on page 5)

The controversial part of the volume, however, occupies only the earlier pages of the book, the greater portion of it is devoted to a story, at once interesting, consecutive, and brought up to date Mr Weigall knows how to unite an abundance of details with accuracy of statement and broadness of view, and his book is enriched with well-chosen photographs and an excellent index His residence and official work in Egypt have given him an understanding of the country and people which can never be acquired in the study, the reader's interest is never allowed to flag, and we shall look forward to its continuation in a future volume

I can add another "Hawk" king to his series. In 1899 I rescued from a prehistoric grave at Negada some objects which included black-topped pottery, one especially large jar being ornamented on the inside with incised trees and plants as well as small ivory and slate plaques, re-used slate "palettes" and a slate bracelet. But the two most important objects were inscribed. One of these was a small black stone

crescent with a hole, which had formed the head-dress of figure. An ivory band was inserted in the back of it below some markings intended for hair, while on the front was a "cartouche" of oval shape with the royal name S within it. To the right was a hawk looking downwards, and to the left a mace with a running ostrich behind. The second object was the fragment of a pearl-oyster shell, on which the "cartouche" and royal name were repeated, but the titles were in reverse position, the mace taking the form of a boomerang, and the hawk being incised over the ostrich. It was all very rude, in contrast to the good workmanship of the head-dress, and was evidently the attempt of an inexperienced hand to imitate the latter.

5. ON THE CHEMISTRY OF THE ANCIENT ASSYRIANS. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. $8 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$, 158 pp. + 6 pp. of Cuneiform Texts. London: Luzac and Co., 1925.

We have long been accustomed to expect new light from Dr. Campbell Thompson on the obscurer parts of Assyrian archæology, and his latest volume is no exception to the rule. It is full of fresh and interesting information for the chemist and geologist as well as the Assyriologist, and is distinguished by his usual learning and philological ingenuity. He has opened up a new line of research and taught us how the Assyrians made their glass, and what was the nature of the materials which they employed.

He has managed to bring together a number of cuneiform texts from the library of Nineveh which are now in the British Museum where they have hitherto lain without an interpreter, and by a process of sound inductive argument, added to philological knowledge, has discovered their character and meaning. Most of his interpretations will, I believe, stand the test of time and criticism; the correction or verification of minor details can be left to the future.

Like the ancient Egyptians the Assyrians made glass which was at once beautiful and durable. Dr. Thompson shows

that the materials they used were pretty much the same as those which would be used to-day and the proportions in which they were mixed would also approve themselves to the modern glass-manufacturer The Alkali (*ukhulu*) was made from the ashes of certain alkaline plants as still seems to be the case in Mediterranean countries, and good reason is shown for believing that, as in Greek and Roman glass, lime took the place of lead. Copper, naturally, was employed for producing the rich blue colour so much admired in the ancient world

Among the technical words of the old Assyrian glass-maker, Dr Thompson has shown that *dusu* must signify "crystal", while the word which he reads *sirzu* (I should prefer *puzu*) appears to be the simple glass Here is the recipe, according to his identifications, for making ordinary *dusu*, of which there were two other varieties, the "clear" and the "green".

60 parts sand,
180 parts alkali of salicornia,
6 parts of saltpetre,
½ part of chalk,
3 parts of oxide of tin (?),
$\frac{1}{10}$ part of oyster-shell (?)

The word which he suggests, as it seems to me with great probability, must represent oxide of tin is *tuskū*

The following translation will give an idea of the chemical methods of the Assyrians, as well as of Dr Thompson's success in unravelling their secrets —

"*The Making of blue glass.*

"Thou shalt crush separately 10 mana of blue frit, 10 mana of ordinary glass, . . of alkali, in small pieces (?), not round lumps (?), ⅔ mana of chalk of the sea and roasted cinnabar. Thou shalt mix together and collect into a clean melting-pot, put (it) down into the furnace whereof the floor of the apertures is cold and put (it) on a support between the

apertures, the base of the melting-pot not touching the furnace, thou shalt keep a good smokeless (fire) burning, when the fire from the middle of the apertures has driven forth the bubbles [and the metal] glows, thou shalt draw the fire; when the furnace is cold thou shalt take (it) out and crush (it); (then) thou shalt collect (it) into a clean [melting-pot] and put (it) down into the furnace which has been let grow cold, thou shalt keep a good smokeless [fire] burning While the 'metal' is fusing thou shalt not shut [the door of the] furnace, (but) after the 'metal' has fused thou shalt shut the door of the furnace, and they shall pierce the outside in front of thee with a hole, after they have pierced the thou shalt look and if the 'metal' runs thou shalt pour (it) into a hot melting-pot, and when the furnace is cold blue glass will come out"

Truly the old world of the East was not unlike the world of to-day!

It is needless to say that the cuneiform texts at the end of the volume have been copied with Dr Thompson's customary skill and neatness of hand He has also given two indices in which one thing only is wanting, the addition of translations, wherever possible, to the Assyrian and Sumerian words

THE APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES. Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses Sm 8vo, xxxi + 584 pp Newly translated. Oxford University Press, 1924 10s net

E HENNECKE NEUTESTAMENTLICHE APOKRYPHEN 2nd edition Cr. 8vo, xii+32+668 pp Tubingen I C B Mohr (Paul Siebek), 1924. 12s

Growing attention has been paid during the last fifty years or so to that immense literature of Pseudepigraphic writings known as Apocrypha Extra-Canonical. For centuries it had been hunted down by the Church, just because it was not included among the recognised sacred writings, and had often

been used by heretical sects as a vehicle for propagating their own opinions and doctrines Another view is now taken of that literature, full of fantastic legends and stories, hence its great popularity, for one has now recognized in them, not only documents of high antiquity, but of special value for the elucidation of many of the psychological problems which agitated the world, especially Jews and Christians, during a period of about five hundred years, from 200 B C. to 300 C E. One has only to mention here the great work of Archdeacon Charles in England and Kautzsch for the Apocrypha of the Old Testament Here we have now again two parallel publications dealing exclusively with the Apocrypha connected with the New Testament. There is, however, a profound difference between the work of Dr James and Hennecke s publication, inasmuch as Dr. James alone is responsible for the whole work, whilst Hennecke has gathered round him a band of great scholars, who have contributed to make his new edition thus far the last word on the subject Moreover, Dr James has concentrated his attention upon the translation of the texts, with just brief references to the sources used Master of the subject, he is unerring in his choice, and the translation is as perfect as one has a right to expect from so ripe a scholar But he has not given us the full text In not a few cases, especially in the Apocryphal Acts, we must be satisfied with the abridged story. Still, enough has been left in these 584 compactly printed pages, enriched by the valuable index of twenty-four of them. If we turn now to Hennecke's book, the contrast is manifest. Not only have we here a larger number of texts, but the work, having been done by many hands, each section and each Apocryphal legend has been treated with individual care. Not only are the sources all indicated, but all the literary references have been brought up to date. The translations are also most reliable in their accuracy and painstaking fidelity to the original. Most valuable indices of passages quoted, names and objects, covering no less than twenty-

four closely printed pages greatly facilitate the work of the student. These two publications thus complement one another, and if taken in conjunction with the previously published handbook to the New Testament Apocrypha, also by Hennecke, then we have here a complete and fully equipped library of the Apocrypha of the New Testament. Both books are beautifully printed It is a pity that the Germans still persist in printing their books in their specific type, instead of using the Latin, especially books intended for a wider public, and dealing with a subject of universal interest. They could easily follow the example of the *ZDMG* and the *OLZ*, not to speak of other books and reviews of a similar character

M GASTER

MOSES MAIMONIDES, FUEHRER DER UNSCHLUES[illegible]EN (GUIDE OF THE PERPLEXED TRANSLATED INTO [illegible]MAN, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES) By DR ADOL[illegible] [illegible]EISS Vols I–III. Leipzig. Felix Meiner, 192[illegible] 15s

Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, written in 1190 marks the turning-point in the history of religious philosophy Hailed with enthusiasm immediately after its appearance, it was soon translated from the original Arabic into Hebrew by Aben Tibbon, who submitted his translation to Maimonides for approval, and by the poet Alharizi That of the latter was the basis of the various Latin translations made early in the thirteenth century, not to speak of other translations which have been made from time to time The "Guide" exercised an enormous influence upon the scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages, notably Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, and especially Thomas Aquinas. Recent investigations have no revealed the astounding fact, which derives its great im portance from the revival of Spinozism, that Spinoza' fundamental principles are almost literally borrowed from Maimonides' great work, but without acknowledgment. Dr. Adolf Weiss has now undertaken a new translatio

of that monumental work on the basis of Aben Tibbon's translation. He refers, of course, to the Arabic edition by Munk, and praises, as it deserves, the English translation made by Dr. Friedlander. His chief aim is to give us a faithful translation, which at the same time should be precise in form and clear in diction, and he has fully achieved his aim. A commentary often very elaborate accompanies the translation, wherein, among others also, full reference is made to the Rabbinic literature, and to all the writings, Arabic and others, of which Maimonides makes mention in his book. Not satisfied with that, Dr. Weiss gives a very detailed description of the life and literary activity of Maimonides, covering no less than 170 pages, and an equal number of pages is given to a comprehensive systematic exposition of his philosophy. It is unquestionably the best book that has appeared so far in connexion with the "Guide", and it will prove indispensable to any student in that great work. Handy in size and beautifully printed, and also enriched by an index, this new translation fulfils all expectations.

M. Gaster.

The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam. A study in Ethnology and Sociology. By W. C. Smith. With an introduction by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc., M.A., Honorary Director of Ethnography, Assam.

What happier combination than an interesting subject and a writer specially qualified for his task? Professor Smith, after working among the Ao Nagas as a member of the merican Baptist Missionary Society, went home and became ssociate Professor of Sociology in the University of Southern alifornia. He can thus not only give a valuable first-hand count of the Aos, but is well equipped to discuss their inities and origin, and the effects upon them of their contact Western culture. Dr. Hutton adds a critical introduction d a running commentary of footnotes, the value of which is

enhanced by the fact that they often express views at variance with those of the author of the book

Professor Smith's description of the Aos, which takes up the first half of the book, is lucid, and adequate. In it the wood is not obscured by the trees, and it is consequently of greater interest to the general reader than a more detailed monograph would be In his discussion of the affinities of the Aos one wishes that the writer had cast his net wider, for points of resemblance are to be found far outside Indonesia, and a study of them seems to lead one to the conclusion that the Nagas, now a backwater, were once part of that great human stream which came from Asia in the dim past and helped to people the Pacific Professor Smith regards the Aos as a backwash forced up the river valleys from the plains of Assam during one of the invasions of Eastern India There is (as the writer admits) very little evidence to support this theory and everything seems to point to the Aos being a tribe of mixed origin of which the greater part came through the hills from the East And that was long ago, for as Dr Hutton points out, Ptolemy writing in A.D. 300, places *Nango logae* almost exactly where the Nagas are now The last part of the book is in some ways the most valuable In it the contact of the Aos and of primitive people in general, with superior culture is discussed Here we find a problem of practical importance, for, as Professor Smith shows with a mighty array of quotations, unwise efforts to 'civilize' backward peoples have all over the world resulted in their ruin. Reformers are apt to destroy more than they build and to take away many things for which they offer no substitutes. The Aos are at this moment in grave peril of being turned from a highly organized social group into a collection of undisciplined individuals without pride in the past or interest in the present The British Government prohibited head-hunting when the hills were taken over. This deprivation alone Nagas have easily been able to stand. But the Missionaries prohibit or discourage "feasts of merit" (which play a great part in

Naga life), dancing, the singing of old songs, the wearing of tribal dress and ornaments, and the drinking of mild rice beer. Professor Smith sees how fatal is this policy and criticizes it strongly May we hope that some day he will give us concrete suggestions of reform in Mission procedure

J P MILLS.

INDO-IRANISCHE QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN Herausgegeben von JOHANNES HERTEL $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ Heft 1: Die Zeit Zoroasters Von Johannes Hertel. 64 pp Heft 2 Die Himmelstore im Veda und im Avesta Von Johannes Hertel 69 pp Heft 3 · Mundaka-Upanisad Kritische Ausgabe von Johannes Hertel 68 + lxviii pp. Leipzig H Haessel, 1924

Professor Hertel has, with admirable energy, started a new series of monographs on Indo-Iranian subjects, of the three small volumes hitherto published he is not only the editor but also the author, and a fourth work, dealing with the date and the place of origin of the Rigveda, also from his hand, is advertised as being shortly forthcoming As everywhere else, Professor Hertel has also in these works displayed no common amount of ingenuity and learning, and one feels compelled, even when being wholly unable to accept his theories, to admire his great mastery of the topics with which he deals.

It goes without saying that the critical edition of the Mundaka-Upanisad is an excellent work, and that the introduction dealing with metrical, grammatical, etc, facts is most scholarly Probably no living scholar possesses a more intimate acquaintance with Hindu manuscripts than Professor Hertel, and his criticism of editions of Sanskrit and Prākrit texts hitherto produced will always invite the most serious deliberation even if one would slightly resent the somewhat dictatorial garb in which the Professor does often present his remarks But this is merely a matter of taste, and there can be no doubt whatsoever of the extreme importance of the critical work performed by Professor Hertel upon Sanskrit literature in general.

The treatise dealing with the "gates of heaven" in the Veda and the Avesta offers a good number of new solutions of problems that have until now been wholly misunderstood, and seems to give an evident interpretation of the important second chapter of the Vendīdād. Professor Hertel has, in an earlier paper,[1] tried to establish that the word *brahman* should originally mean "fire, cosmic fire", this is wholly unconvincing, and the etymology with which the Professor tries to prop up his theory is just as incorrect now as it was some fifty years ago But, notwithstanding this, Professor Hertel has no doubt succeeded in proving that the Indo-Iranians looked upon heaven as a stony vault and on sun, moon, and stars as holes through which shone forth the celestial fire burning inside that vault, and through which the waters of the [illegible]ly ocean poured down on earth in th[illegible] form of rain

The paper on the date of Zoroaster would be of [illegible] grea[illegible] weight if its results could be taken for grante[illegible]or [illegible] Professor Hertel undertakes to prove th[illegible]ster [illegible] actually alive in 522 B C, that the Yas[illegible]s compos[illegible] between 2nd April and 29th Septem[illegible]hat same y[illegible] and that the much discussed Vištā[illegible] of the Avesta is [illegible] reality Hystaspes, the father of Darius I

These are, indeed, weighty conclusions, and it seems a p[illegible] that of none of them there should be even the shadow o[illegible] proof Professor Hertel lays great stress upon the fact th[illegible] Zoroaster is not mentioned by Herodotus, and that the Per[illegible] religion described by that author is in reality that of t[illegible] Magi, not that of the Mazdayasnians. Now, Herodot[illegible] apparently moved on the outskirts of the Achæmenia[illegible] empire, and what he got some not very deep knowledge of w[illegible] the popular religion then prevalent in the western part [illegible] Iran. The legitimate inference of this is that the religion he came to know was the one met with in the fragments of the younger Avesta, the religion which the Professor himself

[1] Cf. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. xli, p. 185 sqq

correctly characterizes as Zoroastrianism deeply tainted with—or, rather, wholly overpowered by—the older religion, the chief representatives of which were the Magi. And if Zoroaster should have lived shortly before Herodotus simply because he is not mentioned by him, how much more reasonable would it not then be to conclude that Gautama Buddha must have lived after 300 B.C., as neither himself nor his doctrine are mentioned in the fragments of Megasthenes, an author who spent years in the very province where the Enlightened One had developed his chief activity

It also seems noteworthy that Professor Hertel, whose critical sense in dealing with Sanskrit works is as marvellous as it is happy, should not hesitate to make every use of the text of the Avesta without taking into consideration the urgent need of at first establishing such a text A passage where he deals critically with it does not do him justice; his remarks on writings like *fratat̲ čayat̲*, e.g., are certainly beside the point [1]

Professor Hertel gives us some glimpses of his ideas on the date and home of the Rigveda We await, with profound eagerness, his theories on the subject in the sincere hope that the arguments will carry more weight than those adduced to establish the date of Zoroaster He also tells us that he has entirely lost belief in the Indian tradition and now shares the views of Whitney and Roth on that subject, if that be a fact it is, none the less, a deplorable one

JARL CHARPENTIER.

Books on Burma and Siam, reviewed by R. Grant Brown

RACES OF BURMA By Major C. M. ENRIQUEZ, Recruiting Officer, Burma $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 80 pp., 13 plates, 2 maps. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1924

This is one of a series of handbooks for the Indian Army. Its appearance is uninviting, and it only professes to be a

[1] Cf. Dr. Nyberg in *Le Monde Oriental*, vol. xvii, p. [illegible].

compilation, but it is good reading, contains much original matter, and is well up to date The map illustrating the story of the migrations will not mislead a reader who bears in mind the author's statement that the whole fabric is guesswork

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA, FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1924

There is little of interest in this report beyond the fact that the Mandalay Palace is given only fifteen or twenty years more of life

3 BURMA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY By Sir J G SCOTT, K C I E 9 × 6, xii + 372 pp, 1 map, 32 plates London Fisher Unwin, 1924

Sir George Scott has been the leading authority on Burma since the publication of *The Burman* in 1882, and he has now supplied the British public with a more readable history than that of Phayre, and is still best when he tells of the Burma of a past generation The book makes no claim to research and authorities are not referred to The chapter on the people shows some confusion The Salôns (p 13) are not the same people as the Semangs, who are negritos, and do not in the least resemble them The description of Tibeto-Burmans, on p 14, as a black-skinned race must surely be a slip, also the statements on p 15 that the Linguistic Survey of India separates the Dravidians into two sub-families, the Mon-Khmer and the Munda, and that the Mundas were driven south by the Mon-Khmers The Sanskrit tablets mentioned on p 26 as having been dug up at Tagaung have been taken seriously by other writers, but they have never been produced, and probably never existed

4. BURMA: A HANDBOOK OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION By Sir J. G. SCOTT, K C I E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, x + 536 pp., 65 plates, 1 map. London: De la More Press, 1924

Except for a paragraph on the new district of Putao, this is little more than a reprint of the earlier editions of 1906 and

1912 Many of the figures have not been brought up to date in the light of the census reports of 1911 and 1921

5 SIAM By W A GRAHAM, M R A.S 2 vols : 8 × 5½, x + 384 pp and x + 320 pp London · De la More Press, 1924

A new edition handsomely bound in two volumes, brought up to date, and improved by re-arrangement, of the useful handbook published in 1912

6 A BURMESE PHONETIC READER By LILIAS E. ARMSTRONG, Senior Lecturer in Phonetics at London University College, and PE MAUNG TIN, Professor of Pali at Rangoon University 7½ × 5, viii + 61 pp University of London Press, 1925

This excellent little book sets a standard which other writers on living Oriental languages will have to follow if they do not wish their work to be regarded as second-rate. It is the joint work of a phonetician and a native It is doubtful whether any manual of a living Oriental language can be entirely satisfactory unless it is the result of such work. A language is made up of sounds, and only an expert in sounds can decide what they are and explain them But Orientals who are trained phoneticians, and trained phoneticians who have a perfect knowledge of an Oriental language, are both hard to find Moreover, conversations and stories composed by a foreigner, however well he may speak the language, are not the same thing as the work of a native.

The dialogues and stories are simple and genuinely colloquial English officials in Burma know how difficult it is to find a Burman, however well educated, who is capable of writing such language The intonation of the Burman author has been marked throughout; not by a curved line, as used by Professor Daniel Jones in his *Pronunciation of English*, or by musical notation, as in the Cantonese Reader by the same author and Kwing Tong Woo, but by a tone-mark prefixed to each syllable. No distinction is made in the

texts between tones which are significant and essential (because they differentiate words from each other in meaning) and other tones such as we have in English; though the existence of the former is recognized on p 19 The reader should have been told that the marks (-) and (\), in whatever position, are always significant. It makes all the difference to the meaning of a word so marked whether the tone is level or falling, but the meaning is not affected by the initial pitch being high, medium, or low

The substitution of **ph, th, kh, sh** for the **p', t', k', s'** in the Cantonese Reader to represent the aspirated letters does not seem to me an improvement The Burmese aspirate is a single sound caused by a sharp explosion, and differs altogether from a weak explosion followed by a breath

It is interesting to observe that the suppression of the final consonants, and the substitution of a glottal check or nasalization, have now advanced to such a pitch in Rangoon that it has been thought advisable to treat the process as complete, except that **n** and **ŋ** are retained when a consonant (other than **j** or **w** follows immediately It has also been decided that the Burmese sound hitherto represented by **ʃ** is so different as to need a new symbol, **ɕ**, and that it is this sound, and not a fricative **j**, that appears in **tɕɪ**, the word for "great"

Books on Asia, reviewed by E. H. Johnston

1. ANNALES DU MUSÉE GUIMET BITHOTHÈQUE D'ÉTUDES Tome XXXIV. Le Festin d'Immortalité By GEORGES DUMÉZIL, docteur ès-lettres 10 × 6½, xix + 322 pp Paris: Geuthner, 1924

Of the part that the search after life-giving substances played in the evolution of early religion, much is heard in the controversies of to-day, but it has been left to the author of this book to maintain that by following this thread one can discover the common material of Indo-European mythology. By a comparison of the story of the churning of the ocean in

the Indian Epics and the tale of the brewing of beer in the Eddic poems of the Hymiskvidha and the Lokasenna, he works out the scheme of a myth portraying the quarrels of gods and demons over a drink having the power to confer immortality, and endeavours to prove that portions of this legend can be recognized in the mythologies of the various peoples who speak Indo-European languages. Much ingenuity is displayed by Monsieur Dumézil in the search for analogies, and he endeavours to fit into his theory among other things, the stories of Prometheus, Pandora, and the Apples of the Hesperides, the feast of Anna Perenna as recounted by Ovid, the legends of St Petronilla and the Holy Grail, the rites of an Armenian spring festival, and even the fairy tale of Little Red Riding Hood It is an underlying assumpton that one may reasonably expect to find the remains of a common mythology among peoples who speak languages of the same family, even though they be of different races and though we do not know under what circumstances they adopted Indo-European languages And the author pays inadequate attention to texts not of Indo-European origin which are of a date far earlier than anything he quotes and which show that the ideas of immortality and of a life-giving liquid were subjects of speculation in countries which had had at that time apparently no contact with any peoples speaking Indo-European tongues He confines himself almost entirely to a discussion of the mythologies of the latter peoples, and if at times conjecture on one page is later treated as a proved analogy, he is frank enough in admitting the lack of evidence for his theory in the Vedic and Avestic literatures and endeavours to account for it by reference to the limits of the subjects dealt with in them Granted that the Vedas do not contain or refer to all the religious ideas of the Aryan invaders of India, yet such changes had taken place by the time of the Epics that it is dangerous to base a theory on the assumption that a story first found in them is of Aryan origin. How can one account for the word amrta not being used in the sense

of ambrosia previously, and why can one find no traces of the legend in the earlier literature? Monsieur Dumézil does indeed quote three passages from the Brāhmanas as references to the myth, but two of these are more easily explained as attempts to justify anomalies in practice which were abhorrent to Brahman conceptions, viz, the part taken by aboriginals in certain ceremonies and the custom of taking a bride price The Indian evidence is the main support of the theory which till more rigid proof is supplied cannot safely be regarded as more than an interesting speculation

2 TIBET, PAST AND PRESENT By SIR CHARLES BELL K C I E, C M G 9 × 6, xiv + 326 pp, 76 plates, 2 maps. Oxford The Clarendon Press, 1924 24s

In this book Sir Charles Bell reviews the political history of Tibet summarily up to 1904, and in detail from that date, with particular reference to the relations between Great Britain, India, and Tibet, and gives in the appendices copies of all the recent conventions and agreements down to 1913 Having himself an unrivalled knowledge of the later events, whose happy outcome is largely due to his efforts, he speaks with authority, and his book will be invaluable to any statesman or administrator who has to deal with that country. Little comment is called for in these columns beyond drawing attention to the translations in the appendix of three inscriptions on stone pillars in Lhasa, recording a peace with China in the first half of the eighth century, the Tibetan conquests in China in A D 763, and the defeat of the Gurkhas by the Chinese and Tibetans in A.D 1792 It is to be hoped that Sir Charles will in due course publish the texts of these inscriptions and of the six others he mentions, with translations

3 MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL Vol VII No. 3. THE BOATS OF THE GANGES. THE FISHING METHODS OF THE GANGES. By JAMES HORNELL 12 × 10, 63 pp., 21 illustrations Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal. Price Rs. 4 as. 8.

4 PLANT AND ANIMAL DESIGNS IN THE MURAL DECORATION OF AN URIYA VILLAGE A working model of the origin of the Ganges in a temple in Ganjam. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol viii, No. 4. By N. ANNANDALE, D Sc, F R S, C I E. 12 × 10, 19 pp, 10 plates Calcutta, 1924 Price Rs. 2 as. 13.

Mr Hornell published in vol vii of this series a memoir on the origins and ethnological significance of Indian boat designs in which he pointed out the survival of primitive types of boats in India, and deduced from the evidence a tentative theory of racial migration In the first of the present memoirs he gives a detailed account from the palm-tree dugout upwards of the various kinds of boats to be found in the valley of the Ganges and shows their resemblance in construction to the shipping of the ancient Egyptians on the Nile The descriptions cover the main types, and there does not appear to be any omission of importance. It is a pity that the vernacular names should not have been transliterated attempted consistently while the official system is usually followed, forms like badjra, ekhta, pulwar, make one wonder whether the names one is not familiar with are correctly given The other part of the memoir gives an admirable description of the various methods of catching fish in the Gangetic valley, and should be compared with Mr. Ellis' descriptions in his gazetteer of the Laccadive islands and Minicov, reviewed below

Every traveller in the Indian countryside must be familiar with houses decorated with wall paintings, sometimes formal designs, more often hunting scenes, sipahis, or even an Englishman on horseback smoking a pipe Dr. Annandale has been fortunate enough to discover on an island in the Chilka lake in Orissa a form of wall-painting deriving from more ancient traditions, obsolete elsewhere, and gives a good account of it with some admirable plates, which bring out its decorative value. His other paper describes a curious temple

in Ganjam whose date, though not early, cannot be precisely determined, where the well-known myth of the origin of the Ganges has been portrayed in stone.

5. MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 17. PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE (Part I, Early Style) By A H LONGHURST 13 × 10, 41 pp, 20 plates Simla Government of India Press, 1924 Price 9s 9d

6. THE TEMPLE OF SIVA AT BHUMÁRA By R D BANERJI No 16 13 × 10, ii + 14 pp, 17 plates Simla Government of India Press, 1924 Price 9s 3d

The first of these memoirs is the first part of a description of the more important buildings still extant attributed to the Pallava dynasty, and covers what has been described a the Narendra period by M Jouveau-Breteuil, whose divisi into three styles is extended by the author to cover the n century A D under the appellation of the Nandivarman s The only remains of the first period are cave temples, dedi with one exception to Śiva, and showing marked traces influence of Buddhist architecture Fourteen sites, in the region of Kanchi, are fully described with detaile and excellent photographs, and the most important group of eight temples at Bhairavakonda in the district which were discovered by the author in 1920 and in date from the seventh to the latter part of the er century A.D.

The other memoir deals with a Gupta temple in the Sta Nagod, also discovered in 1920, which dates from the s century A D according to Sir John Marshall but is pla a century earlier by the author. Though much overgrown jungle when found, the garbhagrha is still intact, and was possible to trace the ground plan of the mandapa and outer wall. Many panels of admirable carving and a number of broken pillars belonging to the mandapa were lying about on the site and are done full justice to by the plates. Two or three of the figures offer interesting problems in iconography.

7. THE INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART. 8¾ × 7, 161 pp., 38 plates London: The India Society, 1925.

This volume contains six papers written for the India Society by Professor Josef Strzygowski, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, H F E Visser, Victer Goloubeff, Joseph Hackin, and Andreas Nell, with an introduction by F. H Andrews. A third of the book is taken up with an excellent paper by Dr. Vogel on the relation between the arts of India and Java, which the amount of material available and the slight influence of other highly developed civilizations in Java before the Muhammadan conquest allow to be determined with some precision. Suggestive and interesting as the other papers are, the interplay of various influences is too complicated for the authors to be able to do justice to their knowledge in a limited space This applies particularly to Professor Strzygowski's paper, in which he gives a brief sketch of his theory that a form of landscape to be found in the mosaics of Ravenna, the Ajānta frescoes, and certain Far Eastern paintings and bronzes can be traced back to an origin Iranian in form and Mazdaistic modification and can be followed down through the Middle to the art of the Italian Renaissance The type and the illustrations give the book an attractive appearance

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LACCADIVE ISLANDS AND MINICOY By R H. ELLIS, I C S 9¾ × 6¼, 121 pp., 8 maps Price Rs 2 as 14

This book is the well-known form of the district Gazetteers issued by the Government in India, and contains all the information usual in such publications. The résumé in Chapter II of the political relations of the islands with the British Government is of use mainly to officials, but Chapters [illegible] and V give original information on the people and their occupations, based mainly on the author's personal observation and inquiry, though not always perhaps with the detail required for scientific purposes. The accounts of the methods of fishing in the lagoons, of bonito-fishing in Minicoy, and o

the attiri clubs on the latter island may be noted as of special interest

9 The Siddhantas and the Indian Calendar By Robert Sewell, I C S. (retd) 11¼ × 8¾, xvii + 609 pp Calcutta · Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1924 Rs 22 as 6

Mr Sewell's books on the "Indian Calendar" and "Indian Chronography" are well-known, and the present book, which consists of a series of articles republished by order of the Government of India from the "Epigraphia Indica" is a continuation of them The seventy-five tables which are numbered in continuation of the series of the two previous books deal with the true longitude of the sun in Hindu astronomy and provide general working tables of the Siddhānta Śiromani, the first Ārya Siddhānta ("true" and "mean" system) and the Brahma Siddhānta ("true" and "mean" system) The figures in the tables are given to four decimal places and examples are given at the end of the several articles to explain the processes to be followed in computing the details of a date, while a final article gives the late Dr Fleet's tables for finding the mean place of the planet Saturn There is no index to the book and it would have been a convenience if either in this book or its predecessors a glossary had been given of the Sanskrit astronomical terms employed

10 Les langues du monde Par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de A Meillet et Marcel Cohen La Société de linguistique de Paris 10 × 6½, xvi + 811 pp, 18 plates Paris · Champion, 1924

Fifteen linguists have co-operated in this work to gi. a brief survey of all the known languages of the world, past and present Each family or group is treated in a separate article and, as is liable to happen in works of this nature, there is much variety of treatment in the different parts. Fo instance, the Indo-European family is allotted sixty-tw pages, allowing only a statement of its many branches

and of the areas in which they prevailed or prevail. In other cases, such as the Finno-Ugrian and the Sino-Tibetan groups, for which less detailed knowledge is forthcoming, some attempt is made to give a general description of the languages and to indicate the progress made up to date in their comparison. The book will be found mainly useful in indicating the present state of our knowledge and the gaps that remain, and it very properly takes a conservative view of the extent to which the relationships between different groups have been proved.

As a work of reference it is somewhat defective, the bibliographical information is as a rule of the scantiest, often to be found only in the text or footnotes, and it is a pity that the example in this respect set by Monsieur P. Rivet who deals with the languages of America was not followed by the other writers. The maps too do not in many cases come up to the standard one would expect, and several others appear to deserve the remarks passed by Monsieur Rivet on the maps provided for his article.

II. THE RACES OF MAN. By A. C. HADDON. New edition, enlarged and re-written. 7½ × 5, viii + 184 pp., 10 plates. Cambridge University Press. 1924. Price 6s. net.

Dr. Haddon's well-known little book, *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, was published in 1909. The volume under review, with its shortened title, has the plates and a few paragraphs and descriptions in common with its predecessor, but is to all intents and purposes a new work, and, may it be added, a more important one. The basis of classification is more fully considered, and a more elaborate terminology is introduced for the sake of precision, while room is found for a brief discussion of the factors of heredity and climate in determining racial distinctions. Of greatest importance, however, is the change in the author's attitude. The first edition was mainly confined to a racial description of the world taken geographically, but so great has been the advance in knowledge since 1909, [illegible] is [illegible] own in [illegible] tw[illegible]

devoted to bibliography, the bulk of the works in which is of later date, that Dr. Haddon is now in a position to treat the problem from the point of view of the migration of races and even to put forward a tentative hypothesis of the development of the human race He is not inclined to accept the theory of the African origin of man and thinks the probabilities are in favour of man having developed somewhere in Western Asia, preferably towards the south, and he sees the main factor of the evolution of races in the existence of the great mountain chain running east and west across the continent. It is perhaps hardly fair to attempt to summarize his views which will presumably be stated more fully in the larger work on which Dr Haddon states he is at present engaged. Meanwhile the present work will be found of the greatest value by students engaged in all branches of [illegible] which touch on the early history of man

12 THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA By V[illegible]NT A[illegible] Fourth edition, revised by S W[illegible]ARDES [illegible] C V O 9 × 6, xii + 535 pp , [illegible] Oxf[illegible] Clarendon Press, 1924 Pr[illegible] net

The fourth edition of this [illegible]nown work is bas[illegible] on notes made by the author [illegible]d partly on material [illegible] by Mr Edwardes Though the first person is used fre[illegible] in the additions, there is nothing to show which of t[illegible] voices is speaking at any point From the fact that very [illegible] references are given to books or papers appearing later t[illegible] 1919, it is not perhaps unfair to assume that most of the n[illegible] material and of the changes in views have Dr Smith's authorit[illegible] behind them. Allowing for the reduction of the appendix [illegible] Vasubandha and the Guptas, the new material amounts [illegible] some thirty pages, a large proportion of it representing wor[illegible] done by scholars in India during the war, and for the reaso[illegible] noted above the publishers' claim on the jacket that t[illegible] edition embodies the results of most recent research can hardly be said to be made out. For instance, while Mr. Pargiter's

Dynasties of the Kali Age is repeatedly referred to, no mention is made of his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, and Dr Otto Stein's *Megasthenes und Kautilya* does not appear to be referred to anywhere, though as a detailed study taking a view opposed to that of Dr Smith it should hardly have been omitted

Of changes in view notice should be taken of Dr. Smith's provisional acceptance of the new reading of the Khâravela inscription with the result that ninety-one years is now allowed for the Nanda dynasty and the Ceylon date for the death of Buddha is accepted The date of Kaniska is now placed at c A D 120, and the account of the Pallava dynasty has been enlarged in accordance with the researches of Jouveau-Breteuil and various scholars of Southern India.

Reviews by W. Sutton Page

VOCABULARY OF PECULIAR VERNACULAR BENGALI WORDS. By F E PARGITER, M A, Indian Civil Service (retired), late Judge, High Court, Calcutta $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, 116 pp. Calcutta Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1923

In this very useful vocabulary Mr Pargiter has recorded the meanings of a number of Bengali words which are not to be found in Haughton's Bengali Dictionary or in the Prakṛtivāda-abhidhāna of Śyāmācaran Karmakār or in the Prakṛtibodha-abhidhāna of Āśutos Deb Many of the words and meanings he records are, however, to be found in later Bengali Dictionaries, e g in that of Jñānendramohan Dās, the most practically valuable of existing dictionaries In most cases the compiler has noted the district of Bengal in which he found the word used. While this is often useful as evidence that the word is current in a particular district, it is in many cases apt to be somewhat misleading. For example, আঁটচাল (= আঁচল) is no doubt used in the Twenty-four Parganâs to mean "the loose upper part of a woman's śāri", but this use is by no means confined to that district. A ... 'er of t' words included in

vocabulary merely represent variant pronunciations of the same word, which might have been much more conveniently and exactly described by the use of phonetic symbols The notes on pronunciation are not always accurate. For example, we are told that "আ is very commonly pronounced (and written) এ in Central Bengal, especially if ই or এ occurs in the following syllable, e g. মেরে for মারে he beats". But surely মেরে = মারিয়া and not মারে An এ in the following syllable does not of itself cause আ to be pronounced এ It is strange to find no reference to the variations in phonetic value of the inherent vowel But these are small matters compared with the value of the list of words to students of Bengali—a value which is due to the fact that it records observations of usage made over a number of years in nearly every part of Bengal

2 BENGALI RELIGIOUS LYRICS ŚĀKTA Selected and translated by EDWARD J THOMPSON and ARTHUR MARSHMAN SPENCER $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 102 pp Calcutta Association Press, London Oxford University Press 1923

This book contains English translations of 103 Bengali Śākta songs. Of these seventy-two are by the eighteenth century poet Rāmprasād Sen, and four of the others are also traditionally ascribed to him The songs of Rāmprasād are still sung all over Bengal, and the translators have selected for inclusion in this book such of the most popular of these songs as are likely to appeal to Western taste It is unfortunate that this has involved the exclusion of practically all of what may be called "the battle-songs of Kālī", with the result that the book will give readers unfamiliar with Rāmprasād's work as a whole a rather one-sided idea of his religious outlook The translation is well done, though it cannot, of course, reproduce either the puns or the jingling rhythm which are the two most striking characteristics of Rāmprasād's style. The last fifteen songs in the book are Āgamanī and Vijayā songs by different authors. Appended

to each of the poems are short, useful notes explaining allusions which would not be clear to Western readers.

3 VAISHNAVA LYRICS DONE INTO ENGLISH VERSE By SURENDRANATH KUMAR, NANDALAL DATTA, and JOHN ALEXANDER CHAPMAN $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, x + 53 pp London: Oxford University Press, 1923

The songs here translated are by Vidyāpati, Caṇḍidās, Narottamdās, and other Vaisnava padakarttās. The poems, Mr Chapman tells us in his preface, were first of all translated by his two colleagues in the Calcutta Imperial Library into "the poetical English prose that so many Indians have at command", and then Mr Chapman set to work to turn these prose versions into rhyme with, if the truth is to be told, the most unfortunate results Of the real beauty of many of the old Bengali Vaisnava lyrics there is no doubt, and this makes it all the more regrettable that English readers should be asked to accept as a substitute for them the kind of 'verse' that is here perpetrated The translations were made from S C Rāy's edition of the *Padakalpataru* and N N Gupta's *Vidyāpati Thakurer Padāvalī*, and references (by no means always accurate) to these original sources are given at the foot of the poems In the *Padakalpataru*, No VII bears the "signature" of Govindadās, but Mr Chapman has for some reason substituted the name of Candidās

4 HISTORY OF TIRHUT FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY By SHYAM NARAYAN SINGH, M B E, RAY BAHADUR, B.A., of the Behar and Orissa Civil Service $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xv + 270 pp. Calcutta Baptist Mission Press, 1922.

This book is more concerned with the ancient glories of Mithilā than with the development of modern Tirhut. Only seven pages of the book itself are devoted to the "History of Tirhut during the English Period", though in the appendices on the Bettiah Estate and the Darbhanga Raj some fragments